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HISTORY
OF
NEW NETHERLAND;
OR,
NEW YORK UNDER THE DUTCH.

BY E. B. O'CALLAGHAN, M.D.

CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY, AND HON. MEMBER OF THE
HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF CONNECTICUT.

VOL. II.

"PLERAQUE EARUM QUÆ REFERAM PARVA FORSITAN ET LEVIA MEMORATU VIDERI, NON NESCIUS
SUM. NON TAMEN SINE USU FUERIT INTROSPICERE ILLA, PRIMO ADSPECTU LEVIA, EX QUIS
MAGNARUM SÆPE RERUM MOTUS ORIUNTUR."

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BOOK IV.

FROM THE APPOINTMENT OF DIRECTOR STUYVESANT TO THE
INCORPORATION OF NEW AMSTERDAM.

1646—1652.

CHAPTER I.

New system of government for New Netherland—Instructions for the Director and Council—Stuyvesant's Commission—He sails from the Texel—Incidents of the voyage—Arrives at the Mannhattans—His reception there, and his promises to the Burghers—Further appointments to office—State of affairs at New Amsterdam—Divers regulations—Stuyvesant a thorough reformer—The leaders of the popular party arraign Kieft—Stuyvesant takes sides with the accused—The tables turned—The popular leaders arraigned—Their reply—Ordered to be prosecuted—Their trial—Sketch of Stuyvesant's speech—The sentence—Kieft sails for Holland, with Rev. Bogardus and others—All on board perish—De Vries' prophecy—A new Clergyman appointed to Fort Amsterdam—His salary—Indians discontented—Election of the Nine Men—Origin of this Institution—The members—Stuyvesant's message to them—Arrangements to promote education—They refuse to repair the fort.

WHEN it was determined in 1645 to supersede Director Kieft, the resolution was concurrently taken to modify, in accordance with the Report of the preceding year, the system under which the affairs of New Netherland had previously been administered. The government of that province was, henceforward, to be entrusted to a Director-general, and a Council composed of a Vice Director and the Fiscaal; with this understanding, that when the latter acted as public prosecutor, or conservator of the rights of the Company, the Military Commandant should sit in his place, and when accusations of a criminal nature were brought forward, two capable persons were to be adjoined from the district in which the offence was committed.

BOOK
IV.

1645.

BOOK IV
 1645. Means were to be adopted to induce the colonists to form towns and villages, and to provide themselves with arms for their security and defence ; whilst the privilege of delegating one or two persons, to give information to the Provincial Government on the state and condition of such settlements, was now solemnly reconfirmed. Instructions embodying these and other beneficial regulations were July 7 drawn up by the Assembly of the XIX,¹ and immediately afterwards PETRUS STUYVESANT was appointed Director-general. It was not, however, until the summer of the succeeding year, that his commission was obtained from the States General. It was as follows :—

1646. “THE STATES GENERAL of the United Netherlands, to all July 28. those to whom these Presents shall come, or who shall hear them read, Health !

“BE IT KNOWN ; whereas, WE have deemed it advisable for the promotion of the affairs of the General Privileged West India Company, not only to maintain the trade and population of the coasts of New Netherland and the places situate thereabout, together with the Islands of Curaçoa, Buenaire, Aruba, and their dependencies, which have hitherto been encouraged thither from this country, but also to endeavor to make new treaties and alliances with foreign princes, and to inflict as much injury as possible on the enemy, in his forts and strongholds, as well by sea as by land ; for which purposes it becomes necessary to appoint a person, Director :—

“WE, therefore, confiding in the probity and experience of PETRUS STUYVESANT, formerly entrusted with our affairs at, and the direction of, the aforesaid Island of Curaçoa and the places thereunto depending, WE, ourselves, being well pleased with his services there, have commissioned and appointed, and by these presents, do appoint and commission the said PETRUS STUYVESANT, Director over the aforesaid countries of New Netherland and the places thereunto adjoining, together with the aforementioned Islands of

¹ For these Instructions, see App. A.

Curaçoa, Buenaire, Aruba, and their dependencies ; to ad-
 minister, with the Council as well now as hereafter ap-
 pointed with him, the said office of Director, both by water
 and by land, and, in said quality, to attend carefully to the
 advancement, promotion and preservation of friendship,
 alliances, trade and commerce ; to direct all matters ap-
 pertaining to traffic and war, and to maintain in good order
 everything there for the service of the United Netherlands
 and the General West India Company ; to establish regu-
 larity for the security of the places and forts therein ; to
 administer law and justice, as well civil as criminal ; and,
 moreover, to perform all that concerns his office and du-
 ties in accordance with the charter, and the general and
 particular instructions herewith given, and to be hereafter
 given to him, as a good and faithful Director is bound and
 obliged, by his oath, in our hands, to do : which done, WE
 order and command all other officers and common soldiers
 there, together with the inhabitants and natives residing
 in the aforesaid places as subjects, and all whom it might
 concern, to acknowledge, respect and obey the said PETRUS
 STUYVESANT as our Director in the countries and places
 of New Netherland, and the Islands of Curaçoa, Buenaire,
 Aruba, and their dependencies, and to afford all help, coun-
 tenance and assistance in the performance of these things,
 as WE have found the same to be for the advantage of the
 Company. Done in Our Assembly at the Hague, on the
 xxviiith of July, 1646.”

CHAP.
 I.
 1646.

The new Director-general was duly sworn before their
 High Mightinesses on the above day, when the Hon. Lub-
 bertus Van Dinclage, who had been appointed in the
 course of the preceding year, Vice Director of New Neth-
 erland and First Counsellor at Fort Amsterdam, also took
 the oaths. The other officers who were to proceed to
 New Netherland, were Hendrick Van Dyck, Schout-fis-
 caal ; Capt. Bryan Newton, an Englishman, who had
 already served the Company some twenty years, and had

¹ Hol. Doc., iii., 82-88.

BOOK IV.
 1646. held office, both civil and military, under Stuyvesant at Curaçoa; Commissary Adriaen Keyser and Jesmer Thomas, Captain in the navy, afterwards appointed Commander-in-chief, in the absence of the Director-general, of all the Company's ships at New Amsterdam.¹

All preliminaries having been thus, at length, arranged, four ships, the Great Gerrit, Princess, Zwol, and the Raet, sailed from the Texel on Christmas day, 1646, with the Director-general, the other servants of the Company, some soldiers, and a number of private traders and freemen, who were proceeding to New Netherland to improve their fortunes. This fleet having arrived in the latitude of the Canaries, altered its course and stood away to Curaçoa, to the great disappointment of those on board, some of whom, now exposed to rough and stormy weather, and those unhealthy latitudes, fell sick and died, some allege "of grief," to the number of sixteen or eighteen, either on the passage, or after their arrival at the last mentioned Island.

1647. These were not the only disagreeable incidents of the voyage. Touching at St. Christopher's, a vessel called the Love, belonging to Schiedam, was seized, owing, it is to be presumed, to some informality in her papers. Van Dyck, thereupon, claimed a seat in the Council, and a voice in the disposal of the prize. Stuyvesant, however, rebuked his pretensions. "Get out! Who admitted you into the Council? When I want you, I'll call you," was the haughty rebuff with which the recently appointed Fiscaal was saluted. When he renewed the offer of his services at Curaçoa, he was received in an equally ungracious manner; and lest he should forget his position, he was confined three weeks to the ship, nor permitted during that time to "stroll ashore," though all the officers, and even the soldiers, were allowed to land to recruit themselves. At length, the fleet arrived at the Manhattans, where the new Director-general, on making his public entry, was received by the whole of the commonalty

May 11.

¹ Van Dinclage's Commission, and Van Dyck's Commission and Instructions, are in App. B.

under arms; among whom he diffused great joy by declaring, on accepting Kieft's resignation, that he "should be, in his government, as a father over his children, for the advantage of the Privileged West India Company, the Burghers, and the country."¹

Doctor La Montagne was continued of the Council;² Cornelis Van Tienhoven, Provincial Secretary; Paulus Leendertsen Van der Grist, commander of the Great Gerrit, was appointed to the responsible office of Equipage Master or Naval Agent; and "as none of the Company's officers could tolerably read or write the English language," Ensign George Baxter was retained as English secretary.

Stuyvesant found matters, on his arrival, in any but a satisfactory condition. Torn internally by contending factions; externally, threatened by pretensions and usurpations of foreign rivals, the Company's possessions seemed on the point of falling from their hands; whilst smuggling and an active contraband trade seriously affected, and

¹ Hol. Doc., vi., 32, 62, 63, 241-243; Alb. Rec., iv. 1; v., 36; xii., 30.

² Dr Johannes La Montagne was born in the year 1592, and came to New Netherland, as has already been stated, in 1637. He was married twice: *first*, to Rachel Monjour; *secondly*, to Agritta Fillis, widow of Arent Corssen, whom he espoused on the 18th August, 1647. By the latter, he had no family. His first wife left him Jan, [or John,] Rachel, Maria, Jesse, and William. Jan La Montagne, Jun., married Petronella Pickoll, by whom he had a son named VINCENT. He married next, Maria Vermilyea, who bore Abram, (who married Rebecca Teunissen,) Isaac, (who married Hester Van Vorst,) and Johannes. He was one of the leaders in the settlement of Haerlem, on the Island of Manhattans. Rachel La Montagne was married to Surg'n Guysbert Van Imbroeck, who settled subsequently at the Esopus, where she was taken prisoner by the Indians in 1663. She died on the 4th October, 1664, leaving three young children. [See post. p. 475.] Maria, (as has been stated in Vol. I. p. 180,) was born off the Island of Madeira, in 1637, and married on the 14th February, 1654, Jacobus Hendrickse Kip. [q. v. post. p. 213.] William Monjour La Montagne was born in 1641, and was for several years secretary to the town of Kingston. Jesse La Montagne died previous to 1660. VINCENT La Montagne, the eldest son of John, was born April 22d, 1657, and died 26th May, 1773, at the advanced age of One hundred and sixteen years. He may be said to have been the connecting link between the Dutch Directors and the American Revolution—between Stuyvesant and Washington. He married Ariantje Jans in 1684, and from this couple spring all the members of the La Montagne family in these States. They are scattered through New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Ohio. The original La Montagne farm was situated on New York Island, east of the Eighth Avenue, and north of Ninety-third st., whence it extended to the Haerlem River. It has wholly passed out of the hands of the family.

BOOK almost annihilated the public revenue. To rectify this
 IV. unpromising state of things, he applied all his energies.
 1647. Proclamations were issued against the desecration of the
 May 31. Sabbath, drinking, fighting, and such like irregularities.
 Tavern keepers were forbidden to furnish any persons, except travellers and the inmates of their own families, with liquors before two o'clock on the Lord's day, "when there is no preaching;" otherwise, not before four o'clock in the afternoon. No liquors were to be sold, on any account, to the savages, under a penalty of five hundred Carolus guilders, the seller to be held responsible for the consequences, nor to any person whatsoever after the ringing of the bell at nine o'clock in the evening. The statute law of Fatherland was next declared to be in force against all who should draw a knife upon, and wound others; simply drawing a knife was to be punished by a fine of one hundred Carolus guilders, or six months' hard labor on bread and water; if a wound followed, the penalty was to be increased three-fold. The most stringent enactments against smuggling were next promulgated. Traders, with a view to defraud the revenue, were in the habit of sending their furs to New England and Virginia, to be thence shipped to Europe; merchandise was surreptitiously introduced into the province in vessels
 July 4. which passed Fort Amsterdam by night. Strict orders were given that no merchandise should be sold within the Company's limits before it had been entered and the duties thereon paid. It was moreover commanded, that no furs were, thenceforward, to be exported, under the penalty of confiscation, unless they had been marked by the Company's stamp, and "recognized;" and all fur traders were to exhibit their books, on demand, to be inspected by the Director-general, in order that he might ascertain to whom sales had been made and whether the proper duties had been paid. These commercial regulations gave subsequently rise to a powerful opposition to this new administration.

Ways and means became, now, necessary to carry on the public service. Fort Good Hope was in a ruinous

condition, and demanded immediate repairs, if it, or the land around it, was worth preserving. Fort Amsterdam was in a condition equally, if not more dilapidated. The walls were daily trodden under foot by men and cattle, and afforded no means of defence. Special instructions had been given to put this important fortification in a thorough state of repair, so as to afford protection to the inhabitants in case of war. The church, already commenced, remained unfinished, and an embankment or breastwork was needed to secure "the city" against the encroachments of the river, and to accommodate the merchants and citizens. These laudable undertakings required money, to provide which recourse was had, now for the first time, to an excise duty on wines and spirituous liquors. All Spanish wines, brandies, and other spirits sold by retail, or sent to other parts of the Province, were ordered to pay two stivers per can; and French wines half that amount; equal to one hundred and thirty-three cents per anker on the former, and sixty-three and a half cents on the latter liquors. From these duties were exempted such wines and spirits as were purchased for domestic consumption, previous to buying which, however, a permit was to be obtained on paying one shilling, of twelve and a half cents, per anker on French wines, and double that sum on all other liquors. The export duties on furs were next revised, and it was ordered, that every merchantable beaver, otter, or elk hide should each pay thirty cents, other furs of less value in proportion. An attempt was made, at this time, also, to improve the Treasury by the collection of the outstanding tenths. But this utterly failed. The war had ruined the farmers, who were consequently unable to meet any such demand. A year's grace was, therefore, accorded them. As the war with Spain still continued, two of the Company's yachts, the *Cat* and the *Love*, were dispatched on a cruise to the West Indies, in the hope of falling in with, and capturing some of the enemy's richly laden galleons.

Municipal regulations next occupied the Director-general's attention. At the period of which we write, the

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BOOK IV. appearance of New Amsterdam was by no means pre-
 1647. possessing. Most of the lots already granted remained
 unimproved, and the greatest irregularity obtained among
 those occupied by buildings. Hog pens and "little houses"
 encroached on the public ways and streets, emitting odors
 neither savory nor sweet. To abate the nuisance, fence

July 25. viewers were appointed, whose approbation was necessary
 previous to the erection of new buildings; and all those to
 whom lots had already been conceded, were ordered to
 improve the same within nine months, on pain of forfeiting
 the property. The Court of Justice was, finally, re-or-
 ganized. The Honorable Van Dinchlage was appointed
 President thereof, and to him were occasionally adjoined
 some of the Company's servants as associate judges. Power
 was given to this tribunal to decide in all cases whatsoever,
 subject, nevertheless, to the obligation of asking, in all mo-
 mentous matters, the opinion of the Director-general, who
 reserved to himself the right to preside in the Court when-
 ever it was his pleasure.¹

In this wise did Director Stuyvesant occupy himself,
 with all the energy of a neophyte, in correcting public
 irregularities, so that he soon gained for himself the char-
 acter of a thorough-going Reformer.² Happy had it been
 for him and the colonists, had he confined his energies to
 the future, and not permitted himself to be embroiled in
 the squabbles and quarrels of the past.

Joachim Pietersen Kuyter, and Cornelis Melyn, mem-
 bers of the College of the EIGHT MEN during Kieft's adminis-
 tration, and two of the most active of the popular party,
 deeming that the time had now come to investigate the
 conduct of the ex-Director, and to put that in a fair light,
 as well for the judgment as for the information of the Com-
 pany in Holland, petitioned Stuyvesant, shortly after his
 arrival, to examine Hendrick Van Dyck, Cornelis Van der
 Huyghens, Johannes La Montagne, Cornelis Van Tien-
 hoven, the Rev. Mr. Bogardus, and Jan Claessen Dam,

¹ Alb. Rec. vii, 3-6, 18, 20, 25, 26, 29, 30, 34, 35, 60, 61, 290, 294-297.

² Arendt Van Curler, writing July, 1647, from the Manhattans, says: "D'heer Stuyvesant voert hier in een geheele reformatie."

all members of the late Council, on certain interrogatories which they, the petitioners, appended to their request. These interrogatories opened anew Kieft's entire policy towards the Indians, from the time he had imposed tribute on them in 1639, to the close of his administration. They entered, searchingly and thoroughly, into all his acts, as well as into the part taken by his advisers in the management of the public affairs during that period, and were manifestly directed to elicit such a train of evidence as would gravely inculpate Kieft and certain members of his Council in the eyes of their superiors in Europe. A commission was immediately issued, appointing the Director-general, the Honorables Van Dinclage, La Montagne, Attorney-general Van Dyck, Captains Newton, Thomas, Van der Grist, Commander Loper, and Capt. Claesz. Bol of the Princess, to report on the propriety of granting the prayer of this petition.

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Stuyvesant was a soldier, and a strong stickler, withal, for the prerogative. He considered himself as able at the pen, as at the sword; but he lacked the knowledge of that valuable secret, that it is much safer not to act at all than to become a party to other men's quarrels. Without waiting for the opinion of the other members of the commission, he at once pronounced such an enquiry improper. "Was it ever seen or heard, in a republic," he asked, "that vassals and subjects conceived, modelled, and delivered to magistrates, articles which they had broached and obtruded, to be examined by their superiors, unless such an act had been previously authorized by their sovereign? Must it not be an affair of the most dangerous consequences; and must it not open the road to others more fatal, if two malignant subjects dare to propose to the Director and Council, without having been either authorized by the Executive, or solicited by the citizens at large, to examine the late Director and his Council, by whom they were considered and proved to be perturbators of the public peace and tranquillity, and declared undeserving of any confidence, and unfit to be associated to any office of honor or trust? If this point be conceded, will not these cunning

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1647. fellows, in order to usurp over us a more unlimited power, claim and assume, in consequence, even greater authority against ourselves and our commission, should it happen that our administration do not quadrate, in every respect, with their whims? Even if the Honorable Directors did send some secret orders to the Director-general and Council, regarding some matters relating to the Indians, is it feasible, without causing disturbance, that their Secretary, in whose bosom these secrets have been confided, should be compelled, by two private individuals, to betray his trust? In case he refuse, have they the power to oblige him to submit?"

Having charged the board thus strongly against the petitioners, and concluded by deciding against granting their request, it was easy to foresee what answers the Director-general would obtain in return. The several members agreed with him in opinion, and answered accordingly. This point having been gained, the tables were now turned on those who had "dared" to make the above proposition. It was ordered that they should be examined on interrogatories, instead of the ex-Director and Council, as to the causes of the late war; that they name those who were its first authors, and state if they were authorized to demand information concerning that war, either by the Director-general, the legitimate sovereign, or the community at large. In case they were, then communication might be given them of the dispatches and orders which the Director-general had received. But if, on the other hand, they could not produce those authorities, then they should be obliged to return to Fatherland, with the functionary whom they accused, to establish their charges and complaints before their High and Mighty Sovereign Lords; "as we," concludes the report, "have not been ordered to make such an enquiry, much less authorized to pronounce judgment on the late Director and Council, or any individual."¹

Kieft having now obtained judgment thus far in his favor, and estopped all investigation as to the past, at least

¹ Alb. Rec. vii., 9-16.

in New Netherland, lost no time in seeking revenge on those from whom he had experienced so much opposition, and against whom he had succeeded in prepossessing the mind of his successor. The authorities at Amsterdam had, with a view to acquaint him of the accusations against him, and to afford him an opportunity of defending himself, communicated to Kieft the letter which the Eight Men had addressed to the Assembly of XIX., in October, 1644. They had no expectation, however, that the writers of that communication should be molested for having written it.¹ But Kieft, now enraged at finding his character and future prospects exposed to ruin, if these representations were allowed to pass uncontradicted, addressed a June 18. letter to the Director-general, in which he accused Kuyter and Melyn of having been the authors of the communication of 1644, the contents of which, he declared, were calumnies and lies. That letter, he maintained, had been surreptitiously concocted, and secretly sent off. The people whose names were appended to it, were unacquainted with its contents. They were, on the contrary, the victims of the grossest deception, resorted to in order to persuade them to calumniate their magistrates, to impose on their patroons, and to bring the former into contempt. Therefore he demanded that justice be done in the premises, so that his innocence may be made apparent, as well here as in Holland; that the authors be prosecuted and banished as pestilent and seditious persons; and that, in the mean time, they be obliged to produce copies of the letters they had sent to the Directors of the West India Company. In accordance with this request, the parties complained of were called upon to answer within twice twenty-four hours, and to produce the letter referred to; failing compliance, the Attorney-general was ordered to prosecute them for slander.²

¹ Den brieff is met een goede intentie van Bewinthebberen aen den Directeur gesonden, ten eynde hy syne beschuldiging soude sien, ende hem purgeeren, sonder bevel dat de ondergeschryvers van den brieff daerover souden gemolesteert worden. Hol. Doc. v., 31.

² Hol. Doc. iii., 184, 203; Alb. Rec. vii., 17.

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June 22.

The accused replied, without loss of time, and substantiated, with every appearance of truth, the allegations contained in the letter of 1644, by documentary evidence as well official as private, and by the affidavits of sundry individuals conversant with the facts. They did not deny having complained to the authorities in Holland. "In the heat of the war we did complain, as we still complain, to our Lords Patroons—to the noble Lords Majors—but not to strangers, nor to the enemies of the United Provinces." They called on the Council to institute a thorough and searching scrutiny as to the number of bouweries and plantations burnt, and the amount of cattle destroyed, during that war. They estimated the former at between forty and fifty. They denied absolutely having used any deception to the Eight Men or any of the commonalty, and repudiated, with a good deal of warmth, all feelings of ill will towards the late Director personally. "We wish from our hearts," said they, "that he may establish, to the satisfaction of their High Mightinesses, his innocence as regards the war against those Americans, and are willing to be brought before those to whom he denounced us, as we shall meet them with an honest face. . . . As it is not true that we have wronged the Honorable Kieft either generally or in particular, so his Honor ought not to reprimand us so bitterly nor so sharply; for the ancient sage was of opinion, that a person of high rank could not commit a graver error than to insult those whom he durst not answer. More laudable would it have been for him to carry this matter before those who could come to a decision thereupon, for it remains yet for him to demonstrate that he legally, and through necessity, declared war against the inhabitants of this country. If he acted legally, then will his Honor rejoice, whilst we, on the contrary, shall be disgraced. If otherwise; if he acted solely from his own impulse, then let us see what law of nations justified him." They proceeded next to examine the abstruse and knotty question, what should justify a declaration of war? Kieft alleged that he had recourse to that step to punish the Indians for the murders they had committed.

But when about to inflict that punishment, he ought, it was now insisted, first have been certain that he was more powerful than the opposite party; for not only prudence, and the love of one's kind, demand that men abstain from a doubtful war; the rules of justice, like those arising from the nature of government, moreover, bind magistrates to be careful of their subjects no less than subjects to be obedient to their rulers; so that a king, who, for a trifling cause, undertakes a dubious war, is bound to indemnify his subjects for all damages arising therefrom, as he thereby inflicted wrong, and, on insufficient grounds, brought them into great difficulties. In support of these propositions they quoted the opinion of various authorities, ancient and modern, sacred and profane, from all which it will be perceived "how cautiously men should go to war, and how dangerous it is to undertake it, especially against such rude and barbarous people as these Indians." As for the threat to transport them to Holland "as pestilent and seditious persons," they hesitated not to meet it with an expression of willingness on their side to proceed thither, not as dangerous and seditious subjects, however, but as good patriots and proprietors in New Netherland who expended in the country all they possessed, and lost that by the war. They insisted that the four survivors of the Eight Men should accompany them, in order that they substantiate their signatures before the States General, and that all the freemen and Company's servants, who remained in the country since the war, be called on to declare if the Dutch had not lived in peace with the surrounding Indians before the attack of the 24th February, 1643; and if all the colonists did not, up to that date, pursue their out-door labor unmolested, and live with their wives and children in safety in their houses, without fear of the savages. The copy of the letter which they transmitted to the XIX., they were unable to furnish, not having retained the original; but Andries Hudde, who drafted the letter, might, they said, have retained a transcript of the paper.

Far from satisfying the Executive, this letter aggravated in its estimation, the offence of the accused. The Attorney- July 4.

BOOK IV. general was ordered to proceed with his prosecution, and the parties, in the mean time, were placed under arrest.¹
 1647. Fiscaal Van Dyck prepared a bill of indictment accordingly, but so imperfectly and so loosely, "either from malicious disobedience, or ignorance, or incompetency," that Director Stuyvesant and his Council took the affair into their own hands, and prepared, for themselves, the indictment on which they were desirous to try "the delinquents." It is true that they were to act, at the same time, as judges, between the accused and their accuser: it would, therefore, be only reasonable that they should carefully avoid any act which might create suspicion or reproach. But these little niceties were not of much moment in those days, and Cornelis Melyn and Joachim Pietersen Kuyter were, therefore, arraigned. The former was charged, individually, with having, in the course of conversation with the late Attorney-general, threatened Willem Kieft, his lawful Governor, with the gallows and the wheel; with having resisted his authority, and denied being subject thereto, (though he was, at the time, actually an inhabitant and citizen of Manhattans,) saying, "What have we to do with the head of the devil? Let him rule over the Company's servants; I have nothing to do with justice; here is no justice for me;" with other mutinous and disorderly words. It was further charged against him, that he had endeavored to seduce the Company's servants from their employ, as they could not get their pay; and that his own men had, by his orders, robbed the Indians, long before the war, of a portion of their hunting ground.

Kuyter was accused of having compared Kieft to Saul, whose passions were soothed by music; of having proposed throwing the Indian sachem into the cellar, and shooting the other savages, whilst negotiating a treaty of peace; and threatening, moreover, to pinch them with red-hot tongs. He had, it was finally averred, menaced the Director-general, in the College of the Eight Men, with strange things, whenever he should doff his robes of state;

¹ Hol. Doc. iii., 186-205; Alb. Rec. vii., 34.

and endeavored to induce Kieft to mortgage and surrender the Manhattans to the English.

Conjointly, they were put on trial for having written the "calumnious and scandalous" letter of the 28th Oct., already so often alluded to, out of which a charge of forgery was also made to arise; for this letter, purporting to have been written and signed by the Eight Men, it was now alleged, had never been communicated to, nor authorized by them. If it was signed by those whose names were appended to it, it was "in a precarious way:" it was not read to them in College, or it was altered after it was read; or those whose signatures were affixed to it, "plain, illiterate men," some of whom could not sign their names, were illuded and grossly deceived. The commonalty, for whom the accused professed to act, gave them no power to write such a letter.

It was finally charged against both the accused, that they had treated the new Council with contempt, by refusing to furnish documents which their Honors required, and had introduced a threat into their petition, wherein it was stated that they had further proofs, but should reserve them for the High and Mighty Lords, the States General.

Having replied, in their letter of the 22d June, to most of these accusations, Melyn and his associate considered it unnecessary now to notice any but those brought against each in his individual capacity. The former denied in toto, or explained away, most of the charges against him; the latter disclaimed having compared the ex-Director to the King of Israel, but admitted that when the Eight Men were deliberating on the imposition of the duties, they were unexpectedly interrupted by Kieft, who cried out: "Yes, there be many among you who say, that I have more ready cash in mine houses than four horses can draw at once;" whereupon he (Kuyter) became excited, and exclaimed: "What signifieth all this, sir? We are convened here to deliberate on the interests of our country, and not on the private affairs of individuals. There will be no end to this matter if every altercation be mentioned. This might more properly be done, if you would take off

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I.
1647.

BOOK IV.
 1647. the coat with which you have been decorated by the Lords your masters." The Director becoming enraged at this reply, flung himself out of the room in a passion, saying, "Thou art an ungrateful fellow!" The charge of recommending the mortgaging of the Island to the English he did not deny, but explained that he gave the advice in good faith, as member of the Board.

The evidence, documentary and parole, for the prosecution and defence, having been gone through, the members of the Council delivered their respective opinions. The July 18. Attorney-general had demanded, at first, that both the prisoners should suffer death, but afterwards modified his motion and asked, that they be banished, and fined one thousand guilders (\$400) each. Van Dinclage considered the accused guilty of having attempted to sow sedition, and stir up rebellion against their Chief Magistrate, and advised that, "agreeably to written and customary law," Melyn be condemned to perpetual, and Kuyter to temporary banishment. The other members concurred in this advice, though they were of opinion that a pecuniary fine ought to be exacted from the prisoners.

Stuyvesant was the last to deliver his views. He strongly censured the mode of procedure adopted by the Schout-fiscaal. His conclusions he declared to be dubious; he had not produced one legal authority to prove that the defendants subjected themselves to death, banishment or fine. It would not do, he added, to demand that any person should be so punished; it must be proved that such a conclusion was justified by law. He then proceeded to recapitulate the several heads of accusation against Melyn, and dwelt particularly on the charges of mutiny and rebellion, which, however, do not seem to have been well proved according to the modern rules of criminal jurisprudence. "Ye shall not curse your judges; neither shall ye calumniate the chiefs of the nation." *Exod. xx. 2.* "Do not curse the king, not even in your hearts." *Eccles. x. 20.* "Be ye subject to the higher powers." On these texts he read a long lecture. "To speak evil of magistrates," says Bernardinus de Muscatellus, (in *pract. crimin.*)

“is the highest degree of slander that can be committed;” who slanders the chief magistrate ought not to go unpunished, inasmuch as he is guilty of *crimen lesæ majestatis*, says Ludovicus in *Tract. de Jurisdic. Criminal.* Injuries done in writing to officers, whether they belong to the Courts or the Supreme Council, are of a more heinous nature, and ought to be brought by every one acquainted with them to the knowledge of the court, as such is a capital offence, and capital punishment ought to follow, (*Damhouder in criminalibus.*) Words having a tendency to raise a mutiny, or rebellion, must be capitally punished; agreeably to the military ordinance of calumny, defamation and injury, whoso writes against his lawful sovereign is guilty, and thereby equally subject to legal punishment. It was therefore his opinion, that Melyn ought to be punished by DEATH, and confiscation of his property.

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I.
1647.

In the case of Kuyter there were some mitigating points, but these in his estimation were few. He was guilty of having threatened his Director-general “with his finger.” This was a crime of pernicious tendency; an offence against his person and dignity, punishable by military law with deprivation of life or limb. “He who slanders God, the magistrate, or his parents,” says Bern. de Muscatel, “must be stoned to death.” It is true, that the Emperor Augustus suffered more abuse than he ever returned. Yet Damhouder lays down the principle, that he does an injury who threatens another by look, as in the present in-

¹ JOSSE DE DAMHOUDER, or Damhauder, was a Flemish jurisconsult, born at Bruges, 1507, very conversant with the practice of the civil and criminal law. Charles V. and Philip II. appreciated his merit, and elevated him to the first judicial offices in the Low Countries. He died at Amiens, 22d January, 1581, leaving behind him the following works: 1st. *Praxis Rerum Civilium*, 4to. (Antwerp, 1596.) 2d. *Enchiridion Rerum Criminalium*, (Antwerp, 1562, 1601, 1616, in 4to. with plates.) This work has been translated into German and Dutch; but it was placed on the Index at Rome, until the author had corrected some objectionable passages in it. Both of the above were subsequently reprinted together at Antwerp, in 1616 and 1646, with notes to the first, by Nicholas Tulent. 3d. *Patrocinium Pupillorum, Minorum, et Prodigorum*. (Bruges, 1544; Antwerp in 1546 in fol.) Damhouder turned his work on Criminal Practice into French. It was published at Brussels in 1571, in fol. with plates. Besides the above work by Damhouder, which was the principal authority on criminal law in New Netherland, there was another author, Barent Van Zutphen, whose writings were much esteemed.

BOOK IV.
 1647. stance by finger; which misdeed becomes aggravated in a greater degree, when committed against a councillor, an officer, or clergyman, or in a public place, as in the College of the Eight Men. Taking all the bearings, then, of this case into consideration, Director Stuyvesant concluded that the prisoner deserved an arbitrary correction, and to be fined three hundred guilders. He should be obliged, moreover, to repair the injury he had committed, by acknowledging before God and the Council that he had done wrong.

The majority of the Board were, however, averse to such harsh sentences. Melyn was finally condemned to seven years' banishment, and to pay a fine of three hundred guilders, (\$150,) one-third of which was to be given to the poor, one-third to the Church, and the remainder to the Attorney-general. Kuyter was sentenced to be banished for three years, and to pay a fine of one hundred and fifty guilders, which sum was ordered to be distributed in the same manner as the other fine.¹

Having thus triumphed, and achieved what he considered ample vengeance over his enemies, Kieft prepared to depart for Fatherland. The Rev. Everardus Bogardus had already resigned his office as pastor of New Amsterdam, and had obtained permission to return home, and Fiscaal Van der Huyghens was about to accompany his late chief. They embarked in the Princess, Kieft taking with him specimens of his tested minerals, and a cargo estimated at twenty thousand pounds. On the passage home, the mariners mistook the channel, entered the Severn, and were cast away on the coast of Wales, near Swansea. Eighty-one souls, men, women and children, perished in that unfortunate vessel, and of the cargo nothing was saved but a few furs. "I told Willem Kieft," said De Vries, in 1643, "that I doubted not that vengeance for the innocent blood which he had shed in his murderings, would, sooner or later, come on his head." This prophecy was fulfilled with awful precision, overwhelming alike friend and foe, the innocent and the guilty. Kieft, Van der Huyghens,

¹ Alb. Rec. vii., 36-53, 56-67.

and Bogardus, perished in this dreadful shipwreck; the last mentioned leaving a widow and a large family to lament his loss.¹

CHAP.
I.
1647.

A misfortune so terrible, might be expected to have excited sympathy and sorrow in all hearts. But strange as it may seem, all looked upon Kieft's death as an act of retributive justice. In New England, it was considered "that the solemn providence of God had appeared therein, to bear witness against those who had so many years injured his own people in those parts, which some could not pass by without due acknowledgment and observation." He sunk into his watery grave, unlamented even by those in whose service he had passed ten years, who now

¹ ANNETJE JANS, widow of Dominie Bogardus, survived her husband nearly sixteen years. She died in Beverwyck, in 1663. She had, by her first marriage, Sarah Roeloffsen, (who married Surgeon Hans Kierstede;) Catrina Roeloffsen, (who married Johannes Van Brugh;) Fytje Roeloffsen, (who married Pieter Hartgers;) and one son, Jan, unmarried at his mother's death. By her second husband, she had Willem, Cornelis, Jonas, and Pieter Bogardus. All her property, both real and personal, was by will, (dated 29th January, 1663, and of record in the original Dutch in Albany,) divided equally among her children, on condition that the four first named should receive 1000 gl. from the proceeds of the farm which she owned on the North River, Manhattan Island. This farm, called "the Dominie's Bowery," contained 62 acres, and was granted originally to Roeloff Jansen, in 1636, confirmed to his widow and heirs in 1654, and again to the latter, in 1667. On the 9th March, 1671, Willem Bogardus, for himself and brothers, Jan and Jonas, and two of Annetje Jans' sons-in-law, (acting in right of their wives, and by assignment of Peter Bogardus,) conveyed this Bowery to Col. Francis Lovelace, then Governor of New York, from whom, it is inferred, the title passed to the Duke of York and the Crown, after which, it formed part of what was, successively, called "the Duke's Farm," "the King's farm," and "the Queen's farm." In the year 1705, this farm was conveyed by Letters Patent, under the great seal of the province, to the Corporation of Trinity Church, New York, in whose possession it has since, for the most part, been. The Bogardus farm, or the Dominie's Bowery, extended from a line a little south of the present Warren st., northwestwardly about a mile and a half, to what is now Christopher st., forming an irregular triangle, having its base on the River, running, however, along Broadway, only from Warren to Duane. Cornelis Bogardus, third son of Annetje Jans, not having been a party to the conveyance to Governor Lovelace, his heirs claim a share of this extensive property; the prosecution of which has formed the subject of various, though unsuccessful suits in Chancery against the Church. [Paige's Chan. Reports, iv. 178; Opinion of the Hon. Vice Chan. Sanford in re Bogardus et al. vs. Trinity Church; New York, 1847, 8vo. pp. 40.] The Rev. Dominie Bogardus held a tract of land also on the north side of Mespath's Kill, L. I., which went by the name of "Dominie's Hook." The heirs sold this farm in 1668, to one John Sharp, for 7,950 gl.

BOOK IV. were of opinion, that it had been better had he been obliged, by himself or his friends, to justify his conduct.

1647. The vacancy created in the ministry, by the retirement of Dominie Bogardus, was filled by the appointment of the Rev. Johannes Backerus, formerly Pastor at Curaçoa. The salary of this clergyman was one hundred guilders per month, and two hundred guilders per annum for board, a stipend equal to \$560. With all this he was still unwilling to remain. He had, therefore, the promise that another minister should be appointed in his place, if his indisposition to remain in the country continued. But if the Director should not deem his removal advisable, then his allowance for board was to be increased.¹

There was manifest unwillingness all this time, on the part of the commonalty, to furnish that aid which, in obedience to his instructions, Director Stuyvesant demanded for the repairs of the fort. The Indians, too, were becoming discontented. The presents promised them, at the conclusion of the last peace, remained still unpaid. The Raritans and the Matineconks were loud in their threats, and trouble impended in consequence. Without means, the Director-general felt all the difficulty of his position; he was "actually unprovided with money or goods." On the one hand was the dissatisfied Red man; on the other, "the wavering multitude, ready to censure him should war break out." In the midst of these difficulties he called the Council together, and communicated to them the commands of the Company, as well as the urgencies of the Indians.

Aug. 26.

The Council saw the necessity of action, but considering the importance of the question to the citizens generally, recommended that the commonalty be allowed some REPRESENTATIVES to express their wishes and make known their wants. In accordance with this suggestion, an order was issued to the people to choose eighteen of the most expert and reasonable persons, from whom the Director and Council would select NINE MEN, "as is customary in

¹ Alb. Rec. iv., 1, 4, 11; vii., 55; Van der Donck's Beschryv. van N. N.; Winthrop's N. Eng. ii., 316; Hubbard, 444; Ogilby's Col. America. 172.

Fatherland," to give their advice when called on, and to ^{CHAP. I.} assist in promoting the welfare of the country. This elec-
 tion having been held, the following popular charter was 1647.
 shortly afterwards proclaimed :

" WHEREAS, We desire nothing more than that the gov- ^{Sep. 22.}
 ernment of New Netherland, entrusted to our care, and
 principally New Amsterdam, our capital and residence,
 might continue and increase in good order, justice, police,
 population, prosperity and mutual harmony, and be pro-
 vided with strong fortifications, a church, a school, trading
 place, harbor and similar highly necessary public edifices
 and improvements, for which end We are desirous of
 obtaining the assistance of our whole commonalty, as
 nothing is better adapted to promote their own welfare
 and comfort, and as such is required in every well regu-
 lated government. Being unwilling, however, to vex and
 harass our dear vassals and subjects in any way by exactions,
 impositions and insufferable burdens, but rather in a more de-
 sirable manner to induce and solicit them to assist voluntarily
 in such honest and highly necessary works:—And where-
 as it is difficult to cover so many heads with a single cap,
 or to reduce so many different opinions to one, so did
 We, heretofore, with the advice of our Council, propose to
 the commonalty that the inhabitants should, without passion
 or envy, nominate a double number of persons from the
 most notable, reasonable, honest and respectable of our
 subjects, from whom we might select a single number of
NINE MEN to them best known, to confer with us and our
 Council, as their Tribunes, on all means to promote the
 welfare of the commonalty, as well as that of the country ;
 Wherefore, a double number of our good and loyal sub-
 jects having been, consequently, proposed, We, with our
 Council, select from said nomination, Nine Men, to wit :—
 From the merchants, Augustine Heermans, Arnoldus Van
 Hardenburg, Govert Loockermans ;¹ from the citizens, Jan

¹ Augustine Heermans was originally from Bohemia. After filling various offices of respectability in New Netherland, he finally moved to Maryland. Go-

- BOOK
IV
1647. Jansen Dam, Jacob Wolfertsen, (Van Couwenhoven,) Hendrick Kip; from the farmers, Michel Jansen, Jan Evertsen Bout, Thomas Hall, as Interlocutors in behalf of the commonalty, who having sworn before Us and Our Council, to conduct themselves reasonably, and be faithful to their instructions, have been confirmed in their office on the following conditions:

“I. As good and faithful Interlocutors and Trustees of the Commonalty, they shall endeavor to exert themselves to promote the honor of God, and the welfare of Our dear Fatherland, to the best advantage of the Company, and the prosperity of Our good citizens; to the preservation of the pure Reformed Religion as it here, and in the Churches of the Netherlands, is inculcated.

“II. They shall not assist at any private conventicles or meetings, much less patronize such like deliberations and resolves, except with the special knowledge and advice of the Honorable Director-general and his Council, and his special order, unless only when they are convened in a legitimate manner, and have received the proposals of the Director-general and Council, then they have liberty to delay so that they may consult together upon such proposals, and then bring forward their advice; provided that it remains always in the power of the Director-general either to assist at such meeting in person, or to appoint one of the Council to act as President of such meeting, to second and support such proposals, collect the votes, and make a report of the result to the Council.

“III. Whereas, by increased population, the number of

vert Loockermans came out with Van Twiller, in 1633. He was brother-in-law to Oloff Stevensen Van Cortlandt, and Jacob Van Couwenhoven, and married Maria Jansen, by whom he had Elsje, Cornelis, Jacob, Johanna, and Marritje. Elsje married, 1st, Cornelis P. Van der Veen, by whom she had Cornelis, Timothy, and Margaret. She next married Jacob Leysler, who subsequently acted so prominent a part in the early colonial history of New York. Marritje Loockermans married Balthazar Bayard, step-son to Governor Stuyvesant, and a respectable brewer in New York. Joanna, or Jannitje Loockermans, was the second wife of Surgeon Hans Kierstede, and her children were Areantje, Cornelis, Jacobus, and Maria. Govert Loockermans, after filling some of the highest offices in the Colony, died, worth 520,000 gl. or \$208,000; an immense sum, when the period in which he lived is considered. His widow was buried 20th November, 1677.

lawsuits and altercations unavoidably are multiplied, and many trifling questions may be terminated by arbitrators; otherwise, important affairs must be postponed to the great prejudice of this city and its inhabitants, and at the price of enormous expenses, loss of time and vexation of the contending parties; therefore, three out of the number now chosen shall once in each week, namely, on every THURSDAY, on the usual court day, be admitted to Our council, as long as civil cases are before the Court, to become acquainted with cases where parties might be referred to them as arbitrators; to wit: one from the merchants; one from the citizens; and one from the farmers. This shall circulate in rotation among them every month, and in case any one cannot attend Court, by reason of sickness or otherwise, another member of the same class shall then take his place, when parties shall be referred by the Director to them as arbitrators, to whose decision parties shall be obliged to submit, or by unwillingness pay for the first time one pound Flemish, before the plaintiff can appeal or be admitted to Our council.

“IV. The number of Nine chosen Men shall continue until lawfully repealed, provided that annually six leave their seats, and from the most notable citizens, again twelve be nominated, who, with the Nine assembled, shall be communicated to Us, without Our being required to call in future the whole commonalty together. This meeting shall take place, after next New Year's day, on the last of December annually.

“Done in Council this 25th day of September, 1647.

(Signed,)

P. STUYVESANT,	BRIAN NUTON,
L. VAN DINCLAGE,	A. KEYSER,
LA MONTAGNE,	P. LEENDERTS. VAN DER GRIST.” ¹

This Charter, meagre though it be in privileges and concessions, deserves notice as marking the glimmering of popular freedom at this remote day. Previous to the war,

¹ Alb. Rec. vii., 72, 73, 74, 81, 82, 83, 84.

BOOK the citizens were allowed to elect a Board or College, first
 IV. of Twelve, and afterwards of Eight Men. The influence
 1647. of these, however, was null. We have seen the former summarily extinguished the moment they presumed to demand for their constituents an extension of political power; whilst the latter were so little esteemed by the Director-general, that he planned and executed his expeditions against the Indians without their knowledge, and against their well-known opinions. Now they have a little more authority; they are to be consulted on all matters of importance; are to perform some part in the settlement of disputes between their fellow colonists, and become thus invested with limited judiciary powers; and all those subjected themselves to fine who contemned or appealed from the decisions of the NINE MEN.

The introduction of this description of tribunal in the infancy of this country, is interesting also in another point of view. It forms an additional proof that Holland was the source from which New Netherland derived its municipal institutions, and marks how strongly its first settlers were attached to those freedoms with which they were so familiar in their Fatherland.

The "Tribunal of Well-born Men," or of "Men's Men" as it was sometimes called, was one of a very ancient date, having been first instituted in the Low Countries, it is supposed, in the year 1295. It originally had separate criminal and civil jurisdiction, the first exercised by thirteen, and the second by seven men. These courts were united, shortly before the Revolution, the bailiff of each district having been then allowed to administer justice, in both civil and criminal cases, with "Thirteen elected good Men." This system, so like the modern jury, continued until the spring of 1614, when the number was altered to "Nine well-born Men," who were authorized to administer justice together.¹

The tribunal now established by Stuyvesant was a modification of that already in existence between three and four centuries in Holland, restricted, however, in jurisdiction as a

¹ Van Leeuwen's Com. 15.

court of law, yet clothed with the privilege of being consulted at the pleasure of the supreme power, in questions appertaining to the public welfare, or the interests of their constituents. But with the election of the first "Nine Men," all popular privileges were to cease in New Amsterdam. The sitting board, and not the citizens, were to select their successors, and thus this court became from the outset irresponsible to, and uncontrolled by the people; so jealous was authority in those days, as it has ever been under a colonial system, of the intervention of the masses in the selection of their magistrates, and of their interference in public affairs.

Having thus organized this popular body, with a view to exercise a more powerful influence over the inhabitants, whose co-operation he required in carrying out the orders of his superiors, Director Stuyvesant lost no time in calling their special attention to the condition of the fort and of the church, to the state of public education in New Amsterdam, as well as to the mean appearance of the city itself. The greater part of the houses were built of wood and covered with straw; many of the chimnies were also of wood, all of which circumstances contributed greatly to endanger the public safety. The education of the children had of late been neglected altogether, and owing to the want of proper accommodations, no school had been kept for three months.

The "Nine Men," representing Manhattans, Breukelen, Amersfoort, and Pavonia, were therefore summoned to deliberate with the Director-general, on these various and important questions. But on the day appointed, sickness prevented his attendance. A species of influenza passed over the whole continent, attacking Indians, English, French, and Dutch, indiscriminately, and Stuyvesant was now only slowly recovering from the distemper.¹ He, therefore, communicated from his bed-chamber, his sentiments by

¹ It began with a cold, and in many, was accompanied with a light fever. Such as bled, or used cooling drinks, generally died; such as made use of cordials, and more strengthening comfortable things, for the most part, recovered. Winthrop, New England, ii., 310; Hubbard, 531.

BOOK written message. He urged again on them the necessity
IV. of finding means to repair the fortifications, in order to se-
1647. cure, in case of invasion, safe retreat "for our beloved sub-
jects, both in person and property." He communicated, at
the same time, his consent to defray, on behalf of the Com-
pany, a portion of the expenses, necessary for the encour-
agement of education, and to continue such assistance in
future, "to promote the glorious work." Meanwhile, he
informed them, that a convenient place for a school-house
and dwelling for the school-master, would be provided
for the winter, either in one of the out-houses belonging
to the Fiscaal's department, which the Director-general
would prefer, or any other suitable place that the deacons
of the church might approve. He recommended them to
make proper regulations for the prevention of fires, and
reverted particularly to the necessity of completing the
church, which Kieft had commenced five years before, and
which remained still unfinished.

The arrangements for public education and for complet-
ing the church met with no objection, but the plan for re-
pairing the fortifications was absolutely condemned. By
the Charter of 1629, the Company was bound to defend its
subjects from all hostile attacks. The commonalty was,
moreover, obliged to pay the duties on imports and ex-
ports, the excise and the toll at the Company's mill. It
was, therefore, decided that the expense of the public
works ought be defrayed from these funds.¹

¹ Alb. Rec. vii., 106-108, 110, 116.

CHAPTER II.

Correspondence with the New England Colonies—Stuyvesant to Governor Winthrop—His letter laid before the United Colonies—Their resolution thereupon—Governors of Rhode Island, &c., complain of the Dutch tariff—The Indians assume a threatening appearance—Messengers sent to allay their discontents—A Dutch vessel discovered at New Haven—Obtains a permit to trade at the Mannhattans on certain conditions—The Dowager Lady Stirling claims Long Island—Her agent visits New Amsterdam—Interview between him and Stuyvesant—Is arrested and shipped to Holland—Escapes to England—The owner of the Dutch vessel fails to comply with the conditions on which he was permitted to trade—Stuyvesant determines to seize the ship, which is cut out of the harbor of New Haven—Great excitement in consequence—Governor Eaton's letters to Stuyvesant—The Director-general explains his conduct—Fails in satisfying the New Haven Governor, who threatens retaliation—Stuyvesant rejoins—Correspondence broken off—New Haven harbors fugitives from New Amsterdam—Stuyvesant in return, offers protection to all runaways from New Haven—Comments on such proceeding—Stuyvesant writes to Massachusetts and Virginia—Outwits Governor Eaton—Succeeds in persuading the Dutchmen to return—Recalls his proclamation.

THE state of confusion in which Kieft left the relations CHAP.
II. between the Dutch and those of New England, claimed 1647. at an early date the particular attention of Director Stuyvesant. He was already aware of the encroachments on the Company's territory, of the ill-feeling in consequence, and could not but perceive that sound policy dictated an early settlement of the many differences which had so long existed. With a view, therefore, to pave the way for a favorable arrangement at some future period, should propitious circumstances offer, he addressed letters, couched in courteous terms, to the several governors of the adjoining colonies, expressive of his desire to live in peace and good fellowship with them; and to promote, by mutual acts of kindness, good government and respect for the laws among the people under their charge. In that to Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts, he reiterated his June 25. willingness to co-operate, at all times, in the friendly composition of all questions between them, saving always "the indubiate right" of the States General or West

BOOK IV.
 1647. India Company, "to all that land betwixt that River called Connecticutt, and that by the English named Delaware." He invited the Governor, with other indifferent persons of his countrymen, to appoint a time and place, where they might consult in a friendly and Christian-like manner on past occurrences, and do their best to reconcile present, and prevent future misunderstandings; and concluded by requesting a continuance of his good offices, to such Dutch traders as may visit his ports, and of that friendly correspondence which had hitherto existed between Stuyvesant's predecessors and him.

Governor Winthrop laid this communication before the Commissioners of the United Colonies, then in session at Boston, with a view to have their opinions as to what answer he should return. Some advised, in consideration of its professions of good will and desire of neighborly correspondence, that it would be well to endeavor to gain on the Director-general by courtesy, and therefore to accept his offer, and tender him a visit at his residence, or a meeting at any of the towns he should select. But the majority of the assembly thought otherwise, and concluded that it would be more advantageous to preserve terms of distance. Governor Winthrop, therefore, confined himself in his reply, to stating that he had laid the letter before the Commissioners, whom its contents properly concerned, who embraced the friendly proposal for a meeting, "in proper time and place." He expressed his willingness to attend such meeting, in the course of the winter, if the state of his health permitted.

Aug. 17.
 O. S.

The Governors of New Haven, Rhode Island, and Plymouth, expressed equally friendly feelings. They, however, took occasion to complain in each of their letters, of the high tariff established by the Dutch at New Amsterdam. So general, indeed, was the dissatisfaction on this head, that the Commissioners of the United Colonies joined in a remonstrance against it, demanding that a system of reciprocity should be observed, and that the English colonists should be permitted the same liberal intercourse among the Dutch, that the latter enjoyed in New Eng-

land, for the high duties imposed at New Amsterdam tended to the serious discouragement of mutual trade. The Commissioners requested to be furnished with a correct table of the customs exacted on exported furs and other merchandise, and the cases in which fines were imposed and seizures made. They took occasion to complain, at the same time, of the practice at Fort Orange, of selling arms and ammunition to the Indians, even in the English plantations, against which they protested in the strongest terms. No answers were returned to the Commissioners' complaints, nor was any information given regarding the customs imposed on English imports, or the cases in which the property of traders became liable to seizure; so that the latter complained that they found it extremely difficult to know on what terms they could do business, or how to escape fines and forfeitures.¹

It was whilst absorbed in the consideration of these and other pressing matters, that the delegates arrived at Fort Amsterdam from Heemstede with intelligence that Mayawetennema, otherwise called Antinootone, Sachem of Necochgawodt, was endeavoring, by offers of wampum, to induce the savages to attack the English and Dutch inhabitants of that settlement, in which attack the Sachem of Catsyagock, it was said, had consented to co-operate, as well as his brethren on the east end of Long Island. Secretary Van Tienhoven and Commissary Van Brugge were immediately dispatched to enquire into the truth of the report, and to allay, by suitable presents, the discontents of the Indians.

Having succeeded in the object of this embassy, these emissaries on their return reported, that they had discovered, trading at the Roodberg, called by the English New Haven, within the limits of New Netherland, a Dutch ship, called the St. Beninio, of North Holland, (belonging to one Benzio, an Italian merchant at Amsterdam,) and that Messrs. William Westerhuyzen and Samuel Goedenhuyzen, the owners of merchandise on board, had applied

¹ MS. letters in Governor Stuyvesant's time in Secretary of State's Office, Albany, I., 1-4; Trumbull's Conn. i., 168-174; Hazard's State Papers, ii., 97.

BOOK IV. to Secretary Van Tienhoven for a permit to trade at New
 1647. Amsterdam, on payment of the legal duties on the cargo.
 Sep. 20. This proposition was taken into consideration by the
 Director and Council, who, finding that it was impossible
 to capture the vessel and bring her to the Mannhattans, as
 she carried ten guns and twenty-seven men, concluded to
 grant, on payment of the usual recognitions, the required
 permit, which was accordingly made out and transmitted
 to New Haven to the owners of the ship.¹

Intelligence of a more startling nature was now brought
 in from Long Island. By the death of the Earl of Stir-
 ling, this island devolved on his widow, the Dowager
 Countess of Stirling, who dispatched an agent to America
 to superintend the settlement of these possessions. Whilst
 engaged in investigating the affair of the St. Beninio,
 Sep. 26. Stuyvesant received information from the sheriff of Vlis-
 singen, that a Scotchman, named Forrester, had arrived
 there with a commission as Governor, not only of Long
 Island, but of all the islands within five miles around,
 which commission he had exhibited to the English settlers
 at Heemstede and Flushing, where he had remained several
 nights. As if to corroborate the sheriff's report, Capt.
 Forrester arrived at New Amsterdam next day, on his
 way to Gravesend and Amersfoort, to exhibit his authority
 to the settlers there also. The Director-general immedi-
 ately called for his commission, and demanded by whose
 order he had dared to come within the Dutch limits. For-
 rester boldly replied that he had come to New Amsterdam
 to examine Stuyvesant's commission, and if that were better
 than his he would retire; but if not, then Stuyvesant must.
 Sep. 28. He was arrested on the following day in the city tavern,
 and brought before the Council and examined on interroga-
 tories in the presence of Carl Van Brugge, Adriaen Van
 der Donck, and Philip Gerardy, all well acquainted with
 the English language. After having stated his name, and
 that he was a native of Dundee in Scotland, he produced
 a large parchment, dated in the eighteenth year of King

¹ Alb. Rec. vii., 70, 76, 77, 79.

James's reign, and written in the usual manner of commissions, from which depended a broken seal, but without any signature, or the name of any place. He also produced a power of attorney, signed Maria Stirling. On being asked why the commission was not signed, he answered that such was not the custom, the seal alone being sufficient; and stated further that it had been reported in Britain, in the lifetime of the late Earl of Stirling, that the Ambassador of their High Mightinesses to the Court of England had renounced, in behalf of his master, that part of New Netherland embraced in his commission.

These explanations and authorities having been deemed insufficient, the Director and Council determined to send "this pretended Governor" to Holland to defend his commission before their High Mightinesses, in company with one Michel Picquet, a native of Rouen in France, who, in the beginning of the summer, used violent language toward Kieft, and threatened to shoot Director Stuyvesant and Fiscaal Van Dyck, for which he was sentenced to perpetual banishment from New Netherland, and eighteen years' confinement in the rasphouse at Amsterdam. But the Falconer, in which these individuals were shipped, put into a British harbor, where both succeeded in taking leave of their keepers.¹

Mr. Goedenhuyzen, one of the owners of the *St. Beninio*, having, by this time, received the permit to trade, arrived now at the *Manhattans*; but neither he nor his partner paid the duties as they had promised, nor produced any manifest or invoice. On the contrary, he informed the authorities that his ship was ready to sail to Virginia. This neglect was construed into a preconcerted determi-

¹ Alb. Rec. iv., 4; vii., 85-88, 95. Van der Donck's *Vertoogh*. In condemning Picquet to the rasphouse, Stuyvesant exceeded his powers. "We do not see, (say the Directors,) if the magistrates could, as you requested, have acquiesced in the judgment of your government, as we are incompetent to decide if the judiciary here would deem themselves justifiable in executing a sentence which originated in your judicature. Wherefore we deem it inexpedient to make any further experiments on the subject, at the peril of lessening the authority of the judicature of your government. We would advise you to punish, after due enquiry, all delinquents in the country in which they are condemned." Alb. Rec. iv., 2, 3.

BOOK IV.
 1647. nation to defraud the Company; and the resolution was, therefore, immediately taken, to seize the suspected craft, which had, from the first, been pronounced a smuggler. To effect this purpose, the following plan was arranged.

The authorities at Fort Amsterdam had sold, on the 21st September, the Company's ship, the *Zwoll*, to Mr. Good-year, Deputy Governor of New Haven, and contracted to deliver the vessel at the latter port. A number of soldiers were put on board with the crew, under pretext of conveying the craft in safety to her new owner. This force was placed under command of Capt. P. Leendertsen Van der Grist, to whom orders were given to cut the *St. Beninio* out of the harbor of New Haven, and bring her, by force of arms, if necessary, to the Mannhattans.

Oct. 11. This feat was adroitly achieved on the Lord's day, by the Dutch captain, who, taking advantage of a fair wind, brought the *St. Beninio*, along with Goedenhuyzen and all the officers and crew, in triumph to New Amsterdam, where, after examination of the parties in due form of law, the vessel and cargo were confiscated, various articles of contraband having been found on board.¹

Oct. 12. This unexpected proceeding was accompanied by a protest from the Director-general, in which he re-asserted the Dutch claim to all the lands and rivers from Cape Henlopen to Cape Cod, and required that all Dutch vessels trading to the port of New Haven should pay him recognitions. Infringing, as this act and those principles did, on their territory and jurisdiction, they created, it may easily be conceived, considerable indignation among the authorities and inhabitants of New Haven. The citizens of that place rose and attempted to stop the ship, but not having timely notice of the attack, they were too late in executing their intended purpose. Governor Eaton wrote immediately to Director-general Stuyvesant, protesting against this illegal conduct of his authorized agents, in the following terms:—

Oct. 18. "SIR:—By your agent, Mr. Govert, I received two

¹ Alb. Rec. iii., 315; vii., 95, 96, 97, 102; Winthrop's New Eng. ii., 314; Hubbard, 436.

pages from you, the one sealed, the other open, but neither of them written either in Latin, as your predecessors used, or in English, as yourself have formerlie done, both to me and to the other Colonys; but in Low Dutch, whereof I understand little; nor would your messenger, though desired, interpret anything in them, so that part, at least, must lie by me till I meet with an interpreter.

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“On the instant time, as formerly, we were sensible of sundry wrongs, and protested against your predecessor, Mouns. Will. Kieft, so I hereby witness against your un-neighbourly and injurious course in several writings which I have seen. Without grounds you pretend to land in these parts, one while from Delaware to Connecticut River, and another while you extend your limits further even to Cape Cod, from whence drawing any line landward, north or west, you wholly take in, or trench far into the limits of all the United English Colonies, which by license and antient patent from King James of famous memory, since confirmed by His Majesty that now is, first came unto these parts, and upon due purchase from the Indians, who were then true proprietors of the land, (for we found it not a vacuum,) have built, planted, and for many years quietly, and without any claime or disturbance from the Dutch or others, possessed the same.

“And now, lately, in a ship belonging to New Haven, as bought by Mr. Goodyear, you have sent armed men, and without license, not so much as first acquainting any of the magistrates of this jurisdiction with the cause or ground thereof, seized a ship within our harbor, and though William Westerhouse, the Dutch merchant, had without our knowledge, before treated with you, and then offered the recognitions, which in a former writing to him you seemed to accept, yet your agent refused it, and protested he would carry away the ship; whereupon I did protest against him; and the General Court, considering how highly they were considered in the premises, though they would not meddle in a controversy which belongs not to them, much less defend any known unrighteousness, and though they desire to keep peace (as far as may be) with

BOOK all men, and particularly with their neighbors of the Dutch
 IV. plantations, yet they found it necessary, and resolved, by
 1647. all just means, to assist and vindicate their right in New
 Haven's lands and harbor, and their jurisdiction of both,
 that themselves and posterity be not, through their neglect,
 enthralled and brought under a foreign government by a
 seizure made in their harbor, upon such an unjust claim;
 the Court conceiving it free for them, according to the
 laws of God and nations, to entertain trade brought unto
 them, whether by land or sea, without enquiring the privi-
 leges of foreign companies, or examining whether recog-
 nitions be due or paid in another country, nor is [it] prob-
 able that yourself, if an English ship, or vessel, bring
 necessaries and provisions to the Manhattans, will be soli-
 citous whether custom be paid in England.

“Wherefore we have protested, and by these presents do protest against you, Peter Stuyvesant, Governor of the Dutch at Manhattans, for disturbing the peace between the English and Dutch in these parts, which hath been so long and so happily maintained betwixt the two nations in Europe, for obstructing and hindering those passages of justice and neighbourlie correspondence which yourself have propounded and desired betwixt the English colonies and Dutch plantations, by making unjust claims to our lands and plantations, to our havens and rivers, and by taking a ship out of our harbor, without our license, by your agents and commission; and we hereby profess that whatever inconveniences may hereafter grow, you are the cause and author of it, as we hope to show and prove before our superiors in Europe.”

To this letter Stuyvesant replied in soothing terms; but other difficulties now caused fresh embarrassments. Some of the Company's servants had absconded from New Amsterdam and fled to New Haven. In virtue of an arrangement entered into in June, the Director-general demanded their surrender, but Governor Eaton was not in
 Oct. 25. very good humor, and therefore replied somewhat sharply. He would willingly give an example of neighborly cor-

respondence and respect by returning the fugitives, but protests and threats were ill arguments to encourage the performance of acts of courtesy. When such acts were received as offices of love, without implication of authority on the one side, or subjection on the other, he would deliver the prisoners to any appointed to receive them.¹ Reverting, next, to the precedents which the Director-general had cited to justify his cutting out the vessel from New Haven, Governor Eaton admitted that "princes and states in amity had sometimes by violence seized ships in each other's harbors." "The English, you say, seized some of the French in your ports, and the Hollanders have probably seized some of the Spaniards in the English harbors, but this reacheth not the question; an injury against the which I did, and still do, protest, that without any just ground you should first pretend title to the lands, streams, rivers, &c., truly belonging to the English colonies, and by them many years quietly and without any question, claim or intimation of title from others, lawfully possessed and planted, and then give commission under that respect and consideration to seize a ship in one of their harbors, without license. This, thus done, would have given offence in any part of Europe, or of the world. Were this justly cleared, I hope all other questions betwixt us might issue to mutual satisfaction."

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II.
1647.

From the ground here taken, it would appear that the cause of discontent at New Haven was, not so much the seizure of this vessel, as the claim to the soil on which that town stood. This view is further corroborated by Mr. Goodyear, who also wrote at the time, objecting to that claim.

¹ Winthrop says, that Director Stuyvesant had directed his letter "to New Haven in New Netherland," and that Governor Eaton, for this reason, refused to deliver the fugitives. This is evidently a mistake, if not a misrepresentation; and entirely at variance with the entries in the New Haven Records, where, (under date Oct. 18, 1647,) it is stated, that the Dutch Governor hath sent also another letter "by the Fiscael, more milde in phraze, but still continewing his title to the place, and sending for the prisoners; but seeing he wrights so that if the sending them away may be interpreted, as done in a way of subordination, it was not thought fitt to send them." New Haven Colony Rec. i., 323.

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IV.

1647.

Nov. 13.

Director Stuyvesant considered it unwise to push the matter any further. He wrote to the Deputy Governor in terms intended to calm any irritation that might exist, and sent another letter to Governor Eaton, representing that the latter had misconceived some passages in his letter; denying all desire to usurp any right, or assume any power over the English, and expressive of his wish to preserve and increase a friendly feeling between the two nations. In further vindication of his conduct, he added:—

Nov. 15.

“For what I have either written or done, that may seem offensive to yourself, or any other impartial wise man, I as yet am ignorant, for I suppose they cannot but know that, as I am deputed by authorities from my sovereign Lords and Masters, the High and Mighty the States General of the United Belgick Provinces, so to them I must give account, and by them be adjudged in whatsoever shall appear amiss, in any action or passage of mine; and should I in the least measure transgress in the observation of their commands, you well know my life, estate and reputation, lie all at stake and must answer; and therefore, for whatsoever I have done concerning my countrymen, in my surprising their ship there, they may have recourse to the justice of their native land, and I shall not only deliver them their commission, but the copy, also, of all our proceedings here against them. For my threatenings of any belonging to your jurisdiction, I suppose you are either misinformed or mistaken. Therefore, I shall entreat your delivery of the fugitives to this bearer, our commissary; your charitable opinion both of my actions and intentions; your compliance and correspondence, neighborly respect from one to the other, a leaving off all altercation on either side, but a joint endeavor of us both for the full effecting of all mutual offices of love, and composing all differences at our joint meeting in the spring with our worthy friends, the Governors of Boston and Plymouth.”

Governor Eaton was not satisfied with these honied words and plausible professions. He fancied he saw insincerity in the Dutch Director, when he compared his pretensions on the one hand with his avowals of friendship

on the other ; his expressions, he said, were "at best dark and required explanation;" for he could not reconcile the "desire not in any way to usurp on the right" of New Haven, with the claim to all the country belonging to the English Colonies. He again invoked the King's Patent to all that part of America, "from 40 to 48 degrees north," by virtue of which they had made their settlement. He had never heard that the Dutch claimed any of that land until Kieft commenced aggressions against them in 1642. From Stuyvesant they had hoped for a different and more neighborly policy ; but he had not only trod in his predecessor's footsteps, but had, in some respects, surpassed him in violence.

"In yours of the 26th June to the Governor of the Massachusetts colony, which you mention, you pretend 'an indubiate right to all the land betwixt Connecticut and Delaware;' in your protest, dated Oct. 12, you grow in your demands, extending your limits from Cape Cod, within Plymouth Colony, to Cape Henlopen towards the south. (a place or name to me yet unknown;) you charge New Haven, in particular, as usurping your grounds, land, rivers, streams, and are offended for their trading first with Simson Johnson, since with William Westerhouse and other Dutchmen ; you seize a ship in our harbor, without license, pretending title to the place, and complain of a purpose and just resolution in us to vindicate our own right, in a lawful way ; you require us to send the Dutch merchants and their goods, with recognitions, &c., to the Mannhattans, and if we attend not to your directions, you threaten hostilities to New Haven, pretending to keep peace with the other colonies ; and in your letter, which came and beareth date with the forementioned protest, you unjustly charge us concerning your fugitives, and in a commanding, threatening style, require them from us ; and at, or about the same time, in a letter to William Westerhouse, as I am informed, you threaten to fetch his goods out of New Haven by force ; you have imposed or taken an excessive high custom, excise, or recognitions for all goods sold within your jurisdiction, with seizures for omis-

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BOOK IV.
 1647. sions or mis-entries; our vessels must anchor under your erected hand, a place very inconvenient, and as if you meant to shut up the passage by the Manhattans, or by insufferable burthens to weary the English out of trade, you begin to take recognitions, &c., upon goods traded elsewhere, and in their return passing only by the Manhattans. I hear, also, you threaten to burn and beat down our trading house, built upon our own purchased land, within our own limits, and far from any trading house of yours, or any part of the Hudson's river; and what is yet worse, it is reported to us, by several persons from several places, that your secretary hath endeavored, by a slanderous report, to incense the Long Island Indians; and yourself at Aurania Fort have attempted to turn the other companies of Indians against the English. If this agree with rules of Christianity or good neighborhood, I doubt not but we may retaliate, and when we see cause, turn the edged point of those weapons upon yourselves. I enquire not after your grounds of sending Captain Forrester to Holland. The English colonies may have occasion to write after the same copy hereafter."

Though the New Haven functionary closed this broadside with assurances of being "a loving friend," and with an acceptance of Stuyvesant's proposition to refer the questions at issue between them to the Governors of Massachusetts and New Plymouth, it put the finishing stroke to the correspondence between the Director-general and Governor Eaton for the remainder of the year. Stuyvesant felt so indignant at his "unjust charges," that he would not reply to his letter. He sent some explanatory observations, however, to Deputy Governor Goodyear. "Claims to pretended rights," he observed, "are no injuries, and, unless legally adjudged, give no lawful property to what is claimed." Governor Eaton ought to know very well "that many protests and passages of this nature are only *pro formâ*." Whatever he (Stuyvesant) had done in this respect was no wrong, "unless he had sought to make good his claim by force of arms, which as yet he had not so much as thought of," though Eaton, on the other hand, had

rendered judgment in his own favor by virtue of His Majesty's grant. With these preliminary remarks, he entered into a vindication of his government and character.

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"For mine own part," he said, "I can no ways interpret his [Eaton's] letter but as an aggravating of former passages to the worse sense, laying many things to my charge; ripping up, as he conceives, all my faults, as if I were a schoolboy, and not one of like degree with himself; and they are so vain and by me sufficiently answered, that I shall be silent and instance only two or three of the choicest of them.

"1st. Concerning my receiving recognition here, that is so excessive high, &c., I only answer:—Every state hath power to make what laws, and impose what customs in its own precincts, they shall think convenient, without being regulated or prescribed by others; yet notwithstanding, we have been so favorable to your countrymen trading here, that they pay eight per cent. less than our own, and I am confident, all things considered, not four per cent.

"He likewise objects against me his hearsay of my threatening to burn and beat down your trading house, and of reports from several places and persons concerning myself and secretaries endeavoring to raise the Indians against the English, threatening a retaliation, and turning the edge and point of those weapons against us here. I had thought he had more noble worth, being a Governor, or charity, as he was a Christian, (hearing such report of one of like quality as himself,) not to have given credit to them, but rather imprisoned the reporters, unless they would have sufficiently proved it. And I take it to be as great an injury to have such reports raised and believed, as possibly may be.

"Concerning my sending Capt. Forrester to Holland, and that the English Colonies may have occasion to write after the same copy, I understand him very well, and I doubt not their wisdom will do that which they may well answer to their principals as to mine, and therefore need not give him, or any one else here, an account. Yet, for your satisfaction, he claimed the government of all Long

BOOK IV. Island, Dutch and English, and produced a commission, whether counterfeit or not I know not, for it was sealed 1647. but not signed.

"His conclusion is indifferent fair, but I shall not beg it from him. If I meet in the spring with the Governors of Boston and Plymouth, I hope we shall do our best for the reconciling of all differences; to put anything to them as arbitrators, I am not yet resolved, but shall willingly comply with them, in what they shall think convenient; and whereas he is so full of his retaliation, according to his own words and practice, he must give us leave to give liberty to any that shall elope from your jurisdiction, to remain under our protection, until our fugitives are delivered, which as soon as done, I shall endeavor to send the rest back."

With this letter disappeared whatever kindly feeling existed between the Dutch Director and the New Haven Governor. The latter had already, by way of retaliation for the forcible abstraction of the St. Beninio, harbored the runaways from the Company's service, and took them into the public employ. When the General Court at Boston heard of these difficulties, they sent a letter to Gov. Eaton, addressed to Director Stuyvesant, in which they expressed great regret that such differences should have occurred, and promised to interpose with their confederates at New Haven in the hope of producing a reconciliation, and persuading the Governor to restore the fugitives. But the latter would neither surrender the men, nor send the Court's letter to the Dutch Director; who having become now seriously exasperated, issued, as he had threatened, a proclamation, in which he recapitulated all and sundry the injuries and injustices, real and pretended, which his government had experienced at the hands of his English neighbor. "Wherefore, if any person, noble or ignoble, freeman or slave, debtor or creditor, yea to the lowest prisoner included, run away from the Colony of New Haven, or seek refuge in our limits, he shall remain free, under our protection, on taking the oath of allegiance."

¹ Letters in Governor Stuyvesant's time, i., 4-9.

The burghers of Amsterdam questioned, however, the propriety of this extreme measure. They saw from the first, that it converted their country into a receptacle for the worst class of the neighboring plantations, who now would come among them recommended only by being violators of law, and enemies to social order. They saw that such an addition to their population would be anything but an improvement, whilst the policy would only tend further to create suspicion in the minds of the authorities of the other English Colonies. The Directors of the West India Company pronounced, in like manner, the proceeding both very dangerous and impolitic. "The English nation is too strong for us, and therefore you should not endeavor to bring on a contest with them." Stuyvesant himself seems to have been aware that his proclamation might be misunderstood. He, therefore, wrote to the Governors of Massachusetts and Virginia, explanatory of his motives for having had recourse to it—disapproving of the practice in general, but excusing it in this particular—and stating that it had no reference to either of their provinces. He finally succeeded in extricating himself from his difficult position, by outwitting Governor Eaton. He wrote privately to the Dutch fugitives, to whom also the clergyman sent a letter, assuring them of pardon and good treatment if they returned. By these means they were induced to come back, to the no small chagrin of the New Haven Executive, who, with a little forethought, might have had the credit of having restored these people; of having acted right though others acted wrong; instead of having now to experience the feeling of having been overreached. "But wise men are not always wise." The objectionable proclamation was soon after this cancelled, the cause which called it forth having been removed.¹

¹ Alb. Rec. iv., —; vii., 111, 112; Hol. Doc. v., 18, 43; Van der Donck's Ver-
toogh; Winthrop's New Eng. ii., 314, 315; Hubbard, 436, 437.

CHAPTER III.

Melyn and Kuyter arrive in Holland—Appeal from the sentence pronounced by Stuyvesant—Lay a statement of the affairs of New Netherland before the States General—Writ of appeal granted—Stuyvesant's judgment virtually quashed—Appellants permitted to return to New Netherland—Obtain letters of safety from their High Mightinesses and the Prince of Orange—Stuyvesant rebuked by the Amsterdam Chamber—The Nine Men present a remonstrance to the Director-general—An order issued confining the privilege of trade to resident settlers—A free market established in New Amsterdam—Trade of the North and South Rivers regulated—The East River declared free to all nations—Port regulations—Effect of Stuyvesant's proclamations—The placards prohibiting sales of arms and ammunition to the Indians enforced—Informations against several traders—Proceedings against Schermerhoorn and others—Stuyvesant contracts for guns for the Indians—Discontent against the tariff and revenue laws—Other causes of dissatisfaction—The Nine Men propose a delegation to Holland—Stuyvesant insists that their representation be sent through him—Differences in consequence—The English settlers withdraw their co-operation—The project of a mission postponed—Stuyvesant writes to the Company on the subject.

BOOK
IV.

1648.

THE vessel in which the Patroon of Staten Island and Captain Kuyter were sent to Holland, having safely arrived, these parties immediately called the attention of the States General to the oppressive course which the authorities in New Netherland had pursued towards them. The losses which they already suffered, by the rash policy of Kieft, amounted to twenty-five thousand guilders, and they were not prepared to lie down in silence under the wrong. Propped by Attorney-general Van Dyck, they laid before their High Mightinesses a detail of the affairs of the country, from the year 1643 to the date of their banishment, and backed their representations with vouchers to a voluminous and formidable amount. These documents having been referred to the committee on the affairs of the West India Company, a report, summarily reviewing the whole case, followed. The result was, the judgment of the Director-general and Council was virtually quashed, and Stuyvesant's conduct indirectly censured; for their April 28. High Mightinesses granted, in accordance with the recom-

mendations of that report, a writ of appeal to the memorialists, with a clause interdicting all further proceedings on the sentence pronounced against them by the authorities at Fort Amsterdam. The appellants were further permitted to reside in New Netherland unmolested, pending the case, and to enjoy, in that country, the same rights and privileges as other colonists. As if all this were not enough to render Stuyvesant's cup sufficiently bitter, the Directors in Holland gravely rebuked him for having intermeddled with other people's business, and he was cited to appear at the Hague, either in person or by attorney, to support the sentence which he and his Council had passed.¹

The newly elected Nine Men, in no wise disposed to allow their recently acquired privileges to lie dormant, took an early opportunity to address a remonstrance to the Director and Council, in which they called the attention of the Executive to the injuries sustained by the commerce of the country, principally through persons not at all interested in its welfare, who, they represented, cared nothing for its prosperity; who contributed nothing to its wealth in the way of buildings, but who rented a room or a store, for a short term, in order to carry on trade with the Indians for furs, which they procured at a price beyond their value, and exported at night without paying any duties. This representation was accompanied by divers recommendations for the correction of what was thought to be an evil. It led to the introduction of a law confining the privileges of trade in New Amsterdam, or the interior, to permanent residents; for it was ordered that henceforward no person should keep a shop, or carry on any retail business, except such as "have already taken the oath of allegiance;" were rated, at least, at from two to three thousand guilders, and had entered into an engagement to remain in the country four successive years, or "to keep fire and light" at their own expense. This regulation was not, however, to extend to "old residents," who were

CHAP.
III.
1648.

Feb. 18.

March
10.

¹ Hol. Doc. iii., 128, 129, 233, 360, 361, 365, 373; Alb. Rec. iv., 95, 96, 104, 215.

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1648. to be allowed the privileges of trade, though not rated as above, provided they bound themselves to remain in the province the required time; not to quit the same without permission from the Director and Council, nor to use any weights or measures except those of "old Amsterdam, to which we owe our name." For the encouragement of trade, consistent with these regulations, strangers were to be allowed to dispose of their goods from their vessels, either by wholesale or retail, provided their merchandise had been previously entered, and the duty paid on what was sold. Each Monday in the week was declared to be a market day, "as well for strangers as residents," and a free market was established to continue ten days, beginning the first Monday after the feast of St. Bartholomew, during which time all, indiscriminately, were privileged to sell their goods from their tents. From the trade of the North and South Rivers, and the adjoining bays and creeks, all were, however, to be excluded, save the citizens and inhabitants of New Amsterdam, Rensselaerswyck, and the other colonies, who were rated as already determined, and who had previously obtained the Director's pass, and were provided on their return with the commissary's certificate of the place from which they might sail, stating the quantity and description of their return cargo. It was reserved, at the same time, to the Executive to allow such as had taken the oath of fidelity to the government, though they might not possess the required amount of property, the privilege to visit these rivers, provided they gave security that they should reside within Dutch jurisdiction during the prescribed period. The East River was excepted from the above regulation. It was declared to be "free and open to every one, no matter to what nation he might belong." But Dutch traders were to provide proper clearances before proceeding to any of these places, and comply with the other provisions of the revenue laws. As an encouragement to the citizens generally to erect a better class of buildings, clapboards, lime and stone were placed, together with firewood, on the free list. The port regulations next claimed the attention of the Executive. All

arriving vessels, under fifty tons, were ordered to anchor CHAP.
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1648. between the corner of the Hook and the hand or guide-board, near the City Tavern; all larger vessels, between the aforesaid "Hoek" and the second guide-board, which was placed on the declivity of the Smith's Valley;¹ and no boats, yawls or canoes were to leave any ship after sunset, nor before sunrise, nor land nor unload any freight between those hours, except by special permission. Sundry stringent penalties were attached to the infraction of these ordinances, to which we refer principally as instances of the mistaken jealousy which regulated and cramped, in its infancy, the rising and struggling trade of this young country. But even this did not satisfy the zeal for reform into which Director Stuyvesant, on assuming his new government, so heartily plunged. Irregular trading had encouraged habits of dissipation, the consequences of which were, that "many trades were neglected, the Company's servants debauched; and what was worse, the youth became accustomed, from their infancy, to evil example on the part of their parents, to tread in their footsteps, and were led, by the force of imitation, astray from the paths of virtue, and familiarized with every species of vice; smuggling and the clandestine sale of spirituous liquors to the Indians were encouraged, and decent taverns ruined by such a host of grogeries and skulking holes of iniquity." To correct these abuses, orders were issued that no new taverns should be established except by the unanimous consent of the Director and Council, but such as were in existence were to continue for a further period of four years, on condition that the proprietors pledge themselves to procure, according to their means, decent houses "to adorn the city of New Amsterdam."

The flood of proclamations—especially for the regulation of trade—with which the country was now inundated, had the effect, not of correcting abuses, but rather of confusing the minds of all those interested in commerce, who could not

¹ The City Tavern was situated at the head of what is now Coenties Slip, New York. Smith's Valley was a marsh extending from the East River, about on the present line of South William street.

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 1648. move a step without exposing themselves to fines, imprisonment and the loss of property. Under the administration of Director Kieft, trade with the natives had been, in a manner, free and unshackled. Though the sale of powder and guns to the Indians had been strictly forbidden, the state of the country was such that the law was not only a dead letter, but even the authorities had been forced, in some instances, to conciliate the tribes by presents of arms. Few or no instances had occurred of the punishment of any individuals who had infringed the law, and thus this profitable, though contraband trade was carried on with but little, if any concealment.

Whether Stuyvesant, on entering on his new position, had a due comprehension of the state of things which had grown up under the many years of this connivance and absolute freedom of intercourse with the natives, is not very clear. The English and Swedes had, more than once, called his attention to the evils which could not fail to result from the practice of supplying the Indians with arms and ammunition; and feeling himself, "not without some appearance of truth," exposed to suspicion, he might have considered it his duty to correct the abuse. Be this as it may, he resolved at once to break up this illicit trade, without stopping to calculate the extent of opposition he might call forth in interfering with the interests of those concerned in the traffic. The Company's armorer was unexpectedly arrested on a charge of having sold guns to private traders. Alarmed at his position, he became an informer, and accused Joost Teunisz de Bakker and Jacob Reyntsen with having repeatedly bribed him to sell them such articles. These citizens were immediately arrested; the goods belonging to the latter were removed to the Company's store, and his letters and papers seized. On the evidence thus obtained, orders were dispatched to Fort Orange to arrest Jacob Jansen Schermerhorn¹ and his

¹ Jacob Jansen Schermerhorn was a native of Waterland, and lived forty years in the colony subsequent to this date; he died at Schenectady in 1638, leaving by his wife Jannitje the following children: Ryer, Symon, Helena, (wife of Myndert Harmense,) Jacob, Machtel, (wife of Johannes Beekman,) Cornelis,

brother, traders at that place; to seize their goods, books CHAP.
III. and papers, and to convey the whole to New Amsterdam. 1648. Secretary Van Tienhoven was next sent with a guard of soldiers in one of the Company's vessels to Sandy Hook, there to await a ship consigned to Govert Loockermans, which was now hourly expected with a cargo of contraband goods. This vessel was accordingly boarded, and June 23. her cargo summarily removed to the Company's store. Schermerhorn and his brother having been brought prisoners, in the meanwhile, from Beverwyck, were arraigned with Reyntsen, on a charge of violating the placard of February, 1645. The chief evidence against the parties were their own letters and papers, and, on these, they were condemned to DEATH. On the representation of some July 9. leading citizens, this sentence was subsequently commuted to banishment for five years, with the loss of their property. But though the first part of this sentence was finally revoked at the instance of the Nine Men, the restoration of their property was refused. It remained confiscated. Aug. 1. Reyntsen's loss, on this occasion, exceeded fifteen hundred dollars.

But the course pursued towards De Bakker was still more harsh. This man, when questioned, acknowledged at once, that he had received a gun from the armorer, for which he had paid twenty-five florins; that he had, also, had a lock, which however he returned for repairs, the spring being broken, but had never got it back. He further admitted, that he had brought with him from Holland twelve pounds of gunpowder. This was the extent of all his operations, "for his wife condemned the trade, and dissuaded him

Jannitje, Neeltje, and Luycas. He owned at his death real estate in Albany and Schenectady, of which last settlement he was one of the earliest colonists. He had a farm also at Schodack, to which his son Jacob removed. Besides personal property to a large amount in this country, he had funds at interest in Holland. His will is on record in the County Clerk's Office, Albany, together with that of his eldest son, Ryer Schermerhorn, (dated April, 1717,) who left five children, viz.: John, Cataline, (who married John, son of Barent Wemp;) Janneke, (who married Volckert Symonsen,) Jacob, and Arent. Ryer Schermerhorn's property lay principally in and around Schenectady; but he owned two tracts at the Raritans, one of which was called the Gansegatt, or Goosehole. His brother Luycas lived on one of these.

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 1648. from it." Stuyvesant was not satisfied with all these explanations. Though the Schout-fiscaal had not instituted any prosecution against him, his house was twice searched, his papers ransacked, his chests and cupboards overhauled, "whilst he lay terrified in the place where criminals were confined," without wife or friends being allowed to hold communication with him. After suffering thus for near a fortnight, during which time he was threatened with the rack, whilst a new gallows, it is alleged, was erected for his special benefit, in the hope of extorting further information, he was at last liberated on bail, no evidence having been discovered against him. The term of his bail-bond having expired, and no charge being brought, in the mean time, forward, he applied for the dismissal of his securities. He was referred to the Nine Men. They asked that he should be put on his trial if there was ought against him, or discharged if innocent. Stuyvesant made no reply to this application. De Bakker thereupon petitioned, in his own name. He was referred to the Fiscaal, who answered by demanding five or six months to consider the matter, "as he knew nothing about it." Finding himself thus baffled, his affairs ruined, his spirits broken, and in daily expectation of renewed oppression, he determined to quit the country, and with this view, applied for a passport.¹ This was also refused, and the unfortunate man was eventually obliged to leave the province secretly, in order to lay his case before the authorities in Europe, and to obtain that justice from them, which it was idle to seek in New Netherland.

In thus vindicating the law, and proving himself guiltless of connivance at the unlawful trade with the natives, it had been well had the Director-general not permitted himself to dabble in a traffic, for prosecuting which he had so

¹ Smith in his History of New York, ii., 47, (Ed. 1830,) says it was Lovelace who introduced, in 1671, the prohibition against masters of vessels carrying persons off, without a pass from the Secretary's Office. This is wholly at variance with the fact. The prohibition had been in force through the whole period of the Dutch government, and was merely continued by the English. Smith knew about as little of the history of New Netherland, as many of his readers of the present day.

severely punished others. Unfortunately he was forced by instructions, and by the circumstances in which he was placed, to pursue an opposite policy. At the very time he was visiting with all the rigor of the law, those who chanced to bring guns or powder into the province without his knowledge, or who were discovered following a traffic which every one carried on, more or less, he was himself—singular to say—engaged, with his secretary, in making arrangements for the importation of fire-arms to be distributed among the Indians.¹

CHAP.
III.
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Aug. 2.

The strictness with which the revenue laws and petty harbor regulations were enforced, and excessive duties exacted on imports,² was now productive of serious evil. The seizure of the Dutch ship at New Haven, and the confiscations which followed, spread serious alarm north and south, whence it was conveyed to the West India Islands. The loss to New Netherland, in consequence, was estimated at more than twenty-five vessels yearly. Considerable damage accrued, also, to the resident settlers; and to add to the general dissatisfaction, an order was issued calling on all those indebted to the Company to settle their accounts. The public expenses were increasing; six thousand guilders were required to repair Fort Good Hope, in its old form, “with four points;” the officers of government were daily dunned for the payment of debts which they had necessarily contracted, and which they found it impossible to meet, whilst the amount due to the Company from private individuals exceeded three thousand guilders. Those who

¹ Alb. Rec. vii., 161-174, 189, 240; viii., 60; Hol. Doc. iv., 238, 242, 244; Ver-
toogh van N. N.

² Before people can receive their goods, they must pay 16, 4 1-2, and 8, making 28 1-2 per centum, besides waste, and the cartage to and from the public store. Goods must first be sent to, and examined in the Company's store at Amsterdam, before they can be sent on board. Then a man must take a super-cargo, also, along, and in New Netherland receive soldiers immediately on board the ship, of which he is no longer master. After which, the merchandise is opened in the Company's store, and what occurs there is an affliction and vexation to behold. For it is all cut open, unpacked, tossed over and counted again, without order or rule; besides that, the Company's servants from time to time destroy and purloin. Hol. Doc. iv., 40.

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1648. owed this money were, on the other hand, poor, broken-down people, who had lost their all by the war. They were obliged, therefore, to beseech the Director-general to have patience, but this proved unavailing. The Attorney-general and the public Receiver were commanded to collect the debts. Those who could not pay the whole were to give as much as their circumstances permitted, and on the balance to pay annually eight per cent. interest. But the people were beggars. The late Director-general had, moreover, left unpaid many claims against the Company. A compromise was finally entered into, after much altercation, and the collection of the debts against the colonists was staid, for a time, at the request of the Nine Men.

Oct. 18.

The murmurs of the commonalty had now reached a point when something must be done to allay them. The intercourse with the neighboring English colonies was causing comparisons between their prosperous condition, and the backward state of the Dutch province, and the government was obliged to acknowledge that the comparison was by no means to the advantage of the latter. But the remedy was not in its hands. If the citizens had any complaints, they must petition their Lords, the Directors, or the States General. In no breast is it more easy to excite hope, than in that of the desponding. The Nine Men forthwith determined to send a delegation to their High Mightinesses. The Director-general encouraged them in this course. Already the name of the delegate began to be whispered abroad, when Stuyvesant demanded that whatever representations were to be made, should be in conformity with his wishes. This was objected to. The petitioners were desirous of laying before the home authorities the series of mal-administrations under which the colony had been suffering for the last ten years. This they could not freely do were they to proceed according to the pleasure of the Executive. At this crisis, the English settlers, on whose co-operation in the proposed remonstrance the Dutch relied, were induced, it is more than

probable, by Geo. Baxter, the Director's English Secretary, to withdraw from the popular party. The Nine Men were changed, and "the matter therefore went to sleep." Finally, General Stuyvesant notified those interested, that he had written to the Company, himself, on the subject.¹

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1648.
Dec. 12.

¹ Van der Donck's Vertoogh van N. Nederlandt.

CHAPTER IV.

Johannes van Rensselaer, Patroon of Rensselaerswyck—Van Wely and Van Twiller his guardians—Render fealty and homage to the States General in his name—Brant Arent van Slechtenhorst appointed Director of the colonie—Sails for New Netherland—His son Gerrit acts as sheriff—The Directors in Amsterdam oppose the establishment of colonies—Endeavor to persuade the Patroon of Rensselaerswyck to surrender his lands—Fail in that object—Consequences to the colonie—Stuyvesant claims to be supreme ruler of the whole province—Opposed by Slechtenhorst—Visits Fort Orange—His reception there—Summons Van Slechtenhorst and protests against him—Claims jurisdiction for the fort within range of cannon shot—Orders that the colonists be allowed to appeal from the decision of the Patroon's court, and calls for a copy of Slechtenhorst's commission—The latter's reply—Claims the soil around the fort, and persists in enforcing the Patroon's rights—Is threatened with force—Slechtenhorst's counter-blast—Forbids the Company's servants to use the stone or timber of the colonie to repair Fort Orange—Soldiers sent for the first time to Beverwyck—An order issued for Slechtenhorst's arrest—Excitement at Rensselaerswyck—Van Slechtenhorst insulted—The Indians assemble—Demand if "Wooden Leg" designs to pull down the houses—Invite Slechtenhorst to move to the Mohawk country—Further proceedings of the soldiers—The Indians return—Enquire for "Wooden Leg's" dogs—Pacified by Slechtenhorst, who again protests against the Director-general—Judicial rights of colonies described—Stuyvesant rejoins—The Schout-fiscaal also replies—Van Slechtenhorst summoned to appear at Fort Amsterdam—The Director-general transmits a report on the whole matter to Holland—Dutch interests at the South River—The Swedes pull down the Dutch house at the Schuylkill, and erect a fort in its place—The Passayunk Indians invite the Dutch to trade with them—Fort Beversreede rebuilt—Swedes renew their opposition—Van Dinclage and La Montagne arrive at the South River—Obtain a confirmation of the lands around the Schuylkill—Protest against Printz—Grant lands to the Dutch settlers there—The Swedes pull down their houses and block up Fort Beversreede—Dutch force on the river—A Dutch company purchase the lands—Opposed by the Swedes, who cut up their building materials—The Dutch protest—Their commerce on the South River nearly destroyed.

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1646.

JOHANNES VAN RENSSELAER, heir to the patroonship of Rensselaerswyck, being a minor at his father's decease, the care of his interests devolved on his uncle Johannes van Wely and Wouter van Twiller,¹ executors to the last will and testament of the first Patroon, who immediately rendered fealty and homage for the colonie to their High Mightinesses, in the name and on the behalf their ward:

¹ Van Twiller died in Holland, in 1656, or 1657. Van Wely died 19th March, 1679, aged 82 or 83 years.

The immediate management of this estate was entrusted to Brant Arent van Slechtenhorst, of Nieukerke in Guiderland, who was appointed Director of the Colonie, President of the Court of Justice, and Superintendent of all the bouweries, farms, mills and other property belonging to the Patroon, at a salary of seven hundred and fifty florins (\$300) per annum, to reckon from the date of his arrival out, together with a house, four milch cows, two horses, four morgens of tillage and four morgens of pasture land. He was specially charged to uphold, maintain and defend the freedoms and privileges with which the colonie was invested, to promote the interests and advance the settlement of Beverwyck and its immediate neighborhood, and to acquire by purchase the lands around Katskill, for the greater security of the colonie, inasmuch as the colonists, through a notion of acquiring property in that quarter, were forming companies or associations to remove thither and abandon Rensselaerswyck. He was further ordered to explore the country for minerals, and to report to his superiors in Holland whatever success might crown these labors. Thus commissioned and instructed, the newly appointed Director sailed with his family and servants for Virginia. He proceeded thence in another vessel to the Manhattans, where he landed after a passage of four months, and finally arrived in the colonie in the latter part of March. His son, Gerrit van Slechtenhorst, was to act as Officier or Schout-fiscaal, at a salary of six hundred florins; but he filled the office only two months, when it was merged in that of the Director.¹

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Nov. 10.Sep. 26.
Dec. 12.
1648.
Feb. 7.
March
22.

From the moment that colonies began to be planted by Patroons in New Netherland, the Directors of the Amsterdam Chamber became jealous of their existence and

¹ Gerrit van Slechtenhorst married Aeltje Lansing, by whom he had four children, viz.: Hellegonda, Gerrit, Rachel, and Gouda. He was one of the Commissaries of Schenectady in 1672, after which he removed to Kingston, Ulster co., where he died 9th January, 1684, N. S. The other children of Brant van Slechtenhorst, were Margaret and Alida. The latter was born in Beverwyck, and married Gerrit, son of Goosen Gerritsen van Schayck, by whom she had no issue. She lost her husband 11th November, 1679, after which she married Pieter Davitse Schuyler, son of David Schuyler. For Margaret, see post. p. 177.

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 1648. opposed to their continuance. They considered them injurious to the settlement of the country and the increase of its population.¹ By the re-purchase of Pavonia and Zwanendaal in 1634, they took the earliest means to check the evil. In the prosecution of their policy, they endeavored to induce the Patroon of Rensselaerswyck to cede to them his rights, privileges and possessions also, but having failed in effecting this, they now changed front, and determined to circumscribe a jurisdiction and weaken a power which they could not buy off, and which they wished to destroy. General Stuyvesant and Brant van Slechtenhorst were the champions of these hostile interests and opposing views. The former claimed to be supreme ruler of the whole country, irrespective of the special rights and feudal privileges granted, as well by the charter of 1629, as by the civil law, to the local authorities of independent fiefs. The latter, thoroughly conversant with the immunities claimed for manors and municipalities in continental Europe, recognized the exercise of no authority within his limits save that of his Patroon, or such as was approved and sanctioned by his legal representatives. Whatever orders or placards the Director-general might issue were, he maintained, null and powerless, unless so endorsed or countersigned by his commander, and executed by the officers of his court. It was easy to foresee that pretensions so opposite could not fail to lead to collision, and Slechtenhorst had not been much more than a month at his post when an explosion took place.

A copy of a proclamation ordering the first Wednesday in May to be observed by a general fast and the performance of public worship in the several churches of New Netherland, was duly forwarded to Rensselaerswyck. It was received by the authorities of that place, not in that spirit of submissive obedience which the Director-general demanded for all his orders, but as an invasion of the rights and authority of the Lord of the Manor, against which April 26. Van Slechtenhorst forthwith protested.²

¹ Alb. Rec. iv., 199.

² This 26th April, 1648, hath the Director Slechtenhorst protested against a

This proceeding did not comport with Stuyvesant's ideas CHAP.
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1648. either of law or propriety. To correct the abuse he resolved to visit the colonie, where, accompanied by a military escort, he soon after landed, his arrival being most loyally greeted by salvos from the Patroon's artillery.¹ Summoning Van Slechtenhorst, he called in question his July 21. pretensions, and charged him with infringing the Company's sovereignty. But the sturdy commander retorted: "Your complaints are unjust; I have more reason to complain, on behalf of my Patroon, against you." The Director-general fulminated, thereupon, a lengthy protest, in which Van July 23. Slechtenhorst was accused with having conveyed lots, and authorized the erection of buildings, in the immediate vicinity of Fort Orange, in disregard not only of the sovereign authority, but in contempt of the Director-general's commission, thus infringing the privileges granted by their High Mightinesses and destroying the security of the fort. "Such proceeding was totally repugnant to military discipline and tactics." He therefore ordered, "in a friendly manner," a stop to be put to all building within range of cannon shot, unless specially ordered by the Lords Majors. He further commanded, that no new ordinances affecting the sovereign authority, or relating to commerce or the public welfare, be issued without the previous consent of their High Mightinesses or their representative in New Netherland; and that no exclusive right to any branch of trade be rented, nor any grain, masts or other property belonging to the Company's servants be seized, unless the

certain writing of the Right Hon. P. Stuyvesant, concerning the publication of a day of fasting and prayer, whereby it is understood, that the right and authority of the Lord Patroon are invaded. This document was handed in only before the sermon, so that there was no time to have it read. Rensselaerswyck MSS.

¹ July, 1648. Whereas, the Council of the colony directed that the Heer General Peter Stuyvesant should be greeted on his arrival and departure, with several salutes from the Heer Patroon's three pieces of cannon, so hath the Director employed Jan Dircksen van Bremen, and Hans Eencluyts, to clean the same, as they were filled with earth and stones, and to load them, in which they were employed three days, to wit: one day in cleaning them; the second in firing for the arrival, and the third, for Stuyvesant's departure—for which Slechtenhorst purchased 20 lbs. of powder, and expended ten guilders for beer and victuals, besides having provided the Heer General, at his departure, with divers young fowls and pork. Ib.

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prosecutions on such suits were disposed of without delay. The practice of compelling the inhabitants of the colonie to sign a pledge that, as defendants, they should not appeal to the supreme court of New Netherland from judgments rendered by the court of Rensselaerswyck, was pronounced "a crime," an infraction of the law of the land, and a subversion of the twentieth article of the charter. To prevent the recurrence of this illegal practice, an annual return to the Director and Council of all the affairs transacted in the colonie and of the proceedings of the court was insisted on, conformably to the twenty-eighth article of the said charter. And as Van Slechtenhorst claimed, in direct contradiction to the charter and the Director-general's commission, to the vilification of the latter's office and in disrespect of the Lords Majors, not to be responsible to the government at Fort Amsterdam, he was called on to produce his authority, either from the States General or the Directors of the Chamber at Amsterdam, for such pretension. Failing this, the Director-general protested against him for disobedience of orders.

Commander Slechtenhorst was, in the estimation of his opponents, "a person of stubborn and headstrong temper." He was, besides, fully confident that he had law and custom on his side; he was sure that he had the instructions of his superiors in his pocket, and was therefore determined not to abandon the rights of "his orphan Patroon." He answered protest by protest. He charged, in his turn, the Director-general with having proclaimed a day of fasting and prayer in Rensselaerswyck, "contrary to antient order and usage, as if he were the lord of the Patroon's colonie."

July 28. He accused the Company's servants at the fort with having cut, without permission, the best timber and firewood in the Patroon's forests, "as if these were their own;" and with having ranged through the whole colonie, along with people from Manhattans, "with savages by their side to serve as brokers," trading publicly with the aborigines, as if the place were their property; all this without license from the Patroon or his authorized agents, and without paying either duties or recognitions. As for

the order not to build within a prescribed distance of Fort Orange, it was an aggression which could not be justified. The Patroon's trading house stood, "a few years ago," on the border of the moat which surrounded that fort. That soil, with all around, belongs still to the Patroon; he was never disturbed in its possession until Director Stuyvesant sought now, "by unbecoming means," to oust "his orphan heir," to deprive him of the benefit thereof, and to appropriate the soil to himself; threatening to destroy the Patroon's buildings by cannon shot. Van Slechtenhorst is hereby prevented erecting "even a hog-pen" on the Patroon's own land, and Stuyvesant has become a judge in his own case. The assertion that the objectionable buildings endangered the security of the fort, was a mere pretext. They were more than five hundred rods from the fort, or trading house; and, it was added, eight houses already intervened between them and Fort Orange.

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1648.

In keeping with the spirit here displayed, did Van Slechtenhorst continue his improvements in Beverwyck. Another protest from the Manhattans followed, warning him that force should be used if he did not desist. But this had the effect only of calling forth "a counter blast." No suit, he insisted, could be instituted, nor execution issued in another district, without previous consent of the Schout-fiscaal or court of that jurisdiction, on pain of non-suit and arbitrary correction, and therefore the present proceeding was informal. The pretensions now put forth were, moreover, at variance with those which had already been promulgated, and in contradiction with practice even at New Amsterdam. The Director-general claimed, in July, that all the territory within range of cannon shot belonged to Fort Orange; now he reduces the circle to the range of a musket ball, within which he will not allow a house to be built, "notwithstanding he permits whole streets to be filled with houses, in view of Fort Amsterdam." It was a matter of surprise, that he should use the power with which he was invested, to oppress "our infant Patroon." It was his duty, as a Christian neighbor, to preach other doctrines;

Aug. 23.  
Sep. 7.  
Sep. 8.

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 1648. to turn his arms, not against friends, but enemies. It was, besides, highly unbecoming in him to use force whilst their High Mightinesses had not yet decided the case, especially as the house in dispute was not within musket shot of the fort.

This continued contumacy served but to irritate the Executive. The freshets of the past winter had nearly destroyed Fort Orange, and the Company's commissary had received orders to surround that post with a solid stone wall in lieu of the wooden fence by which it had hitherto been encompassed. But scarcely had a rod of the work been finished, when Van Slechtenhorst forbade Carl van Brugge, "in an imperious manner," to quarry stone within the colonie, or to fell a tree either for the repair of the fortification or for firewood. The farmers and inhabitants were also ordered, contrary to the practice of former magistrates, and contrary, it might be added, to the fifth article of the charter of 1629, not to convey any such materials thither.<sup>1</sup> The Company was thus deprived of articles necessary to build forts, or other edifices, and compelled either to beg them from their vassals, or "what is worse," to purchase them at enormous prices. Whilst thus opposing the repair of the public works, Van Slechtenhorst actively continued his own buildings, "even within pistol shot of Fort Orange."

On receipt of this intelligence, General Stuyvesant resolved to maintain his authority by force. Six soldiers<sup>2</sup> were dispatched to commissary Van Brugge's assistance, with orders to demolish the offending house, to arrest Van Slechtenhorst "in the most civil manner possible," should he offer any opposition, and to detain him in custody until

<sup>1</sup> This prohibition arose rather in consequence of the claim to jurisdiction, than on account of the value of the timber. For "about midsummer of 1649, the Heer General being here, asked Jan Baerentsen to wheel out some masts, which he refused to do, saying that the horses and the land which he made use of belonged to the Patroon, whose consent he must first have. Whereupon the Heer General came to the Director, and requested him, after relating the above circumstances, to consent thereto. The Director accordingly consented. Rensselaerwyck Gerechtsrolle, 1648-1652, 71.

<sup>2</sup> A MS. protest among the Rensselaerwyck papers, represents this force as "seven soldiers and five sailors," who remained fourteen days in the colonie.

he delivered a copy of his commission and instructions, and had declared that he had no other. He was finally summoned to appear at Fort Amsterdam to answer for his conduct. Orders were, at the same time, issued, prohibiting the importation of guns into the colonie without license from the Lords Majors. Such arms, when imported, were to be sold only to the Company at a fixed price of two beavers each.

The excitement produced in the hitherto peaceful hamlet of Beverwyck, on the appearance of this armed posse, may be easily conceived. The oldest inhabitant had not seen a soldier nor heard the sound of a drum in that place, until the Director-general's visit in the course of the last summer. And now, when another armed band arrived, with the hostile design of razing the houses of quiet and inoffensive settlers, they were sorely amazed, and much alarmed.

Those whom the Director-general had dispatched to enforce his orders, were not, in truth, the best qualified for the performance of this delicate mission. They were very zealous "when the Patroon's timber was to be cut, or his deer killed," and were not slow to exhibit their insolence by grossly insulting the commander, "when walking the public street," in company with his deputy, Andries de Vos, cursing them and "abusing God's holy name," because "they had not bade them a good evening."

This rude conduct, and the unconcealed avowal of their mission, aroused the indignation not only of the settlers, but even of the Indians. These assembled in a tumultuous and angry manner, and demanded if "Wooden Leg,<sup>1</sup> in whom they had confided as their protector, intended to tear down the houses which were to shelter them in stormy and wintry weather?" When they learned that all the trouble was about a few roods of land, they told the commander to accompany them home, and they would give him plenty of land "in the Maquaas country;" so that "more kindness was evinced by the unbelieving savages

<sup>1</sup> Ebeling, in his *Erdbeschreibung und Geschichte von Amerika*, Hamburg, 8vo., 1796, iii., 34, represents Stuyvesant as having "a silver leg." Slechtenhorst and the Indians are better authority on this point.

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1648. than by our Christian neighbors, subjects of the same sovereign, bound by their oaths to protect us against insult and outrage."

The soldiery, now flushed with triumph, were disposed to celebrate whatever victory they obtained, by firing a feu-de-joie. They accordingly discharged three or four volleys. This brought the Indians again together. Slechtenhorst succeeded, however, in soothing their irritation, and persuaded them to depart. They returned, shortly, in increased numbers, and enquired in angry terms, "If Wooden Leg's dogs were gone?" They were assured that all would yet be well; that they had been misinformed, and that the houses should not be pulled down. A threatening storm was thus happily averted, for the Director-general's rash conduct had well nigh produced bloodshed, "and the ruin not only of the colonie, but of the Manhattans and of the Christians within this land, who are all at the mercy of the savages"—especially had these been joined by some Christians, "as might have been the case."

Van Slechtenhorst's indignation at this encroachment on the Patroon's privileges was not so easily removed. He gave vent to his feelings in a long and angry protest. The demand for a copy of his commission, and the summons  
Oct. 20. to appear at Fort Amsterdam, he answered by calling for a copy in writing of the Director-general's claims and complaints. "The noble Patroon had obtained his possessions and immunities; was invested by the States General with high and low jurisdiction and the police of the most privileged manors; and were he, as his agent, now so base as to crouch before the present unwarrantable proceedings, and to produce his commission, before he had received orders to that effect, from his lords and masters, not only would they be injured, but he be guilty of a violation of his oath and honor, a betrayal of his trust, and a childish surrender of the rights of his Patroon." He could not, therefore, obey such demands, the illegality of which was only rendered more flagrant by the unusual and insolent manner in which they were made. If a sworn messenger in Holland had to serve a summons, or to execute a war-

rant, in one of the small cities, in the name of the Supreme Court, or of any of the States, he was previously required to solicit admittance, consent and aid from the local magistrates, who should give permission in writing, by endorsing the words "Fiat insinuatio" on the paper, before the summons could be made. This written authority was then placed in the hands of the messenger of the city in which the order was to be served, who thereupon made his first service both verbally and in writing on the party complained against, and reported the result to the messenger of the Court or State. This, and no other, constituted a legal service. Such was the practice in Fatherland, even in the same province, though subject to a High Court of Appeal. But none of these pre-requisites were observed by the Director-general's commissary. Accompanied by an armed soldiery, he not only entered the Patroon's jurisdiction, but violated, on the 28th September, the sanctity of his house. Such illegal conduct betrayed a deep contempt of the Patroon and his court, as well as of the sovereign whom they represent. Those who have been guilty of similar violations of law in Fatherland "had often been apprehended, and condemned to bread and water for the space of five or six weeks; yea, were sometimes brought to the block;" so jealous was every local jurisdiction of the least encroachment on its privileges.

As for preventing timber being cut within the colonie, is the Patroon, he demanded, not master on his own land? Is he not free to cut his timber as well as his corn? And can he not arrest these, when cut by others without his permission? Jacob Jansen had cut two fir trees in the course of the summer without leave; the Patroon's officer seized them, eight days afterwards, on the river, and can he not now exercise a like authority? The objection, that the houses he was building militated against the defence of the "famous fortress," was, he again maintained, a mere pretence. "The ten houses which stood betwixt them and the fort on the north, besides those to the west, and the Patroon's woods, not a stone's throw to the west, south-west and north-west," were left unmolested, though

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 1648. they were a greater obstruction than the new buildings to the fort, "which you can enter or quit at pleasure, by night or by day," without let or hindrance. "Wherefore it is notorious that all the present proceedings emanated from party spirit; had no foundation in reason, and were as justifiable as the complaint in Æsop's fable, of Cousin Gysbert, who, whilst drinking on a hill from a waterfall, quarrelled with a lamb, who stood below, for disturbing the water and making it muddy."

This protest produced a long replication from the Director and Council, whose power, it was maintained, "extended to the colonie of Rensselaerswyck, as well as to the other colonies, such as Heemstede, Vlissingen and Nov. 23. Gravenzande." Stringent orders were issued to Van Brugge and Labadie to prosecute and complete the repairs of the fort; to procure, for that purpose, timber everywhere within the limits of New Netherland; to quarry stones "from the mountains, rocks and plains, and have them conveyed from any place, and in the most convenient manner, except from farms and plantations which are fenced and cultivated, or about being so." In case the people were forbid to assist with their horses and waggons, the commissaries were to have a waggon made, and to use the horses belonging to Jonas Bronck, on Van Curler's farm, as he was indebted to the Company. The jurisdiction of the Company, and "the antient and uninterrupted use of the gardens and fields near the fort," were to be rigidly maintained, and the destruction of the buildings within musket or cannon shot proceeded with forthwith.

Nov. 30. The Schout-fiscaal of New Netherland followed. He averred that it was long since notorious that the Director and Council had been treated with disrespect by Van Slechtenhorst. No court of justice in the colonie could pronounce on the present case, even if the Director-general should condescend to appear before such a tribunal. The only question to decide now was, whether Van Slechtenhorst had been summoned three times by the Company's commissary in the presence of two credible witnesses; for it was, by no means, the custom in Holland to serve a

written summons. It was a base misrepresentation to assert that three armed soldiers insolently intruded themselves into the Patroon's house. Van Brugge had knocked at the door "in a civil manner," and had been admitted by the back way, when he "courteously" demanded the commander to exhibit his commission and to furnish him with a copy thereof. This having been refused, a protest was served, according to order, and Van Slechtenhorst summoned to appear at Fort Amsterdam. He could have obeyed without inconvenience, as "the river remained open, the winter pleasant, and several vessels sailed up and down, during the whole month of November." Now, however, to remove all doubt, the citation was again renewed, and the commander was peremptorily ordered to appear at Fort Amsterdam, on the fourth of April next ensuing, by the first sailing vessel, "where he will be informed of the complaint against him."¹

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The Director-general immediately forwarded a report of the whole of this affair to his superiors. The prospect from Fort Orange ought, in his opinion, to be unobstructed, at least within circle of cannon shot: there were plenty of vacant lots along the river, on which the inhabitants could construct their dwellings, yet they persist, "through pride," in building near the walls. But the truth was, it was neither through pride nor obstinacy that the colonists, at this early day, persisted in clinging to Fort Orange. This post supplied them, in their feebleness, with security against the Indians, and they were loth to forego its protection.²

Dutch interests on the South River continued all this while neglected and in an utter state of decay: The Swedes had already destroyed the trading-house, which the former had erected at Schuylkill, and built a fort in its place. Commissary Hudde had reported these facts to the new Director-general, who had already learned that Governor Printz was tampering with the Minquaas, and endeavoring to obtain their consent to the erection of a

¹ Alb. Rec. v., 72-83, 87-90; vii., 192-198, 204-206, 208, 217-219.

² Ibid, iv., 16.

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 1648. Swedish post in their country, by means of which they  
 would secure an annual trade of from thirty to forty thou-  
 sand beavers.<sup>1</sup>  
 April 4.

The Schuylkill was the high road to that territory, and the Swedes had therefore fortified its mouth. On receipt of this intelligence the Indians of Passayunck invited the Dutch to build a trading post at that point, and Hudde proceeded without delay to put the project into execution. In testimony of their sincerity, the savages had warned the Swedes away, and "planted on the ground, with their own hands, the standard of the Prince of Orange," which they ordered the Dutch to salute with a salvo of three guns, in token of their having taken possession of the place. Fort Beversreede was about completed when Hendrick Huygens, nephew of the late Director Minuet, and now Swedish Commissary, arrived on the spot with seven or eight men, and enquired by what authority Hudde had erected that building? "By order of my masters," was the reply, whereupon the Indian chiefs addressed themselves to the Swedes, and asked by what right had they built there? "Was it not enough that ye have already stolen Mattinekonk, Kinsessing, the Schuylkill, Kakanken, Upland and other places? Had we come to ye and purchased a tract of land, should we then be justified in taking the next adjoining it, as ye have done, and yet continue to do? By what right do ye prescribe laws to us, the original owners of this soil? Can we not do as we will with our own? Ye have only arrived on the river a few years, and yet ye have taken so much land from us, while they (pointing to the Dutch) have been here thirty years, and have never yet robbed us of any."

Mounce (or Moens) Kling, who commanded the Swedish fort in the vicinity, now made his appearance with twenty-four men, armed with matchlocks. On being informed that it was the intention of the Dutch to complete the building, he ordered his followers to lay down their muskets, take each his axe, "and cut down every tree around or near

<sup>1</sup> Alb. Rec. xvii., 268

the place." This order was forthwith executed, the party "destroying even the fruit trees" which Hudde had planted thereabout.

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Intelligence of this violence having been received at Fort Amsterdam, Vice Director Dinclage and the Honorable La Montagne were commissioned to proceed to the South River. On their arrival, they obtained from the Indian Sachems a confirmation of the original transfer to the Dutch, of the lands around the Schuylkill, and took public and lawful possession of the same.<sup>1</sup> The commissioners then sailed to Tinneum, Printz's head-quarters, where, though they experienced a rather discourteous reception, they protested against the Swedish Governor, for having illegally possessed himself of the Company's lands.

Deeds for settlement on the Schuylkill were now granted to divers Dutchmen, and Hans Jacobsen, one of these, proceeded to make improvements. He had not however completed his house, when Printz's son arrested his further progress by pulling down and burning the building, adding, "if he came there again and dared to build, he should carry away with him a good drubbing." No better fortune awaited one Thomas Broen, who made a similar attempt. He had not been three hours on the ground, when a Swedish sergeant, accompanied by a number of men, broke

<sup>1</sup> Hol. Doc. viii., 55, contains this confirmation, of which the following is a translation: "We the undersigned, Amattehoorn, Alebackinne, Sinquees, rulers over the territories and lands lying on and around the Schuylkill, called Armenveruis, declare well and truly, that we sold to Arent Corsen the Schuylkill and adjoining lands for certain cargoes, which were not paid to us in full; but, whereas we are now fully satisfied therefor, &c., the aforesaid chiefs do hereby grant a full and irrevocable transfer thereof, confirming the aforesaid sale, and are prepared on all occasions to confirm this, and to free it from all contradiction and gainsay, to be made by any one against the same, &c. Thus done; and, in testimony of the truth, signed by us Natives in presence of the underwritten witnesses. Actum in Fort Beversreede in the South River of New Netherland; was subscribed—the mark of Amattehoorn; the mark of Sinquees; the mark of Alebackinne; the mark of Michecksouwabe; the mark of Quironqueekonck; the mark of Kaucke; and the mark of Walpackvouck. In presence of us subscribing witnesses, signed, Augustyn Heermans, Govert Looockermans, Juriaen Blanck, Cornelis Jansen Coele, Sander Leendertsen, all witnesses to the first contract. Lower stood, In presence of us the Commissioners, Councillors, signed, L. van Dinclage, La Montagne. By order of the Worshipful Councillors; signed, A. Hudde. Underneath, Agrees with the original, and was signed, Cornelis van Tienhoven, Secretary."

BOOK up his settlement, and ordered him to quit, or they should  
 IV. beat him off.

1648. Commissary Hudde was now summoned to the Manhat-  
 Sep. 8. tans, and on his arrival reported the condition in which he  
 Sep. 16. had left things on the Delaware. Intelligence followed  
 him overland, that the Swedes had, shortly after his depart-  
 ure, erected a stockade thirty feet long by twenty in  
 breadth, right in front of Fort Beversreede, between the  
 river and the latter post, "the back gable of their house  
 being only twelve feet from the gate of our fort." The  
 Dutch were thus insultingly cut off from even a view of the  
 Schuylkill. They were moreover dispossessed of all the  
 land around the post which they had planted with maize,  
 so that they were not left enough for even a small garden.  
 To vindicate Dutch honor and to maintain Dutch rights, to  
 defend Forts Nassau and Beversreede, the Company had  
 only six able-bodied men at this time on the river. The  
 Swedes consequently had it all their own way, and, certes,  
 they had not much to contend against.

If the purpose was ever entertained to colonize the  
 South River, it was full time that it were carried into effect.  
 The Swedes were monopolizing all the trade, and the  
 Dutch commissary had no means to prevent them. It was  
 therefore determined to effect by others what the Company  
 could not accomplish of itself. An association was formed,  
 consisting of Symen Root, Cornelis Mauritzen, Peter Har-  
 mansen, Andries Hudde, Alexander Boyer and David  
 Davidsen, to whom patents were issued, as in 1646,  
 authorizing them to commence a settlement at a place  
 called Mastmaker's Corner.<sup>1</sup>

Oct. 5. These individuals departed from the Manhattans in the  
 Oct. 15. beginning, and arrived at the South River about the middle,  
 of October. They learned that the Swedes had torn down  
 the palisades of the newly erected Dutch fort. These

<sup>1</sup> Acrelius, referring to these grants, says, that this company was authorized  
 to purchase from the Indians a piece of land from Ancocus creek, (in West  
 Jersey, about 12 or 13 miles above Philadelphia,) to Tennecongh; that they took  
 a deed of the same, but on condition of surrendering their right to the govern-  
 ment if desired, on receiving the sum paid. This is corroborated by Hudde's  
 letter, Alb. Rec. xvii., 269.

were repaired, but again destroyed. Nothing deterred by this opposition, they purchased the land from the natives, and commenced their settlement.<sup>1</sup> But Swen Schute, the Swedish Lieutenant, protested, and expressed his determination not to allow a single post to be set in the ground, or a tree to be cut, such being his orders from Printz. He accordingly ordered his men to destroy all the building materials, which they did, "using their swords instead of axes." Hudde endeavored, by reasoning, to stay the violence; but the Swedish Lieutenant responded by calling him "a villain and a rascal; as for his Governor, he cared not for him." Boyer took fire at this abuse. "You must be a villain yourself to slander a man thus to his face." Schute in a moment was in Boyer's hair. Further mischief would have, doubtless, followed, had not the more sensible of the bystanders interfered. Having "no other arms than paper," Hudde sent Printz another protest "against this act, which must foster bitterness and rancor, instead of conciliating animosities among neighbors who ought to live in peace, as we have always been inclined to do; carefully avoiding whatever might disturb harmony, though opportunities enough were offered to indulge such propensities." Adriaen van Tienhoven, "clerk of the court on the South River," reported to Stuyvesant the particulars of the whole outrage, "and so it happened that Symen Root's house could not be completed." Advices were forwarded, at the same time, that the Dutch commerce in this quarter was nearly spoiled, as they "were obliged to give two fathom of white and one of black wampum for a beaver, and one fathom of cloth for two beavers; every fathom of wampum being equal to three ells." This trade was considered ruinous, "for the Indians always take the largest and tallest among them to trade with us."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Of which purchase and the names of the lands, further cognizance may be taken from the Letters Patent, and transfers which were then made of it, and which have been deposited in the Secretary's Office at New Amsterdam; so too the names of the chief settlers." Alb. Rec. xviii., 270.

<sup>2</sup> Alb. Rec. iii., 257; v., 1, 2, 5-8, 70, 71; vii., 206; xvii., 338-348. Hol. Doc. viii., 35, 36, 57. Acrelius, History N Sweden. In Van der Kemp's Translation, Hudde's last protest is dated 7th "September." This is an error; it ought to be November. The error has been copied by all who have followed Van der Kemp.

## CHAPTER V.

Melyn arrives at New Amsterdam—The commonalty meet in the church—Letter from their High Mightinesses proposed to be read—Scuffle ensues—Seal torn off—Stuyvesant summoned to appear at the Hague—Melyn demands a written answer from the Director-general—Reply of the Council—Melyn's son-in-law forbidden to visit the South River—Protest against the Director-general—The latter's letter to the States General—Sends agents to the Hague—Melyn also returns thither—The Nine Men propose again to send a remonstrance to Holland—Stuyvesant calls on them to communicate their grievances to him—They are not inclined to comply—Go from house to house to learn the sentiments of the commonalty—Consequent rupture between them and the Director-general—The "Bellwethers" prosecuted—Delegates from the militia and citizens called together—The Nine Men prepare a remonstrance—Adriaen van der Donck employed for that purpose—Stuyvesant arrests him and seizes his papers—The Vice Director protests against Stuyvesant—Further proceedings—Van der Donck expelled the Council and the board of the Nine Men—The Prince William arrives with arms for the Indians—Consequent excitement—Stuyvesant explains his conduct—Council satisfied—The Directors at Amsterdam censure him—Impediments thrown in the way of the remonstrants—Dominie Backerus resigns his charge—Returns to Holland—Delegates sent by the commonalty to the Hague—A Dutch settler killed by the Indians—The Director-general concludes a treaty with the Hackensacks—Speech of the Sachem—The Rev. Mr. Megapolensis appointed Minister at New Amsterdam.

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ARMED with a summons which no Dutch subject dare disregard, Cornelis Melyn, so recently banished in disgrace, returned now in triumph to New Netherland, and with the opening of the new year, presented to Stuyvesant the mandatory dispatches from the States General and the Prince of Orange.<sup>1</sup> The commonalty of the capital and surrounding villages being assembled some weeks afterwards in the church, on the invitation of the Director-general, the Patroon of Staten Island demanded that their High Mightinesses' letter be read and explained to the people, through the Nine Men. Considerable excitement

<sup>1</sup> Roger Williams, writing to John Winthrop, Jr., December, 1648, says: "Skipper Isaac and Moline, (Melyn,) are come into the bay with a Dutch ship; and (as it is said) have brought letters from the States, to call home this present Dutch Governor, to answer many complaints, both from Dutch and English, against him. 3 Mass. Hist. Coll. ix., 277.

and some high words ensued. The point, however, was at length conceded, and Arnoldus van Hardenberg, one of that board, received the mandamus for that purpose from Melyn. The Director, hereupon, demanded a copy of the paper, and snatched the original from Van Hardenberg's hands. In the scuffle the seal was torn off. Melyn now offered the Director-general a copy of the instrument, whereupon the latter was induced, by the interference of some of the bystanders, to return the original, which was then read, together with the summons commanding Stuyvesant to appear, without delay, either personally or by attorney, at the Hague. "I honor the States, and shall obey their commands," was his reply; "I shall send an attorney to sustain the sentence that was pronounced." This verbal answer was not considered sufficient. Melyn demanded a written reply, but this neither Stuyvesant nor his secretary would give. Similar summons were served on the several members of the Council, and elicited satisfactory or unsatisfactory answers, according as the parties were friendly or unfriendly to the appellant. Vice Director Dinclage frankly acknowledged that he had been deceived throughout the whole of the proceedings. It had been ruled on the trial that Melyn and Kuyter had not been empowered nor qualified to write on public affairs. On the contrary, various documents and affidavits had been produced to their prejudice, whereby he had been induced to vote against them, whilst affidavits favorable to them had been carefully suppressed. La Montagne would answer when he should learn Melyn's reasons for summoning him; Newton did not understand the matter; Van Dyck insisted that his acts were merely official, and that he was no party in the case. Others gave other excuses, whilst Van Tienhoven refused to give any answer whatsoever.

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The season was now advanced, and the ill-feeling entertained by Stuyvesant towards the Patroon of Staten Island experienced no abatement. On the contrary, it extended to all his connections. Jacob Loper, his son-in-law, previous to this a captain in the Dutch service at Curaçoa,

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 1649. Directors at Amsterdam had averred that Melyn would do all  
 June 14. in his power to injure the Company with the Swedish colony. The Vice Director and La Montagne now attempted to plead in favor of the petitioner. But Stuyvesant was not to be moved. Melyn had summoned him to appear at the Hague to defend himself, and "Loper had married the daughter of the said Melyn." "But," demanded the other councillors, "will you visit the sins of the father on the son?" "This time it cannot be otherwise," was the reply; "he shall not go!"
- July 29. Baffled, now, in obtaining justice, Melyn drew up a strong protest against the Director-general, calling on him again to appear at the Hague, but warning him, at the same time, that one "criminal" (meaning Van Tienhoven) could not appear for another. He demanded copies of all affidavits, papers, and documents which had already been refused him; and, in case these papers were again denied, he objected against their being produced in Holland, and protested against all losses and damages which he might sustain by Stuyvesant's acts. This "irreverent pro-
- Aug. 1. test" was served by Van der Donck and Van Hardenberg on Stuyvesant's wife. But it elicited no reply from the
- Aug. 9. Director-general, who maintained that he was not bound to make any restitution to Melyn, since he had not received anything from him, nor any reparation, whilst the cause was in appeal. He did not consider himself responsible for any damages or loss, inasmuch as he did not require Melyn to pay any costs, nor to return, anew, to Fatherland. "We give and grant him free use and quiet possession of his lands and houses, so long as the case is undecided. God and the judge can best tell who is the criminal." A copy of the sentence pronounced on the appellant had been communicated; the other papers in the case would be furnished, "according to the precedence and knowledge of the judge as to what affidavits were necessary—as to whether these were legally taken, or only clandestinely introduced to affront and insult the judge;" a discrimination, by the way,

subversive of all the advantages expected from an appeal to a superior tribunal; for it would deprive the court of last resort of the means of reviewing the whole of the proceedings on both sides, and virtually place the complainant and his interests at the mercy of the tribunal from whose decision he appealed. The Director-general finally stated, that he could not oblige the other parties to appear at the Hague, "as this did not quadrate with the mandamus"—a decision in which the other members of the Council readily coincided, inasmuch as it relieved them from all the trouble and vexation which such an appearance would necessarily entail.

The rebuke implied on his administration by the suspension of the first sentence which he had, with so much circumstance, pronounced, and by the summons to sustain and defend that judgment, was felt acutely by the Director-general. In acknowledging the receipt of their orders, he took occasion to thank their High Mightinesses for having kept one ear open, especially as the papers relating to his defence were lost in the unfortunate Princess. The safe conduct granted to Melyn had rendered the English, he represented, more bold in their claims regarding the limits, and his government more unpopular with them. Melyn had not only pretended that he was empowered to send the Director-general home in chains; he had reported, that their High Mightinesses were surprised that the people of New Haven had not dragged him to the nearest tree, and there hanged him, for having cut the St. Beninio out of their harbor, and had, moreover, given out, that the Director-general had sent to Holland for seven or eight hundred soldiers, in order to wage war against the people of New England. Stuyvesant next complained in strong terms of Melyn's mutinous and unbecoming demeanor in the church, to the great scandal of his authority and commission, and to the imminent danger of causing bloodshed had he, the Director-general, not interfered. He referred to the circulation of rumors that the West India Company was bankrupt, and emphatically declared, that he had rather never have received their High Mightinesses' com-

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1649. mission, nor sworn fidelity to them, nor been empowered to administer civil and criminal justice, than to have, "on a base petition," had his commission, authority and jurisdiction vilified in the eyes both of neighbors and subjects, and charges so serious debated and decided on *ex parte* representations. He protested he had done no act to injure the people, or damage the honor either of Fatherland or its authorities. He had only conformed to the law; and confiding in their High Mightinesses' wisdom, he referred them to the maxim laid down by Justinian:—"Omnia sapere et in nullo penitus peccare, plus Deitatis quam humanitatis, est." He avowed his willingness to obey their High Mightinesses' summons, and to answer personally before them for his acts, were he discharged by the Company, "especially as no person could send a better messenger than himself." But under existing circumstances, it was his intention to send an attorney. He called God to witness that he coveted no man's injury or ruin, but desired to maintain a peaceable and God-acceptable government. He feared, however, that their High Mightinesses' policy, in the present instance, would have the effect of encouraging appeals against every sentence, "either out of hate to the judge, or for the purpose of insulting him." "It is," he concluded, "a thing unexampled in my experience that a subaltern judge, administering justice to the best of his ability, on a particular question, should, instead of the successful party, be subject to complaint and prosecution for the restitution of money." As for the sentence against Melyn, that, he said, was not passed so much for having remonstrated against the war, and on public affairs, as for special insults and abusive words made use of against his lawful superiors.

Agreeably to the determination expressed in this letter, Secretary Van Tienhoven and Jan Jansen Dam were sent to the Hague to justify Stuyvesant's conduct; and thither Melyn again returned, with his complaints, "weary of suffering, without any fault of his, in these labyrinths, to the great injury of his affairs, his people and his children."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hol. Doc. iv., 8-19; v., 66, 82-105. Alb. Rec. vii., 220, 245, 246.

Though the return of Melyn to New Netherland had not been crowned with all the success which he had anticipated, his visit was productive of anything but peace and good consequences to the Director-general. The success of his complaint furnished conclusive evidence that the States General were willing to listen to those of the colonists, and to afford them every sympathy. The newly elected Nine Men,<sup>1</sup> therefore, turned their attention, with renewed zeal, to the necessity of sending a delegation to Holland. This project had, thus far, been postponed from day to day, in the expectation that the Company would introduce reform in the province. But matters becoming only worse, the board communicated their intention to the Director, and requested leave to consult the commonalty on the subject. This proposal was not well received. They were called on to communicate their grievances to the Executive, as in whatever they proposed they should obey its orders. This they were disinclined to do. Such commands were not based on any sound reason, and a compliance with them would be in direct opposition to the welfare of the country, which by their oaths they were bound to promote to the best of their ability and knowledge. Taking advantage, however, of what they looked upon as an implied recommendation to inquire how far the citizens generally countenanced the project, and by whom the expenses necessarily attendant thereon would be defrayed, several members of the popular party undertook to go from house to house to collect the opinions of the commonalty. "From this time the breast of the Director-general became inflamed with rage" and bitter hatred against all concerned in the proceeding. Though these persons had been hitherto esteemed as "the honestest, fittest, most experienced and most godly in the community," no epithets were now too bad for them; nay, "hanging was too good for them." Divers intrigues were set on

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<sup>1</sup> The Nine Men this year, were Augustine Heermans, Arnoldus van Hardenberg, Oloff Stevensen, Jacob Wolfertsen van Couwenhoven, Hendrik Kip, Adriaen van der Donck, Michel Jansen, Jan Evertsen Bout, Thomas Hall, or Govert Loockermans.

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1649. foot to divide the people, and to detach, especially, those of English origin from the Nine Men. Prosecutions were commenced against numbers of citizens, "suspected of being the bellwethers," or leaders, of the malcontents, who were also abused "as if they were the worst villains in the country;" and, as if "to head" the popular party, delegates from the militia and citizens were called together to deliberate on the propriety of sending a mission "on some important points" to Fatherland.

Feb. 21. But the Nine Men were not to be thus turned from their purpose. They determined that a journal should be prepared, with a view to draft subsequently therefrom a remonstrance on the various grievances under which the country suffered. This task was assigned to Adriaen van der Donck, late Sheriff of Rensselaerswyck, now member of the Council and president of the above popular board. In order that he should be subject to as little interruption as possible, he was lodged in the house of Michel Jansen, a wealthy citizen, and also one of the tribunes. But however secretly this movement was carried on, Stuyvesant soon learned the preparation of the remonstrance, and proceeded forthwith to Van der Donck's chamber, in the absence of the latter, and seized his papers. He followed up this coup d'état by throwing Van der Donck into jail.<sup>1</sup> It was immediately after this high-handed measure, that the Council, officers of militia and deputies from the citizens

Mar. 4. met in Fort Amsterdam, at the request of the Director-general.<sup>2</sup> The session opened in a storm. The Vice Director attacked his superior, against whom he protested for having assumed to act without his (Dincklage's) knowledge on public affairs, especially in the recent proceedings against Van der Donck. This protest was met

<sup>1</sup> Van der Donck's *Vertoogh van Nieu Nederlandt*, (4to. Ed. 1650,) 40 et seq. Van Tienhoven states that Stuyvesant obtained his information from Jansen, Van der Donck's landlord, and from Thomas Hall.

<sup>2</sup> The persons in attendance on this occasion, were the Vice Director, M. La Montagne, Brian Newton, P. L. van der Grist, Commissary Keyser, Capt. Schermerhorn, Lt. Martin Krygier, Ensigns Baxter and Heermans; Serjts. Paul Litschoe, Philip Gerardy, Peter Cock; and citizens Jacob Wolfertsen, Jan Evertsen Bout, and Borger Jorisen.

by reading a portion of the papers seized at Jansen's house, in which Van Dinclage was represented as having acknowledged himself (in Melyn's case) to have been a perjurer, and as having stated that "there were also many perjured men in the Council." The Vice Director denied that any such representations were contained in those papers, and in support of his denial, demanded the reading of Van der Donck's journal. But Stuyvesant would not comply with this demand. The question now came up as to the disposal of the author of the obnoxious paper. The Vice Director advised that he be heard in his defence and admitted to bail. Some were for treating him more harshly; others declined to vote; but the majority ruled that he should continue under arrest, until examined. On the subject of the proposed mission, there was diversity of opinion. The agitation within, had begun to communicate to those without doors. To reconcile all differences, the Director-general proposed "to select from every colonie and village in New Netherland two deputies, to fix a day to deliberate and determine on a mission for the welfare of the country." But the Vice Director, between whom and Stuyvesant there was now an irreconcilable rupture, would in no wise meddle with the matter. Van Dyck was unfavorable to calling delegates from every part of the province. He considered it sufficient to summon two or three persons from "the neighboring villages," as well English as Dutch, and from the Manhattans, to conclude on the proposition. Heermans said the matter ought to be referred to the Nine Men, but he was overruled by the rest of the meeting, who concurred in opinion with the Schout-fiscaal, and then adjourned. A commission was now appointed to investigate the case of Van der Donck, who, discovering the serious turn that things were taking, asked for his journal, with a view to alter it, as he did not desire to persist in what he had stated; for he found that he had, in the press of business, been led into error, and had no opportunity to revise what he had written. But this would not be accorded. He must remain in arrest until he should answer the interrogatories to be put to him.

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His examination proved as unsatisfactory as his preceding conduct, and the Director-general having summoned the Council and other public officers, delivered to them his opinion in writing. He reminded them of his having arrested Van der Donck, "by virtue of his authority and commission," for an injurious libel on the higher and lower officers; he informed them that the libellous passages had been read to their author, who replied to the commissioners "in an equivocal and indecisive way, yet affirming plainly and distinctly the injurious and calumnious accusations." As all this tended to bring the sovereign authority into contempt, he was bound to correct the evil. In his opinion the accused should be compelled to prove his assertions, or to recant what he had written. Failing this, he ought to be excluded from the Council and from the board of the Nine Men. Van Dinclage declined all co-operation in this war against the free exercise of the right of petition. The other members of the court were, however, more tractable, and Van der Donck was expelled the Council and the board of the Nine Men.

April. It was whilst the community was thus agitated, that the ship Prince William arrived with the muskets Stuyvesant had ordered, the preceding summer, for the Indians. The effect produced on the public mind, when the fact became known, may be easily conceived. His opponents commented on the circumstance with much severity. Here were those violating the law, who had punished others severely for having infringed it. Not satisfied with seizing guns which settlers brought out for self-defence, he must needs import muskets by the case to supply the savages, and that so publicly, that it was in every person's mouth. Rumor laid hold of the fact and added, that, no doubt, the Director-general had on board a much greater quantity of arms and ammunition, of which the people had no knowledge. Nay, grave citizens hinted that, if the truth were known, and dumb things could speak, such operations had been frequently resorted to before. But a Director, they supposed, was above the law; he was everything—a brewer, farmer,

part owner of ships, and a trader, as well in lawful as in contraband merchandise.<sup>1</sup>

Stuyvesant now found it necessary to explain his conduct, especially as the Fiscaal had instituted an action against the ship and cargo. He therefore announced that he was instructed by the Directors, and requested by the colonie of Rensselaerswyck, to provide the Indians sparingly on the Company's account with powder and ball, until the province should be in a better state of defence; but that not being able to furnish these articles, he was obliged to provide "other ways and means." He had, accordingly, ordered the factor of the Prince William to bring out twenty or thirty muskets, in order, as he represented, "that the freemen, who had often solicited guns, might obtain these at a reasonable price." The Council was satisfied, but not so were the Directors at Amsterdam. They disavowed his proceedings altogether. "Your transactions with Vastrick, about a box of thirty-six muskets, being entirely without our knowledge, is an affair that appears strange to us, and the rather, as you omitted to write us on the subject, though it was a matter of great importance. We fear that for the sake of a little gain, you have suffered yourself to be imposed on by people in whom you have placed confidence, and who, to carry their bad designs into execution, will now have an argument to support themselves therein."

The persecution of Van der Donck, and the affair of the Prince William, only strengthened the desire of the Nine Men to put the States General in possession of their complaints. The government, on the other hand, left no means untried to embarrass their progress. An old placard, originally issued some eleven years previous, for the purpose of authenticating legal documents, was re-enacted, on May 8 the ground that individuals, neither under oath, nor legally authorized, took evidence, "whereby too often many points are stated in favor of themselves, and often contrary to the intention of the witness, to the great prejudice of the opposite party." To prevent such an abuse, all affidavits,

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¹ Van der Donck's Vertoogh, 41, 42.

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interrogatories, and documents were declared null and void unless written by the secretary or some other qualified person. And so fearful still were the authorities that means would be found to communicate, during divine service, with the people, that "the Director-general went in person to Dominie Backerus, and told him that he should not be permitted, at the request of any individuals, to read from the pulpit to the congregation, under any pretence, either by himself or any of the deacons, any propositions whatsoever, appertaining to the police or general government, before such writings had been signed by the secretary by order of the Director, or by the Director and Council."

- These measures had the effect only of hastening the departure of the clergyman from New Amsterdam, and of urging the opposition more strongly in their course. The
- July 6. Reverend Mr. Backerus requested his dismissal shortly after. He returned to Holland to swell the number of complainants against General Stuyvesant;¹ and Adriaen van der Donck, Jacob van Couwenhoven, and Jan Evertsen Bout
- Aug. 15. followed, in the course of the succeeding month, as agents for the colonists.²
- Mar. 9. The Indians behind Staten Island exhibited, this spring, evidences of hostility, and killed one Simon Vanderbelt at Pavonia. The body was brought for interment to the
- July 28. Manhattans, which circumstance so alarmed the savages,

¹ The fears which you have expressed about the minister, Dominie Backerus, have, according to your opinion, been verified. He hath also joined the complainants coming from your parts. Directors of the Chamber of Amsterdam, to Director Stuyvesant Alb. Rec. iv.

² Jacob van Couwenhoven came, a young man, with his father, (Wolfert Gerritsen van C.,) to New Netherland, and was appointed Assistant Commissary by Wouter van Twiller. He subsequently obtained a tobacco plantation, in improving which, the Company assisted him; but he repaid these advances. VAN TIENHOVEN. The descendants of Wolfert Gerritsen are very numerous at the present day. Jan Evertsen Bout arrived, the last time, in New Netherland, in 1634, in the Eendracht, in the service of Patroon Pauw, and resided in Pavonia until 1643. When the Company purchased Pavonia, Bout entered the Company's service. His house, barn, and bouvery having been destroyed during the war, he became discontented and threw himself into the opposition. He sold his farm afterwards to Michel Jansen for 8000 fl., and removed to Breukelen. He died in 1670. Alb. Rec. iv., 2; vii., 222-247. Hol. Doc. iv., 22-24.

that, dreading retaliation, a general flight followed; but no attempt was made to punish them. The Director-general was bound by instructions rather to pursue a pacific policy towards the Indian tribes; and in keeping therewith, concluded a treaty with them in Fort Amsterdam, in the course of the summer, at which Dominie Megapolensis, Arendt van Curler, and Johannes van Twiller, of Rensselaerswyck, assisted. The Sachem of Achter Cul was the principal orator on this occasion.

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"The Minquaas of the South¹ are desirous," he said, "to live in friendship with the Dutch. As a guarantee of their sincerity, they have sent a present. An Indian of the Meck-gackhanic tribe had lately, without their knowledge, committed some mischief at Paulus Hoeck: he requested that the Dutch would excuse it. The Raritans, residing formerly at Wechquaesqueeck, had now no Sachem: they spoke also through his mouth, for they, too, wished to be the Dutchman's friends;" and in token of the truth of his words, he cast three beavers on the ground.

For those of Rensselaerswyck he made the same request, with a similar present, and throwing down two additional beavers, he declared, "in the name of all his brethren, that their hands were upright, and that they wished to live with the White Man in peace, and to obliterate, on both sides, the memories of the past. Would that ye could see my heart," he continued, "then would ye be convinced that that heart is sincere and true;" and laying two other beavers down, he added, "This is in confirmation of what I say."

"The Dutchman's chief had wished in former times to see me. Lo! I'm here. We have given a proof of our good intentions, and shall now await what ye intend to do;" and herewith he deposited two other beavers at their feet.

"The White Man's Sachem cannot understand our

¹ The Minqua Nation was not a tribe of the Five Nations; having settled at Conestogue, they were thence called the Conestoga Indians. Haz. Penn. Reg. xv., 181. See also Franklin's Narrative of the Massacre of the Conestoga Indians, in Lancaster co., Penn.

BOOK words: we do not doubt the sincerity of his intentions.
 IV. The Minquaas wish that ye and we may continue friends.
 1649. This we are willing to do."

Director Stuyvesant replied in courteous terms. He thanked the Sachems for their visit, and offered them, in return, "all neighborly friendship." He was gratified by their proposition, and should not be found wanting on his part; for he was desirous to live with them on terms of amity, and to give them no cause of complaint. If it happen that any one should injure them, they should make their complaint directly to him, when they would obtain justice. As a proof of his good disposition, he gratefully accepted their gifts, and in return, presented "the poor savages" with some presents to the amount of about twenty florins, together with some tobacco, and a gun for Oratami; "and so the savages departed very much satisfied." Advantage was taken of the friendly disposition among the natives, to purchase, this summer, the tract extending across the county of Westchester, from the East to the North Rivers, called Wechquaesqueeck.¹

¹ "On this day, the date underwritten, appeared before the Noble Lords, the Director and Council, Megtegichkama, Oteyochgue, and Wegtakockken, right owners of the land lying on the North River of Netherland, on the east shore called Wiequaeskeek, in breadth through the woods to a certain kill called Seweyrut, diverging at the East River, and from thence northward and southward to a certain kill named Rechawes, the same land lying betwixt two kills, one half woods, and betwixt the North and East Rivers; so that the western half to the aforesaid is still remaining, and the other easterly half, with a south and north direction through the middle of the woods; the aforesaid owners acknowledged, that with the consent of the chief Sachem, they have sold the parcel of land, and all the oystering, fishing, &c., unto the Noble Lord Petrus Stuyvesant, Director-general of New Netherland, for, and in consideration of certain parcels of merchandise, which they acknowledged to their satisfaction to have received into their hands and power, before the passing of these presents, viz.: 6 fathom of cloth for jackets; 6 do. seawan; 6 kettles; 6 axes; 6 adzes; 10 knives; 10 harrows; 10 strings of beads; 10 bells; 1 gun; 2 lbs. lead; 2 lbs. powder; 2 cloth coats; in consideration of which the before-mentioned owners do hereby convey, transport, and surrender the said land to the aforesaid Noble Lords, the Director-general and his successors, in full, true, and free ownership: To the said lands we the grantors, neither now nor hereafter, shall ever present any claim for ourselves, or our heirs or successors, desisting by these presents from all action, either of equity or jurisdiction, but conveying all the same to the said Director-general and his successors, to do therewith as it may seem proper to them, without they, the grantors, or any one of them, molesting the grantee of the said land, whether in his property or his family. It is also agreed that the

By the departure of the Rev. Mr. Backerus, New Amsterdam was now without a clergyman. The Rev. Mr. Megapolensis having received his dismissal from the colony of Rensselaerswyck, "was about to return to Fatherland, in the first sailing ship," and thus the Dutch colonists were to be deprived of the solacing comforts of a Christian ministry. To prevent this misfortune, the Director requested Doctor Megapolensis, "for the honor of God, for the increase of the church, and the interest of men," to remain in the country for a time at least.

This invitation was at first declined. His wife had preceded him to Holland, and he was also anxious to follow her, as his presence was necessary in that country, for the liquidation of an estate in which he was interested. But his stay was still urged, in pursuance to instructions from the Chamber at Amsterdam, "if it were only for the instruction of the children, who are every Sunday presented at the Manhattans for baptism—sometimes one—sometimes two—yea, sometimes three and four together;" otherwise, it was apprehended that the church would be a long time without a minister. His objections were at length overruled, and the Council having resolved to retain him, Aug. 6. "blanda vi, et quasi nolens, volens," he was installed minister of the church of New Amsterdam, at a salary of twelve hundred guilders, or \$480, per annum.¹

most westerly half, just as the Lord Director pleases, shall go with this for as many goods as in can be paid; and they, the grantors, promise at all times to induce their chiefs in the North River to talk the matter over, and not to sell to any without the knowledge of the Lord Director-general; the grantors promising this transport firmly to maintain, as in equity they are bound to do. Witness these presents, by them respectively signed in Fort Amsterdam, in New Netherland, this 14th day of July, A. D. 1649." Book of Patents, G. G. 507.

¹Alb. Rec. iv., 16, 17, 23; vii., 229, 230, 251-256. Rev. Mr. Megapolensis was author of a tract on the Mohawk Indians, entitled Kort Ontwerp Van de Mahakuase Indianen in N. Nederlandt, haer Lant, Stature, Dracht, Manieren en Magistraten, beschreven in 't jaer 1644, of which a translation is to be found in Haz. State Pap. i., 17. He wrote, shortly after, a religious treatise, entitled "Examination and Confession for the Benefit of those who are inclined to approach the Table of the Lord," which he transmitted, by his wife, to the Directors in Amsterdam, for publication. It was placed in the hands of the Classis of that city to be printed. Mrs. M. returned to her husband in the Falconer, in 1650.

CHAPTER VI.

Continued misunderstanding between the English and the Dutch—Gov. Winthrop endeavors to produce a reconciliation—Stuyvesant vindicates his conduct—Proposes a meeting at Connecticut—Renews his correspondence with New Haven—Writes to Gov. Bradford—Replies of Governors Winthrop and Eaton—The meeting postponed—Effect of Stuyvesant's letters on the Commissioners of the United Colonies—Complaints against the Dutch renewed—Retaliation threatened—Stuyvesant rejoins—Expresses a favorable disposition towards the English—By Cape Cod he meant Point Judith—State of England—The King a prisoner—An entirely new form of government about to be established there—Stuyvesant advised to cultivate peace with his English neighbors—Gov. Eaton writes again to the Director-general—Proposes a meeting at Boston—Death of Gov. Winthrop—Stuyvesant objects to Boston—Re-urges Connecticut—Proposes a visit to New Haven—Gov. Eaton disapproves thereof—His reasons—Inquiries about the Dutch tariff—Stuyvesant replies—Gov. Eaton advances in his demands—Is resisted—Meeting of the United Colonies—Gov. Eaton proposes the immediate settlement of the Delaware—Negatived by the Commissioners—Who write to Stuyvesant—Assert their right to lands on the Delaware—Complain of the Dutch selling ammunition and arms to their Indians—Exclude the Dutch and French from all trade whatsoever with the Indians within the New England plantations—Evil effects thereof to the Dutch—Stuyvesant censured by the Directors at Amsterdam—Efforts of the delegates in Holland.

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THE state of relations between New Netherland and New England still continued far from friendly. The complaints against the Dutch tariff, and the inconveniences experienced by English vessels and traders resorting to the Mannhattans, became so general that New Haven and Boston proposed retaliation at the meeting of the United Colonies, and the several General Courts were recommended "to provide for their safety and convenience," should the Dutch Director not afford proper satisfaction. Add to this, great alarm was expressed at the sale of arms and ammunition to the Indians within their jurisdiction, though it is probable that it was not so much this barter which disturbed them, as the loss of the beaver trade, now, by means of this traffic, almost wholly absorbed by the French and Dutch, whereby the English were deprived, in a great

degree, of the power to make remittances for the supplies they received from Europe. CHAP.
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Governor Winthrop took an early occasion to express to Director Stuyvesant his regret at the misunderstanding which existed between the latter and Governor Eaton, and his desire that all further provocation on either side be avoided. This communication, from a gentleman whose personal worth and integrity secured for him universal respect, drew from the Director-general a reply, in which he took occasion to remark that he had been wounded in his reputation, in a high degree, by the scandalous reports originated by those of New Haven, who taxed him with an attempt to raise the Mohawks against the English. It was contrary to the rules and principles of Christianity to entertain such a thought, much less to put in practice so "devilish and wicked a device." He had endeavored, when at Fort Orange, to establish, according to his bounden duty to God and his neighbor, a firm peace, not only between the Mohawks and all the other Indian tribes and the Dutch, but also between those and "his brethren the English and French." This proved the sincerity of his professions, and showed how unworthy was the requital which he had received from Mr. Winthrop's countrymen. "For Christianity's sake, for love and union," he should now waive this and other wrongs, and readily subscribe to all means which Governor Winthrop may consider expedient "for a reunion in the bonds of Christian love and friendly neighborhood." This letter was followed by another to the same functionary, in which the offer was renewed to meet the Governors of Massachusetts and New Plymouth, and the Commissioners of the United Colonies, at an early day, at Connecticut, to reconcile past, and prevent future differences; and to establish a joint league, offensive and defensive, the necessity of which he urged on the grounds of—1st. Their unity of faith; 2d. The ancient and loving union between both nations in Europe; 3d. Their common dangers from their common enemies; and 4th. The known malice of the barbarians to both the Dutch and English.

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April 3.

May 24.

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 1648. In the mean time, learning that some Dutch traders were in the habit of selling fire-arms on the Connecticut to the Indians, whom they were instigating against the English, he made it the occasion of renewing his correspondence with Governor Eaton, to whom he sent Sec. Van Tienhoven to obtain correct information as to the facts; assuring the Governor, at the same time, that if he succeeded in procuring evidence against the parties, he should inflict such exemplary punishment as would deter others from either trading indirectly with the Indians, or instigating them "against our Christian brethren of the English nation;" for he well knew that such practices may cause, and that justly, mutual jealousy and discontent. But he protested, "before God and the world, his innocence in either respect," and expressed a real and hearty desire for a continuation and increase of "neighborly love and correspondence." He hoped, in conclusion, that Governor Eaton would unite in the proposed meeting on the Connecticut, which, he doubted not, would result in good to all parties. A similar invitation was sent to Governor Bradford, in whose "real integrity and Christian endeavors to unite both nations in one joynt way of brotherly amity" he had every confidence.
- June 5. Governor Winthrop delayed not, on receiving Director Stuyvesant's letter, to express his happiness at the prospect of a termination of all differences, and the re-establishment of a friendly understanding with the English colonies. It was his opinion, however, that the projected meeting could not be held before the ensuing September. The charge brought against the Dutch of exciting the Indians, gained very little credit, he assured him, with Governor Eaton; and if the Director-general had suffered in any way from it, he entreated him to consider what provocation those of New Haven might apprehend from him when he laid claim to their town, and cut a ship out of their harbor.
- June 10. Governor Eaton, himself, wrote also about the same time to Director Stuyvesant, assuring him of his being favorably disposed towards the projected meeting; which, however, did not take place. Mr. Bradford's bodily infirmities:

the necessity of his consulting the commissioners, who were to assemble at Plymouth in September; and the want of time to make new arrangements, rendered the meeting at Connecticut impossible. Under these circumstances, June of the next year was proposed for the wished-for consultation, if that should suit the entire convenience of the Director-general. With this arrangement he could not help being satisfied. Yet he was sorry it was so. He had written to the Company, informing them that he was about to meet the English commissioners; now he would be obliged to send advices to the contrary. He reiterated his desire for peace, and hoped that none would think of war; and he assured the commissioners that it would be his aim to practice all loving correspondence towards those of New Haven and other places. To the former he had already recommended friendly intercourse: a cautious abstinence from everything like encroachment on one another's pretended rights; and a continuation of the statu quo until an amicable, just and fair settlement be concluded.

The anxiety which Director Stuyvesant evinced, in the whole of this correspondence, to be on good terms with the English; the desire he exhibited for peace, when there was no probability of war; and the urgency with which he pressed a settlement of the boundary line, seem to have contributed to mar the accomplishment of his wishes. They were regarded as betokening weakness, not only in the United Provinces and West India Company, but in the Dutch colony. The first had passed through a long and exhausting war with Spain; the Company had experienced severe losses, which rendered immediate supplies from Holland doubtful; and the colonists and Indians of New Netherland had begun to evince an unruly disposition. The English considered that a neighbor thus embarrassed, could very well afford to wait their leisure.¹ No communication was therefore received from them until the fall, when the Commissioners of the United Colonies renewed

¹ Letters in Director Stuyvesant's time. Winthrop's New England, ii., 311, 313, 316, 324, 325, 329, 330. Hubbard, 437, 438.

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the correspondence. They again complained of the sale of arms and ammunition by the Dutch to the Indians, in consequence of which the Mohawks had become insolent and dangerous. The tariff had neither been abolished nor modified, and customs were extorted from English traders who were only passing the Manhattans. They expressed themselves dissatisfied with the pretensions to the country from Cape Henlopen to Cape Cod, and having reviewed the communications to Governors Winthrop, Eaton and Bradford, and Deputy Governor Goodyear, during both the past and present years, they demanded if he were commissioned by his principals, to leave the differences on both sides to arbitration; if so, to whom, and whether the title to land and other questions propounded by Governor Eaton, were to be embraced in such reference. If he would explain himself on these matters, it would enable them to see more clearly their future course. In the mean time they gave notice, that it was their intention hereafter to enact that traders within any of the Dutch plantations, should in future receive no more liberty, within any of the harbors belonging to the English colonies, either as to anchorage, customs, searching, fines, seizures, &c., than English merchants experienced at the Manhattans, or within its jurisdiction; that all guns and munitions of war intended for the Indian trade, found on board any Dutch traders, may be seized until full enquiry and satisfaction be afforded; that whatever restraints, penalties and confiscations may be put by the government at Fort Amsterdam, on the English colonies or their merchants, for trading with the Indians within its jurisdiction, the same should be placed on the Dutch within the English limits; and lastly, if hereafter the Director-general should carry any ship, vessel, or goods out of any harbor within English jurisdiction, or seize elsewhere any property belonging to any merchant or mariner, of whatsoever nation, admitted to be a planter or inhabitant of any of the United Colonies, such damages would be repaired, and their rights vindicated by the English by all suitable means. But they suspended the enforcement of these regulations, until they learned the

determination of the Director-general on the matters embraced therein. If he refused, or delayed a satisfactory answer, he should be held responsible for the consequences.¹

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Director Stuyvesant did not fail to send an early reply to this communication. He was duly sensible of the bad consequences of the contraband trade with the Indians, and had done all in his power to prevent it, as well as to punish those who were found engaged in it. He wished them to understand that no other customs were imposed at the Mannhattans than those exacted in his predecessor's time. All commodities raised in New England (malt or beer excepted) were as favored as those raised by the Dutch—nay, the English paid six per cent. less than the latter, and were treated with “all lenitie and gentleness;” having never been subject to fines or seizures except in one case, where the person was guilty of contempt of an order with which he was well acquainted, and had once before transgressed. Confiscation was only resorted to in case of contraband, such as guns, powder, &c. He frankly acknowledged that all these things were the greatest hindrance to the settlement of the country, and he had, therefore, long since written to his superiors concerning them. It would afford him real pleasure to gratify the English traders in all their wishes, which he should most readily do as soon as authorized. He, therefore, hoped that the commissioners would not place any impediments in the way of freedom of trade, further than the maintenance of their government demanded. He would most readily second their proposition to institute a thorough search for arms and ammunition intended for the savages. He regretted that they had expressed themselves dissatisfied with his pretensions to the territory from Cape Henlopen to Cape Cod, but he begged them to understand that the place called by the English Cape Cod, was Cape Mallabarre with the Dutch; not however the same as that so denominated by the English, but another which they called Point Judith. He again expressed himself desirous for the proposed meeting, “that we might have some

¹ Hazard's State Papers, ii. New York Hist. Soc. Coll. i., 202-206.

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1648. agitation in way of preparing our superiors at home for determining the limits betwixt us, that all future causes of contestation betwixt us and our posterity here might be removed, and a firm Christian union settled." His commission from his sovereign would, he assured them, be found as large and as ample as they should desire. The instance in which he had exacted recognitions from a vessel passing the Mannhattans, occurred only in the case of an English vessel that had traded at the South River, which practice had, however, been since abandoned. He concluded by remarking that they had committed an error in calling New Netherland, a "plantation." The States General had entitled and invested it with the liberties and privileges of a province, and so acknowledged it in all their commissions.

The internal condition of England was now such as to offer an insurmountable obstacle to the settlement in Europe of the various differences between the English and Dutch colonists in America; a course which Stuyvesant strenuously recommended to the Directors at Amsterdam. "We are unable to find anybody properly authorized for that purpose," the latter replied. "The King is detained by the army under General Fairfax and his lieutenant, Cromwell. Several of the members of Parliament are prisoners or fugitives. The Prince of Wales and Duke of York have fled hither, and it appears as if the lowest will get the sway, and that an entire new mode of government will be adopted in that kingdom." The best policy for General Stuyvesant was, they considered, "to endeavor to live with his neighbors on the best terms possible;" the rather, as the English were much too strong for the Dutch, and a war, for that reason, was by no means advisable.¹

Governor Eaton having received the Director-general's answer to the letter from the Commissioners of the United Colonies, returned a reply in due season, from which Stuyvesant learned that his explanations were still deemed unsatisfactory. Desirous, however, to settle all difficulties,

¹ Alb. Rec. iv. 15.

those authorities consented to a meeting in the last week of June, or the first in July. As the Governors of Massachusetts and Plymouth were advanced in life, and unequal to any long journey, Boston was considered the fittest place to arbitrate. Meanwhile the English would not submit to the duties and burthens imposed at the Manhattans. If not speedily removed, they could not be blamed if they provided a remedy against them. This letter conveyed, also, the melancholy intelligence of the death of Governor Winthrop. Director Stuyvesant was much affected by "the sad loss of one whose wisdom and integrity might have done much in composing matters between us." As it was, he objected to Boston as the place of meeting, and again urged Connecticut as the more convenient point. If such an arrangement were concurred in, he was willing to attend at the time appointed. If not, he should nevertheless visit New Haven, where he proposed to converse with Governor Eaton, in the hope of removing all mutual mistakes or misapprehensions.

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The Governor's reply discouraged any such visit. "Remembering what passed, not only formerly in Mons. Kieft's time, but, more lately, since," he submitted whether, "after a public treaty had been so often proposed," in which other colonies were interested, it would be proper on the one side, or comely on the other, "to resolve it without their satisfaction or consent, into a private visit and conference." In discharge of his duty to the crown of England, his engagements to his own jurisdiction, and in reference to the complaints of some private persons, he would be obliged to propose and press questions, to which the Director-general alone knew whether he was prepared to give satisfactory replies; and if not, whether it was probable their meeting would be productive of any good effects. In frankly submitting these doubts, he hoped no misconception or censure would be put on his open and plain dealing. He next stated that he had learned that the customs and other duties imposed by the Dutch had been taken off, "and the hand taken down;" at least that all the vessels belonging to the English colonies may

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- anchor "where they themselves see good," whence he conceived that "they shall find the Manhatoes, in all respects, both in trading there and in passing to and fro, as open and free as the English harbors have hitherto been to the Dutch." If this information were unfounded, he wished to be corrected, as he may be questioned on the subject.
- May 26. The Director-general, in reply, acquainted him that the ten per cent. heretofore levied on goods imported by the English from New England was suspended for the present, and would not be demanded until further orders. The guide-post designating the anchorage ground had been blown down, and should not again be erected.

The New Haven Governor, who seems to have been authorized to treat with the Dutch Director in the interval of the sittings of the United Colonies, now advanced in his demands, and insisted that the English passing from Virginia, the Delaware, &c., and trading at the Mannhattans should be free "from all recognitions, imposition or charge, by what name soever called, both on goods imported and exported." He likewise enquired what duties were still retained, what confiscations they must submit to, and on what grounds these were enforced, "so that the merchant, seeing his way, may walk safely, and the commissioners may order their councils and courses accordingly."

- June 17.
- July 2. Stuyvesant had made as many concessions as courtesy could require. Beyond this he was not prepared to go. He had already granted as much as he could or dared to grant until he had further orders from his superiors, and was not responsible to any but them, nor would he be regulated by any other power.

The meeting at Connecticut was now, again, postponed; ostensibly because of Gov. Bradford's indisposition and Mr. Dudley's advanced years, but more probably on account of an extraordinary session which the delegates from the United Colonies held at Boston in consequence of the alarming aspect of affairs with the Indians. At this meeting Gov. Eaton proposed that effectual measures be immediately adopted for the settlement of Delaware Bay. A number of New Haven merchants had purchased extensive

tracts on both sides of that river. The fertility of the soil, the healthfulness of the country, the convenience of the several streams, and the inducements to trade in that quarter, afforded great encouragements to enterprising settlers. The intention to make this move had, however, reached Director Stuyvesant's ears some time previously, and he had taken an early opportunity to call the attention of Governors Endicott and Bradford, and of Gen. Gibbons of Massachusetts, to it, and to the fact that the South River belonged of right to the Dutch, both by lawful commission from the States General, and lawful purchase from the natives. This right he was bound to maintain. He, therefore, hoped, that if anything happened otherwise than as expected, and the project should be persisted in, they, and not the Dutch, should be considered the cause of the trouble.

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When Gov. Eaton's proposal came up, the commissioners gave it a prudent quietus. The circumstances of the colonies were such as to render it, in their opinion, imprudent at that time to encourage, by any public act, such a settlement. Exclusive of the difficulties with the Dutch, and the danger of involving the colonies in war, they had, they considered, an insufficient number of men for their own defence, and for the prosecution of the necessary business of their respective plantations. The merchants and gentlemen of New Haven were, therefore, recommended to dispose of their lands as to them seemed best; and the commissioners resolved, that if any persons in the United Colonies attempted to make settlements thereupon, without their consent, or to do aught injurious to the rights of the purchasers, they should neither own nor protect them in their unjust attempts. They, however, wrote to Director Stuyvesant asserting the right of the English to the lands in question, as well as to all the English plantations and their appurtenances to Cape Cod, and informed him that they considered his reply to their letter of the preceding September, defective in sundry respects. It was wholly silent on the subject of trade carried on with the Indians at Fort Orange, and within the English jurisdiction; it

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 1649. afforded no information how far the merchants were free of customs, inward and outward; or whether these burthens were utterly abolished, or only temporarily suspended; what restraints on trade were continued, or in what cases English goods were liable to seizure. All these difficulties might, in their opinion, have been put into a shape to be sent to Europe, had the Director-general attended the meeting at Boston, according to invitation. But as this course was not convenient, they were now constrained to provide for their own safety, and "to write after his copy." In keeping with this conclusion, they resolved, "That after due notice thereof, it shall not be lawful for any Frenchman, Dutchman, or any person of any foreign nation, or any Englishman living among them, or under the government of any of them, to trade with any Indian or Indians within this jurisdiction, either directly or indirectly, by themselves or others, under the penalty of confiscation of all such goods and vessels as shall be found so trading, or the true value thereof, upon just proof."¹

By this resolution, the Dutch were excluded from a very important and very valuable trade, of which they had been in the enjoyment since the first settlement of the country. The confusion which followed was necessarily very great, and tended considerably to increase the popular clamor in the colony against the administration, whilst by the Directors in Holland, Stuyvesant was charged with having been the main cause of all the difficulty. "We cannot," said they, "pass in silence your imprudent trade in guns with Vastrick, without our order or knowledge, whereby we have been calumniated, although we were surprised at the transaction, and considered your excuses very paltry, which as such were set aside by this department. You have placed your reputation, by such traffic, in jeopardy, more especially as it is now followed by the complaints and threats of our English neighbors. . . . If we, through similar transactions, are compelled to a rupture with the English, we question not but the deputies of their

¹ New York Hist. Soc. Coll. i., 208-210, from Hazard's State Papers, ii.

High Mightinesses will take it amiss, especially as the delegates have left nothing untried to persuade that college, that you will be the cause of such a war."¹

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Of the efforts of these delegates to obtain a reform in the government of New Netherland, it is now our duty to speak.

¹ Alb. Rec. iv.

CHAPTER VII.

The delegates from New Netherland present their petition to the States General—Peculiarity of its plan—Commences with the discovery of the country—Describes its physical character and productions—The aborigines and their manners—The backwardness of the colony—Causes thereof—Misgovernment—Discouragement of emigration—Useless expenditure—Obstruction of free trade—High prices of merchandise—Lofty pretensions of the Directors—Who claim sovereign power—Maintain to be above the law—Errors of Kieft's administration—Church affairs—Schools—No provision for the poor, the orphans and sick—Origin of the excise—Party spirit—Stuyvesant imitates Rehoboam—Estimated revenue—Negroes—Kieft's Council—Van Tienhoven the cause of the war—Stuyvesant's administration—He is accused of haughtiness, partiality, imperiousness—Denies the right of appeal—Threatens those who attempt to exercise it—Public discontent—Weights and measures—Currency—Fort—The sheep are sheared, but the wool is unwashed—Characters of Stuyvesant's Councillors—The Nine Men rascals—Further complaints against the Company—Efforts to accomplish this mission—Seizure of Van der Donck's papers—Dangers incurred by those who meddle with public affairs—Motives for making this remonstrance—Concluding demands—Petition referred—Van Tienhoven's reply—Regulations of trade—Appeal refused conformably to the Exemptions—Directors have a right to banish—Explanation about the church and school-house—No Latin school—Deacons responsible for the poor money—Complaints against the excise not justifiable—Dutch not taxed as heavily as those of New England—Revenue from the excise—Stuyvesant's character defended—His motives for furnishing the Indians with guns—Was always favorable to a mission to Fatherland—Imprisonments during his time—The demand that the Company should surrender New Netherland, frivolous—The people should provide such public buildings as they require—A new clergyman for Fort Amsterdam.

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On the arrival of the New Netherland delegates at the Hague, they immediately laid before the States General the remonstrance with which they were entrusted. This document was as peculiar in its plan, as it was interesting in its details. Commencing with the discovery of the country, its boundaries and latitude, it proceeded to describe its climate, soil, rivers, mountains, seasons and productions; its wild and domestic cattle; its fowls, fishes and reptiles, plants and minerals; its aboriginal inhabitants; their conformation, habits, manners, customs and mode of living, both in peace and war. Passing afterwards to the incor-

poration of the Dutch West India Company, it recapitulated the several forts erected by that association, when it took possession of the province, and then referred to the differences between the Dutch and the neighboring English, whose encroachments at the east were commented on with honest severity. The Delaware, or South River, was next described; its capaciousness and advantages in a naval point of view; the fertility of its lands, and the benefits it offers to traders and settlers; and the usurpations of the Swedes in that quarter are strongly complained of, whilst Dutch colonists were refused lands thereabout. Whose fault this was—whether the Director-general's or the Company's—the petitioners pretended not to say. "One shoves the blame on the other, and between them both all goes to ruin. Foreigners who settle in the country thrive right well and scoff at us. They enjoy free privileges, with which if we, Netherlanders, were invested, we should doubtless flourish as well, if not better, than they." The Company, or their servants, were the main obstacles to the improvement of the country, which must continue to fare ill, so long as it remained under their management. "That noble province" could, they protest, serve as a refuge for all the poor of Holland, "for it is much easier for men, who can labor, to procure food there than in Fatherland." Why the colonists, with all these advantages, should complain of poverty and want; why they should demand reforms, diminution of burthens, increase of population, and bewail their sorrowful condition, the petitioners next proceed to explain, "as correctly, honestly, and truly as it is possible to do; and according as they have seen and heard."

The first of these causes, they maintained, was the misgovernment to which the province had been subjected. "This is the sole and true foundation of the ruin and destruction of New Netherland." In the infancy of the colony, the Company's Directors laid their bad plans, looked on the population in a self-interested light, rather than in reference to the prosperity of the province, and believed plausible rather than good councils. This was

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corroborated by the unnecessary expenses incurred ; by the heavy accounts from thence ; by the Directors undertaking colonies ; by their embarking in trade when it was opened, and, finally, by the neglect to promote population. For instead of encouraging this, they made great outlays on things unnecessary ; such as “building the ship *New Netherland* at a heavy expense ; the construction of three large mills ; tile making ; tar burning ; manufacturing salt ; clearing land ; and many other speculations, which, by mismanagement, came to nought, though they cost a great deal. Had all this been expended in peopling the country and importing stock, the province had now been in high repute ; for it is more favorably situated, and better, in every way, than that occupied by the English, who, even now, would not so far surpass the Dutch, were not self-interest and private traffic regarded over much.” But instead of advancing population, the Company absolutely discouraged Dutch settlers, many of whom were refused land on the East and South Rivers, whilst foreigners were allowed to establish themselves thereupon. Nothing was done to prevent this. Garrisons were never maintained conformably to the exemptions, so that those in Holland were as blameworthy as those in *New Netherland*, for the wretched condition of the colony. “Trade, without which no country can prosper, was likewise so diminished, that it was almost annihilated by onerous duties and all the searches and trouble accompanying it.” To rigorous searches, when directed against articles of contraband, and impartially enforced, they had no objection ; but this was not the case. The duties were too high, and these, together with visits and seizures, drove away lawful trade, except a small portion which is carried on *pro formâ*, and to cover smuggling. The Christians were treated, in the mean time, almost like Indians, especially as regarded the purchase of indispensable necessities, creating, as a consequence, great complaints, suffering and poverty. Dry goods, which are subject to little or no damage, are sold by the merchants on credit, at an advance of one hundred per cent. ; others, with small means, retail them to the

commonalty at an advance of another hundred, or so, according to the demand. On liquors, which are subject to great leakage, they exact more. A third class of traders, who purchase from the smaller merchants, have recourse to so much fraud, that goods at third hand sell at three hundred and more advance. Every contrivance is applied to realize gain and profit, but no plan thought of to settle the country.

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The local Directors, at a distance from their superiors, looked sharp to their own interests, always under the pretence of the public good. They invariably demeaned themselves as if they were sovereigns of the country. As they willed, so must it be; as they ordered, so it was. The Company are masters in Fatherland, but here, say they, we are masters; as we understand it, so shall it be. There is no appeal from that. On this principle it was easy for them to act, for the people were few in number, mostly poor and inexperienced, and few among them being intelligent, or able to act for themselves, could not, at first, see through the dark and subtle policy of those in power. The latter succeeded, therefore, in many instances. Director Kieft maintained that he was as much a sovereign in his government as the Prince in Netherland. The present Director claims also the same, for his axiom is, "The prince is above the law!" Having all power at their disposal, these Directors have done, and can do, whatsoever they pleased. Whatsoever they did must be right, because they willed it.

The petitioners, having thus given a general view of their discontents, next proceeded to particulars, and detailed with much preciseness the errors of Kieft's administration. They premised, however, their utter inability to describe its manifold subterfuges, so cunningly and so dissemblingly were these practiced. Nevertheless, they will "furnish some idea of the lion by his claw." They then enumerate the expedients to which he had recourse for the erection of the church, censuring him at the same time for locating it in the fort, whereby, though erected by the commonalty, it became the property of the Company. As

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for the revenue of the church, they knew of none. No pains were taken, either by the Director or the Company, to create any. There had been a great deal said about a common school, "which was built by talk," though the first stone was not yet laid. The funds collected for this object had all been either wasted or misapplied. No provision had been made for the poor, who had to depend entirely on the charity of the congregation and a few fines and offerings. But the great part of even this sacred fund had found its way into the Company's hands, on interest it was pretended, but as yet neither principal nor interest was forthcoming. There were some flying reports about an orphan asylum, an hospital for the sick and aged, but nothing had been hitherto done for either of these, nor for the conversion of the Indians or Company's slaves. The origin of the excise was next explained. It was at first only a temporary impost established until the arrival of a new Director or the conclusion of a general peace. This tax was the cause of all the trouble and discontent which since distracted the community. It introduced party spirit, and exposed even innocent persons to suspicion. On the proclamation of peace, it was expected that the impost would be removed, but it was continued until the arrival of the present Director-general, who only imitated the policy of Rehoboam;<sup>1</sup> instead of removing the excise on beer, he imposed another on wine, and added, besides, other insufferable burdens. The people's complaints were received with jeers instead of sympathy, and in this way burthens were imposed on the community until the revenue rose, it was estimated, from sixteen thousand to thirty thousand guilders per annum. Promises were held out that these were to be expended on public works. But during Kieft's administration nothing of that sort had been accomplished, except the church. The revenue was squandered in making friends or silencing enemies. Even negroes were sold for pork and peas, but the proceeds of these sales "dripped through the fingers."

<sup>1</sup> See 1st Book of Kings, xii., 13, 14.

The faulty composition of Kieft's Council is next advertised on in severe terms, and the remonstrants then pass to the administration of Director Stuyvesant. His first coming was, like that of a peacock, pompous and stately, and he was to remain but three years. The title of "Myn Heer Generaal" was never known until he came. His whole time was occupied in issuing proclamations, the majority of which he never enforced. In the dispensation of justice he always supported one party with all his might, not like a judge, but an advocate, so that few durst bring any suits before his court, unless they stood well with him; "for whosoever was opposed to him had both sun and moon against them." A complaisant and obliging majority was always ready to endorse the conclusions of the long and prosy opinions, which he submitted with, "Gentlemen, this is my advice; if any think differently, let him speak." But if any did think differently, and expressed his thoughts, "his Excellency flared up, and made such faces that it was frightful; yea, he frequently berated the Council in language which suited better the fish market than the council-hall; and though all this was submitted to, yet would he not rest until he had his will." The proceedings against Kuyter and Melyn proved him to be so partial, that many immediately formed their opinions of him, though few to his advantage; for every one saw that all favor was shown to Kieft, and that one Director pleaded for the other, as Stuyvesant's language plainly indicated, for he said, "Those cur-dogs will hereafter endeavor to knock me also down, but I shall now so manage it, that they shall have their bellies full for all time to come." The result proved the fact; for they were fined and banished, and Melyn was afterwards significantly told, that if the Director had anticipated that he would have brought his judgment before their High Mightinesses, Stuyvesant would have had him hanged on the highest tree in New Netherland! "But as this happened in private, it cannot be known, and may not be true." A subsequent occurrence, however, rendered it probable; for when Van Hardenbergh mentioned his intention to enter an

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BOOK appeal, as curator to a vacant estate, the Director warned  
 IV. him, that if people thought of appealing during his ad-  
 1649. ministration, he should make whomsoever did so "a foot  
 shorter." "O cruel words! what more could a king do?"  
 Hitherto the Heer Stuyvesant had, they represented, been  
 mostly engaged in building, brick-making, and such like  
 occupations, on the Company's account, though little to  
 its advantage, for more was expended on some things  
 than they were worth. At first he completed the church,  
 and next erected a wooden wharf; but, with the exception  
 of these, they knew of nothing useful that had been done,  
 or that could be called public work. The revenue, they  
 contended, was sufficient, and justified further improve-  
 ments, yet men, "like dropsical patients, were still crying  
 out for more." This had increased public discontent, and  
 had been followed by divers protests against the waste  
 and extravagance which prevailed. But all was of no  
 avail. The more people endeavored to push ahead and  
 better the state of the colony, the worse it was. Pride  
 ruled all, and men decided right opposite to the advice  
 they received, as if every suggestion should proceed from  
 one head. Before the 23d July of this year, no order had  
 passed for the regulation of weights and measures. The  
 public had been told that some should be issued in the  
 succeeding month of August, but this was as much as  
 to say, "he'd give drink to pigeons." Weights and  
 measures remained unmarked. Some, whose consciences  
 are large, have, it is believed, two sets, though this could  
 not be proved; and even the Company's corn measure has  
 always been suspected. But who dare speak against it?

No regularity existed in regard to the wampum currency,  
 which formed the circulation of the country, though the se-  
 lect men demanded it, and laid down a plan for that purpose.  
 But there had always been some objection, and the pro-  
 posals were met by evil and spiteful words. Even those  
 whose office impelled them to speak on the subject were  
 scolded as rascals, bear-skinners, &c.

The fort, which was to serve as a shelter to the people, lay  
 like a ruined molehill; not a single gun-carriage or cannon in

good condition. It was at first proposed to have five angles affixed to the fort, and it was to be finished on a magnificent scale. The select men were requested to supply funds, but they excused themselves as the people were poor. Every person was, moreover, discontented, and feared that if the Director-general had the fort at his back, he would become more oppressive. For these reasons it was allowed "to stick." He, no doubt, would throw the responsibility on the people, who were innocent, for he insisted that he had orders to call on the commonalty for the money. But had he applied the fourth part of the funds collected in his time to that work, certain it is there would have been no lack of means, as the excise on wine was levied expressly for that purpose. The fact, however, is that a thousand ways are invented "to shear the sheep, and the wool remains yet unwashed." In regard to public works, there is little difference between Director Kieft and Director Stuyvesant.

Having thus disposed of the President of the Council, the petitioners reviewed the conduct and characters of the other members of that body. The Vice Director had evinced for a considerable time great dissatisfaction, and protested on divers occasions against the Director-general and his Council. This, however, was only of late, and when others had evinced opposition to their course. He had, at first, been so confounded by fear that he could, or durst, do nothing against the Director. He was, in consequence, obliged to allow many things to pass unnoticed, to which he afterwards declared he had been opposed, as contrary to law. But he saw no other means to obtain peace, for the Director stated in council that if he did not do as he was ordered, he should treat him even worse than he had been treated by Wouter van Twiller. Mons. La Montagne cannot act independently, for he is indebted to the Company. It is well known, however, that he disapproved of the war. Brian Newton is an Englishman, totally ignorant of the Dutch language, and but little acquainted with law; he is moreover incapable of giving a written opinion, fears the Director-general, whom he

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honors as his benefactor, and is able and willing only to say—yes. Adrian Keyser hath not forgotten much law. He says nothing, and finding that he prospers well by that policy, remains silent. The ship captains, when ashore, have a voice in the Council. What knowledge of law these people possess, who have passed all their lives at sea, and have been brought up on ship board, every one can understand. They are under obligations to the Director-general, and cannot oppose him. Fiscaal Van Dyck had been excluded by Stuyvesant twenty-nine months from the Council, on pretence that he had no vote—that his duty consisted only in publishing the resolutions of the board. He had frequently designated him as a rascal, a villain and a thief, but Van Dyck bore it all. “What more could be expected from a man whose head was not right, and in whom a screw was loose?” Cornelis van Tienhoven’s character was drawn with a few strokes of the pen. He was crafty, subtle, intelligent and sharp-witted. From his long residence in the country, he was thoroughly acquainted with every man’s circumstances, both Christians and Indians. With the latter he was an Indian; ran about dressed like them, through lechery, to which he was so excessively addicted, that the Director was unable, either by threats or punishment, to wean him from it. He was an adept in dissembling. When he laughed heartiest, he bit worst. Where he hated most, he pretended the warmest friendship. He always made warm professions and large promises, yet assisted no one. In words and dealings he was loose, false, deceitful and lying; promising every one, but when they came to the point, “he was not at home.” The war was attributed entirely to him, for Director Kieft was swayed by his falsehoods, and this is the belief both of right-minded Indians and Christians. “Now, if, according to the established rule, the voice of the people be the voice of God, nothing good can with truth be said of this man, nor can any evil be concealed. The whole land (the Director and his friends excepted) cry out against him, as a cheat, a murderer and a traitor, who must quit the country before peace can abide therein.” Director Stuyvesant, they added,

was well aware of all this, yet retains him in the public service, and confides everything to him; so that he can do more than if he were President. It was to be hoped that he would not exercise the same influence over others.

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Having constructed his Council of such materials, Stuyvesant's object, they now pretended, evidently was, to maintain his fancied sovereignty. With this view Nine Men were chosen to represent the commonalty, with commission, that whatever they should conclude, would be the act of the whole people. This, indeed, was the case when it comported with the opinion and sentiments of the Director-general. But when it happened otherwise, they were "rascals, extortioners and rebels."

The proceedings against Schermerhorn, Reyntsen and De Bakker, were next animadverted on in strong terms, and their prosecution, for selling arms to the Indians, contrasted with Stuyvesant's own conduct in secretly importing guns to be distributed among the savages. The propensity to confiscation was, they repeated, highly injurious to the country's prosperity, as it diverted trade to other colonies at the expense of New Netherland. They again complained of the weight of taxation, and the absence of all sympathy on the part of the Company, "who during the war never enquired whether New Netherland sank or swam;" never afforded help or assistance, nor up to the present hour, caused any enquiry to be instituted as to its origin, nor evinced any disposition to punish those who commenced it, who, though they failed to protect, knew right well how to tax the people.

The efforts to obtain the Director-general's co-operation in sending a mission to Holland are next detailed, as well as the rupture which ensued between them and Stuyvesant in consequence. They acquaint their High Mightinesses of the exceptionable means the Director-general adopted to obtain possession of Van der Donck's papers—of the latter's arrest under a charge of high treason—his imprisonment, examination and final expulsion from the Council. "And this is the common practice. Those who meddle with public affairs do well so long as they minister to the

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1649. General's appetite and pleasure. If they fail in that, they are prosecuted, indicted, cast into prison, guarded by soldiers so that no person can speak to them, outrageously abused, threatened with this and that, and everything perpetrated and committed against them that can be invented. Had it not been for their love of country and truth, (which thus far hath long slept in the grave,) the petitioners avow that they had been borne down by all the persecution and anxiety they have experienced. Yet all these had not so much afflicted them as the sad condition of New Netherland, "now lying at its last gasp;" for it is useless to expect that it will ever flourish under the Company. On the contrary, it will most undoubtedly wither and decay, and even the Company will not receive any benefit from it. Far better and more profitable would it be for that body to surrender it, and transfer what is left of it to other hands. They again urge that provision be made for the support of religion and the propagation of the gospel; for the diffusion of education, "so that in such a wild country the youth may be well instructed and trained not only in reading and writing, but also in the knowledge and fear of the Lord." No regularity existed in keeping school. It is kept as this or that one pleases, and just so long as he thinks fit. The country must be provided with a moral, honorable and intelligent Governor, neither too indigent nor too exacting; for "covetous rulers make poor subjects," and the government, as at present administered, is an intolerable oppression to the country, for no man is unmolested or safe any longer than it pleases the Director-general. Increase of population would follow good government; and though free passages may be at first considered expensive, they would, when the results are looked to, be considered a wise provision, were boors, servants and other necessary persons introduced thereby into the country. Prosperity would then ensue, settlers be encouraged, navigation and trade attracted; and with the pleasantness, salubrity and fertility of the country, crowds would be allured thither, and New Netherland become, in a few years, a brave place, useful to the Dutch

nation, and, with thanks to its benefactors, would richly repay all disbursements.<sup>1</sup>

A distinct petition accompanied this remonstrance, in which the colonists specified the several reforms they demanded. These were, 1st. A burgher, or municipal government suitable to the province, and "resembling somewhat the laudable institutions of Fatherland;" 2d. Freedom from customs, tenths, and other burthens; 3d. The abolition of the export duty on tobacco; 4th. Liberty to export their produce to the West Indies, and all countries at peace with the United Provinces; 5th. The encouragement of emigration and of the fisheries; and 6th. The settlement of the colonial boundaries.<sup>2</sup>

These papers were referred to a committee composed of the Hon. Van der Capellen, Van Aersbergen, Van der Holck, and other deputies, with instructions to receive evidence on the charges which it contained, and to report thereon with all convenient speed. The Directors at Amsterdam and the agents of the colonial administration were not, in the mean time, idle. Van Tienhoven prepared without delay, "a brief statement in reply to some points contained in the written deduction of Adriaen van der Donck and associates," which was, he averred, "a tissue of assertions without any proofs." This reply was, however, confined exclusively to those parts containing accusations either against the Company or its Director.

The assertion that land was refused to the Dutch was absolutely contradicted, and as to the encroachments of the English, the orders of the Company were to act on the defensive, "as they were unable to resist their hypocritical friends," and could maintain their rights only by protest. Trade had been for a long time free to all. No person's goods or property had been confiscated unless for violation of contract or written engagements. That some skippers dread confiscation, and therefore do not come to New Netherland, is very probable, for none can visit that province without license. Whoever is provided with this, and has duly

<sup>1</sup> Van der Donck's *Vertoogh*; Hol. Doc. iv., 71-207.

<sup>2</sup> Hol. Doc. iv., 28-36.

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entered his goods, need not fear confiscations, "unless they be interlopers and sail under double commissions." If Christians are treated by merchants like Indians, that is not the fault of the Company or its Directors. The majority of the remonstrants are themselves traders or factors, and therefore are to blame; for they charge for what they get in Europe for one hundred florins, in some cases two to three hundred per cent. Hence, these people lay at the doors of the Directors and their officers, faults of which they themselves are guilty. The government cannot prevent people monopolizing, and deriving a profit from goods, especially as the trade, both great and small, is open to every one. The allegation that the Director usurped sovereign power, is vague and general. The refusal of appeal was founded on the clause in the exemptions which constituted the island of Manhattans the capital of New Netherland, to which, as the supreme court of the country, all appeals lay. There was, moreover, no precedent of their High Mightinesses' having ever received an appeal from that province. It would be a strange thing, indeed, that the Company's officers had not the power to banish any person out of the country. No man is admitted into New Netherland except on condition (not that he shall have anything to say, but) that he shall acknowledge himself subject to the sovereignty of their High Mightinesses the States General, and the Lords Directors, as their Lords and Patroons, and obey the Director and Council for the time being, as good subjects are bound to do. The authorities of Rensselaerswyck, which is a subaltern jurisdiction, absolutely banish from the colonie those whom the public good demands to be thus punished, and surely the supreme government itself cannot but possess the same right.

The Directors never had anything to do with the property of the church. A subscription was entered into in Kieft's time to aid in the erection of that building, which, however, was not paid. "The Company paid the workmen." The consistory was satisfied at the time that it should be located in the fort; but these people considered

the Company's fort not worthy the honor of a church. It is true the new school-house had not been built, but this was not the fault of the Director, who is busy collecting materials, but of the churchwardens, who had charge of the funds which the commonalty subscribed. In the meanwhile, a place for a school had been provided and held. Other teachers keep schools in hired houses, so that the youth are furnished with the means of education, according to the circumstances of the country. 'Tis true there is no Latin school nor academy; those of the commonalty who require such, can look to it and supply the funds. The deacons are accountable for what concerns the poor. They can tell where the money is gone, and who have had it from time to time on interest. The Director never administered these funds. Director Kieft borrowed all the small fines and penalties imposed by the court, and placed in the poor's box. "He opened the box with the consent of the deacons, and took the contents" on interest. The sum was of small amount.

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The complaints against the excise were entirely unjustifiable, and the petitioners had no cause to complain; "for the trader, buyer and boor may lay in as much beer and wine as they please free of excise, being only bound to make a return of the quantity. Tapsters alone are excepted from this; but what they pay returns to them from those who resort to their taverns, and from travellers from New England, Virginia and elsewhere. This is the only internal tax the commonalty pay. In addition, exported beavers pay eight per cent. Some complain, notwithstanding, that the Dutch are taxed heavier than the people of New England. It is true that there are no duties either on exports or imports in the latter plantations, but the property of each inhabitant is assessed, and he is obliged to pay according to his means. In this way he is taxed to build and support churches and schools; to maintain preachers and schoolmasters; to erect public buildings in cities and villages; to construct and repair all highways and bridges; to support governors, magistrates, constables, and other officers of justice; and to pay the several officers

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of the militia. There is, moreover, in each province of New England a quarterly meeting of all the magistrates resident in such province, and a General Assembly of all the provinces once a year. All the expenses, allowances and wages of these are also a public charge. It is hence apparent that the New England people are more heavily taxed than the Dutch.

The assertion that the revenue contributed by the commonalty in Stuyvesant's time amounted yearly to thirty thousand guilders, was without foundation. "Nothing was received except the beer and wine excise, which produced at the Manhattans about four thousand guilders a year." Little or nothing was received from the outside villages, "as there are no taverns except one at the Ferry (Breukelen) and one at Vlissingen," or Flushing, L. I.<sup>1</sup> It was very questionable whether the Company was bound to undertake any public buildings for the commonalty out of the customs. These were granted by their High Mightinesses for the maintenance of garrisons and to defray other expenses, and not for the erection of hospitals, orphan asylums, churches and school-houses. The assertion that the public property has been squandered to make friends was likewise unfounded. The provisions obtained in exchange for the negroes were partly sent to Curaçoa and partly consumed at the Manhattans. "But all these are things which concern not the people."

The charges brought against the Director-general's personal demeanor towards others, was met by disparaging the persons who complained of it. Those who took umbrage at his haughtiness "were such as sought to live without either magistrates or law." He never abused, as a rascal, "any man of character who treated him with respect." "It might have happened that some ruffian or

<sup>1</sup> Van Tienhoven had recourse to a fallacy in this statement. The petitioners stated in their remonstrance that "the revenue rose, as was estimated, from sixteen to thirty thousand guilders," (including, no doubt, the duties on imports and exports.) Van Tienhoven confines his statement to the excise on beer and wine. His fallacy consists in denying that the import and export customs were paid by the commonalty.

other may have given him cause to have applied harsh language to him." He never pleaded in the court, but spoke as president, and, as such, put suitable questions to parties, pronouncing, afterwards, with the advice of the Council, sentences against which "the malevolent" complain. For the expenses he incurred in building ships and wharves and repairing the public property, he is ready to answer. The charge that the currency was neglected was also without foundation. Laws were passed by Director Kieft for that purpose. Loose, or unstrunged, wampum was not cried down, because "there is no specie in circulation," and the laborer and other common people would suffer considerably, having "no other money." The petitioners would, no doubt, "have booked it along with the rest of their grievances," had such been done.

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That the fort is out of repair is "neither the business nor the province of the colonists, but of the Company." They are very willing to be protected without contributing either money or labor; for it seems they are unwilling to have a well-fortified fortress, through fear that the malevolent and seditious would be more effectually punished. That they call cruelty. Had not the Director to victual, clothe and pay the garrisons of New Netherland and Curaçoa, the fort would no doubt have been completed. The propriety of the prosecutions against Schermerhorn and the others having been vindicated, the importation of guns by the Director-general was justified by the circumstances under which he acted. He had endeavored, on his arrival, to prevent the savages being supplied with fire-arms, but the authorities of Rensselaerswyck had remonstrated and requested him to use moderation; for if the trade were stopped, the Christians of the colonie ran imminent danger of being massacred. The Director-general, thereupon, resolved to supply the savages sparingly, with a small quantity of powder and guns, on the Company's account, through the commissary at Fort Orange, and to pay additional attention to the vessels on the river. "But no person can prove that this was for his personal profit." It was admitted that Vastrick brought a case

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1649. of thirty guns by the Director's orders. These were delivered to Commissary Keyser, with directions to sell them to the Dutch colonists, who were unprovided with arms, so as to enable them to defend themselves. This Keyser did.

As regarded the mission, the Director-general was always in favor of addressing the Company in behalf of immigration, the settlement of the boundaries, abolition of the duties on tobacco and other New Netherland produce, and for permanent and lasting privileges. But the remonstrants went, it was averred, secretly around exciting the commonalty, and thought of nothing but rendering the Company and the provincial government odious in the sight of their High Mightinesses, and by this means injure those and deprive them of the *Jus Patronatus*. They refused to communicate this remonstrance, because the baseness they now retail would have supplied weapons against them. But the Director-general having been informed of Van der Donck's "scandalous journal," "took it with him," and in consequence of the calumnies it contained, had Van der Donck temporarily confined. During Stuyvesant's administration no other person was imprisoned, "except Augustine Heermans, because he refused to exhibit the papers drawn up among the Nine Men, which had been promised to the Director, who had frequently gone for them like a boy."

What more frivolous request could be made than that the Company should quit the country! At its own charge that body had conveyed people and cattle thither, erected forts, and assisted many poor emigrants from Holland with provisions and clothing. And now that some have "a little more than they can consume in a day," they ungratefully wish to be relieved from the authority of their benefactors, even without paying them, if they could. They further demand that provision be made for the support of religion and the diffusion of education, and for the erection of asylums and hospitals. If they be such friends to religion, education and charity as they pretend, let them be leaders in a subscription to such laudable undertakings,


and not complain as they did when asked to contribute for the church and school-house. "Had the Director demanded a collection for an orphan asylum and hospital, what an outcry would not have been raised!" The vacancy created by the departure of the Rev. Mr. Backerus is filled "by a learned and holy minister, who needs no interpreter when defending the Reformed religion against the preachers of our neighbors, the English Brownists."<sup>1</sup>

This defence of the provincial administration was referred to the same committee as the complaint to which it purported to be an answer; and thus, again, were the affairs of New Netherland fully before the States General.

<sup>1</sup> Hol. Doc. v., 360-400.

## CHAPTER VIII.

Efforts of the delegates in Holland to obtain a redress of grievances—Melyn again complains of Stuyvesant to the States General—Affairs assume a perilous aspect—The Directors obliged to apply for countenance to the Burgomasters of Amsterdam—New Netherland benefited by the collision—Revival of emigration—Yonkheer van der Capellen takes an interest in Staten Island—Sends a ship and settlers thither—Van Couwenhoven and Bout return to New Netherland—The first notary public in that province—The committee of the States General bring in a report—Provisional Order for the future government of the colony—Remarks of the Amsterdam Chamber thereupon—Reflections—Freedoms and exemptions of 1650—Monopoly triumphs—Van Tienhoven about to depart—Is prevented by Van der Donck—Feelings at the Manhattans on the return of the popular delegates—Stuyvesant called on to produce the letters of the States General—Refuses to communicate them—Consequences of such refusal—Great scarcity in New Netherland—Public discontent on the increase—The Nine Men ejected from their pew in the church—Oloff Stevenzen protests against the Director-general—His reply—Outpourings of the commonalty—The Nine Men address the States General—Stuyvesant's counter-representations to the Directors in Holland—Supported by Baxter and the town of Gravesend—Singular and unenviable position of the Director-general.

BOOK IV.  ISSUE was now fairly joined between the Company and the colonists. The delegates on the part of the latter 1650. having much to gain and all to lose in their effort to obtain a more liberal form of government, and more enlarged Feb. 1. privileges, exerted every nerve to induce the States General to take the province entirely under their protection; to place the administration of its affairs in the hands of the resident inhabitants, and not leave it at the mercy of such persons as the Company thought proper to send thither. They directed their High Mightinesses' attention particularly to the prosperous condition of the New England colonies; explained minutely their political institutions; showed them that happiness, social order, public economy and general prosperity were best promoted by confiding fully to the people the management of their own affairs, and warned them that they should expect neither prosperity, security, nor a due increase of population in New Netherland—"a country more extensive than the seven-

teen Provinces altogether,"—unless its government was composed of persons having their interests there.

At this conjuncture Melyn arrived at the Hague, to add to the outcry against the Company's officers, and laid forthwith before their High Mightinesses, a complaint against the Director-general for having refused to repair the injuries and losses he had inflicted. He again demanded redress and protection, and a termination of the persecution by which he was harassed.

Affairs now assumed "a perilous aspect" as regarded not only Director Stuyvesant's reputation, but also the interests of the West India Company. Those "ignorant people" who came over to look for justice, but whom the Amsterdam Directors represented as "determined by every means in their power to bid defiance to all sort of government, under pretence that they labor under too heavy a burthen," had addressed themselves to the Land-dach of Guilderland, and succeeded in obtaining the countenance of "many of the better class." To save themselves and their monopoly, the Directors were forced to apply to the Burgomasters of Amsterdam, whom they induced to exert themselves in their behalf. "A great combustion was then, indeed, approaching, and might have taken place, had it not been prevented by the deputies (from that city) to the States General."

This collision had, however, a most beneficial effect on New Netherland. It brought that province fully before the public. "Heretofore nothing used to be said about that country; now heaven and earth seem to be moved thereby." Proposals were brought forward to convey thither three or four hundred children from the various orphan asylums, and when it came to be known that a reform in the government of the colony was about to take place, "every person seemed inclined to proceed thither." Already two hundred emigrants, half farmers and the remainder field laborers, had embarked. "Six times that number" were ready to accompany them, but there were no vessels for their reception. The delegates called the attention of the committee of the States to the fact; an

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Feb. 22.

Mar. 12.

BOOK understanding was, in consequence, entered into whereby  
 IV. Van der Donck and his colleagues were permitted to  
 ~~~~~ charter a vessel for the conveyance of two hundred addi-  
 1650. tional settlers. To defray the expense attendant on this
 Mar. 19. operation, they were authorized to draw on the Company
 for four thousand guilders cash, and seven thousand guil-
 ders were to be allowed from the duties payable in New
 Netherland, the emigrants being bound in return to remain
 three years in the colony.

Melyn, having placed his cause in the hands of an attor-
 ney, exerted himself, also, to promote the settlement of
 Staten Island. He succeeded in engaging Yonkheer Hen-
 rick van der Capellen, of Ryssel, Baron of Essels and
 Hasselt, one of the representatives to the States General
 from the principality of Gebre and the earldom of Zutphen,
 to take an interest in that island. In connection with Gerrit
 van der Voorde, Pieter Hack, Isaac Melyn, and Christoffel
 Gangelt, respectable Amsterdam merchants, this influential
 May 18. nobleman purchased the ship "New Netherland's Fortune,"
 in which he embarked over twenty people, men, women,
 and children, with suitable farming implements, under the
 superintendence of Capt. Adriaen Post. In this ship Cor-
 nelis Melyn, having obtained new letters of surety from
 June 30. the States General, sailed for the Manhattans, whither also
 now returned (with like letters) Messrs. Van Couwenhoven
 and Bout, accompanied by Dirck van Schelluyne, notary
 at the Hague, who was licensed to exercise his profession
 in New Netherland.¹ These persons brought out two hun-
 dred stand of arms for the burghers of New Amsterdam.

¹ Van Schelluyne's commission as notary bears date 8th April, 1650; he was appointed in 1655, Concierge, or Bailiff of the province of New Netherland, whose duty it was to serve process, and levy executions; but he eventually moved to Rensselaerswyck, of which colonie he was appointed secretary on the death of Hamel, anno 1660. We find him secretary of Albany in 1665, two years after which, (June, 1667,) the Mohawk Indians made him a present of a "tract of flattlands or plaines upon the maine, being about north-west from Albany, near the Mohawk River, on the east side thereof, stretching from the path which goes to Mr. Curler's flattlands or plaine [Schenectady;] which said parcel of flattlands or plaines, is a part of that land, which by the natives is commonly called by the name of Canastigione," (*hodie*, Niskayuna.) This tract was given Van Schelluyne "on account of several writings which he had executed for the Indians, and which had passed between them, the English and

The committee of the States General, who had been earnestly engaged, through the winter, in the investigation of the complaints of the colonists, had, in the interim, concluded their labors, and "discovered a remedy which, in their opinion, ought to give satisfaction to both parties, until further provision could be made." This "remedy" was embodied in a Report which, as it formed a turning point in the policy of those times, cannot fail to be of interest. It was as follows:—

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"The Lords Van Aertsbergen and the other their High April 11.
Mightinesses' deputies charged with the West India Company's affairs, having had, some months since, a conference with the Directors delegated by the Chamber at Amsterdam and others of the West India Company, on matters brought before their High Mightinesses from and on behalf of the commonalty, in divers verbal and written remonstrances and memorials by delegates from New Netherland, and the Director there, have, at the request of the Directors of the Amsterdam Chamber, consented to pass over divers matters in the great remonstrance presented from the commonalty, and to apply themselves to the principal points, on the express assurance from the aforesaid Directors, that they should receive all fair and respectful representations. And to this end, having enquired into the system of government hitherto maintained in New Netherland, the heavy burthens which the Company hath in consequence borne, and the small profit derived therefrom, the disturbance of the population, neglect of remedies for faults and excesses; and considering that their High Mightinesses cannot, and ought not, any longer look with approving eyes on the perverse administration of the privileges and benefits granted by charter to the partners of the West India Company, and that good proposals and representations offered for the security of the boundaries

the Dutch at Albany." [Book of Patents, ii., 28.] By his wife Cornelia, he had two sons, Cornelis and Tielman. The former was bound to a shoemaker, in 1664; Tielman returned to Holland, in 1670. Dirck van Schelluyne, one of Cornelis's descendants, was born in 1774, and died at Albany, in 1823, leaving a widow, Rachel Gansevoort, and a son still living in that city, Anno 1847.

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and population of the country, should not be slighted and opposed by the authorities of New Netherland, under the direction of the Chamber at Amsterdam: And whereas their High Mightinesses, as sovereigns, are qualified, and likewise bound, to take care that their subjects' property (being in a condition to be preserved and increased, if time be improved and good heed be taken,) shall not be allowed to go to ruin or fall into other hands; their High Mightinesses' deputies are therefore of opinion, that the preservation of those countries and advantages granted originally by their High Mightinesses, not to the Directors of the Chamber at Amsterdam, but to all the partners of the West India Company scattered over the provinces, require other orders than those issued heretofore for the government of the country, the increase and settlement of the population, the raising and bearing of necessary imposts, the prevention of mischiefs and general ruin, similar to what have been bitterly experienced for some years, and, further, for the efficient removal of all sorts of evils and troubles which have been fully demonstrated to their High Mightinesses; and to this end, that the complaints of the nation's subjects, now heard and examined full five months, be not deferred by conferences and objections, but be remedied by good resolutions; We therefore consider it proper that your High Mightinesses, by and with the advice of a majority of the Directors from all the Chambers of the West India Company now summoned and appearing, should enact, and accord to the petitioners, this

"PROVISIONAL ORDER

FOR THE GOVERNMENT, PRESERVATION AND PEOPLING OF
NEW NETHERLAND.

"I. Whereas, their High Mightinesses have received the strange and unexpected intelligence that contributions have been demanded from the aborigines of the country, and the same having been refused, that an unnecessary, bloody and ruinous war hath been waged against them, for several years, by the late Director Kieft, under pretence that the commonalty had requested the same, though the petition

was signed only by three persons, and that the authors have not been duly enquired after or punished, the Director and Council shall henceforward be careful that no war shall, without the knowledge of their High Mightinesses, be waged against the aborigines, or neighbors of New Netherland. And in case any misunderstanding and trouble with, or between, the aborigines and neighbors, occur, all possible means shall be used to remove them, before matters come to extremes, and intelligence shall be communicated to their High Mightinesses of what may occur relating thereto.

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"II. That Jan Jansen Dam, and Abraham Planck, who presented the petition on which the war was undertaken, shall be sent to their High Mightinesses, that information may be obtained from them of what had passed, and who had induced them to present the aforesaid request.¹

"III. That those who, contrary to express orders and treaty, have undertaken to sell and barter articles of contraband, such as guns, pistols, powder and lead, to the aborigines, and thereby exposed themselves, with all who now, or may hereafter, reside in New Netherland, to the great risk of being suddenly ruined, driven off and massacred, shall be punished for such acts, especially for what occurred during the war, when subjects of this state dared to strengthen their enemies by the sale of forbidden articles of contraband: But whereas this evil has now gone so far, that the aforesaid contraband trade cannot be suddenly stopped and forbidden without great danger of renewed war and trouble between the subjects of this state and the aborigines, the Council of New Netherland shall be instructed and charged to be very circumspect that none of the aforesaid articles of contraband shall henceforth be traded or sold by the colonists or other inhabitants, otherwise than by and with their knowledge and orders, charging for the guns six guilders, for pistols four guilders, powder six stuyvers per pound, all for the behoof of the common interests there; so as, in time,

¹ Dam was father-in-law, and Verplanck brother-in-law to C. van Tienhoven. (See post. p. 322.)

BOOK according as they shall consider such can be safely done,
IV. wholly to forbid the trade under heavy penalties to be
1650. thereunto enacted.

“IV. Whereas their High Mightinesses have learnt that the commonalty of New Netherland either were not obliged to cultivate, or had neglected the possession and use of arms necessary for their own defence, each of the said inhabitants shall therefore be bound to provide himself with a good musket, with powder and lead necessary thereto, and be enrolled and formed into a guard, causing the said guns to be stamped and inspected, and all persons are forbidden to sell his so stamped gun, or to deprive himself or his family thereof.

“V. The forts, at those points where they for the occupation of the country have been, or may hereafter, by orders, be erected, shall all be well maintained and taken care of; the magazine, therein, provided with necessary munitions of war, and houses and yards be built either within the walls or at a short distance around the same, without, however, being an incumbrance to the defence which must be afforded thereby; so that the inhabitants may dwell close and compact together, in order that they shall be able to help, serve, and defend one another.

“VI. New Netherland being now provided with only one clergyman, orders shall be given, forthwith, for the calling and support of at least three more: one to attend to divine service at Rensselaer's colonie; the second in and around the city of New Amsterdam; and the third in the distant settlements; and the commonalty shall be obliged to cause the youth to be instructed by good schoolmasters.

“VII. Whereas more pains have been taken hitherto, to encourage the fur trade, than agriculture and the peopling of the country, the Supreme Council there shall, therefore, above all things provide that no cattle be exported, but be maintained and fostered as much as possible; that a sufficient quantity of grain be kept in store, to be furnished and sold at a reasonable price to newly arriving immigrants, who are to be assisted and favored in every man-

ner, and located on good lands suitable for cultivation ; observing, hereupon, that they shall dwell as close and compact together as possible, on such lands and places as they shall consider best and fittest for residence, bouwerie, plantation, and security ; it remaining free to the Patroons of colonies to advance their own lands according to their pleasure, they being likewise obliged to settle their colonists in the form of villages.

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“ VIII. The Council shall also provide that a good trade and commerce in provisions and other commodities shall be established and continued between New Netherland and the Dutch forts in Brazil, permitting the merchants to take in all sorts of wares there, and to bring back whatever they shall consider proper.

“ IX. The propositions shall be amplified for the relief of the Directors of the Chamber at Amsterdam, and the improvement of the public revenue, without burthening the state or the West India Company, in such wise that instead of twenty thousand guilders, or thereabouts, which the Amsterdam Chamber draws yearly, it shall derive fifty thousand, and by degrees, increase further, to the great benefit of the worthy partners ; and to this end the Supreme Council shall be instructed and ordered to convoke the colonists, or Patroons thereof, and the commonalty of New Netherland, and endeavor to induce them to consent to the defraying and bearing the aforesaid burthens ; placing the collection, administration, and payment of the recognitions on such a footing as their constituents shall order.

“ X. The request for freedoms and exemptions shall be more fully examined, together with the considerations moved thereupon.

“ XI. The Council of New Netherland shall consist of one President or Director ; one Vice Director ; and three Councillors, whereof one shall be appointed on the part of their High Mightinesses and the West India Company, and the other two be selected from among the resident inhabitants of the country.

“ XII. For this purpose shall the Director and Council

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1650. call together, within the city of New Amsterdam, the Patroons of colonies, or their deputies, and delegates from the commonalty, to nominate four qualified persons, whereof two shall be chosen to be commissioned by their High Mightinesses and the West India Company. These two elected Councillors shall serve four successive years; but on the expiration of the aforesaid four years, one of the two may by lot continue two years more, and the second retire, in order that two others shall be biennially presented by new nomination, in manner as aforesaid.

“XIII. The Advocate Fiscaal shall, in matters not concerning his office, have both seat and voice in the said Council.

“XIV. Petrus Stuyvesant, the present Director, shall be instructed to return to Holland and report;

“XV. And a suitable person experienced in matters relating to agriculture, and the nature of land, shall be forthwith despatched, and sent by the first opportunity to New Netherland, to take charge of the country lying on both sides of the Great North River, extending south to the South River, and north to the Fresh River, with instructions based on the considerations exhibited conjointly by the Directors and deputies from New Netherland.

“XVI. On the increase of population and the augmentation of inhabitants, a judiciary (een Raet van justitie) shall be erected in the province;

“XVII. And within the city of New Amsterdam, a Burgher government, consisting of a Schout, two Burgomasters and five Schepens.

“XVIII. In the meanwhile, shall the Nine Men continue for three years longer, and have jurisdiction over small causes arising between man and man, to decide definitively on such as do not exceed the sum of fifty guilders, and on higher, under the privilege of appeal.

“XIX. All inhabitants at present there or arriving hereafter in the country, shall take an oath of fidelity, according to the form to be sent to the Supreme Council.

“XX. Private ships proceeding to the north parts of America, and the islands lying thereabout, shall be bound

to convey over all passengers who shall present themselves, to be taken to New Netherland, to the number at least of — persons for every ship, burthen —, and more in proportion.

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“XXI. Finally, at least fifteen thousand guilders shall henceforth be annually expended, from means supplied by the commissioners of New Netherland, in the transport of families, who shall apply themselves to agriculture, and who may not be able to pay their own passage and expenses; and to this end, according to plans concluded, two ships shall be chartered and provisioned, with this understanding, that from all emigrants double the cost of passage shall be required whenever they, after the expiration of four years, shall have the means of repayment, or otherwise will desire to depart from that country.”¹

This Report, on being communicated to the Amsterdam Chamber, evoked the strongest opposition, and gave rise to a renewed attack on “the abusive accusations” of the delegates, “who, having risen up to oppose the Company and their servants, are unfit to contribute in any way to the advancement and population of the colony.” The Provisional Order was equally unpalatable. The correctness of the statements in the first two articles was questioned, and, as regarded the third, the trade in articles of contraband had been, it was stated, already prohibited, the Director and Council being still permitted to furnish the Indians with arms and ammunition “with a sparing hand, in order to prevent misunderstanding.” It was unnecessary to fix the prices of those articles, for the Indians were willing to pay in the spring as much as one hundred and twenty guilders for a musket, and from ten to twelve guilders for a pound of powder. As for clergymen, those interested in the colonie of Rensselaerswyck must procure one for themselves; New Amsterdam was already provided, and “none are required for the more distant places.” The recommendations for the encouragement of trade to Brazil would be attended to, but the Directors could not under-

¹ Hol. Doc. v., 223-235.

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stand how the colonists could be brought to defray the public expenses, when they made loud complaints against the trifling impost on beer and wine. The Council should remain as fixed by the Assembly of the XIX., but for the satisfaction of the colonists, two persons would be added to that board by the Company here, from a triple nomination by the commonalty—a promise which, be it said in passing, was never kept. The return of Stuyvesant was, in their opinion, wholly unnecessary. If any additional information were required, the Vice Director could be sent for. The proposition to invest the Nine Men with the privilege of trying small causes was also disapproved of. "It was best to leave the administration of justice in New Netherland as it then stood." All vessels proceeding thither, would be required to carry as many passengers as they have tons burthen. But in the existing state of the Company's funds, the Directors could not bind themselves to furnish the yearly sum of fifteen thousand guilders for the transport of emigrants. It would not be just towards its creditors to appropriate its resources to such a purpose, and leave its debts unpaid.

April 14. The Provisional Order was referred, with the Directors' comments, to the Committee, and copies were transmitted to the several provincial Chambers. The Amsterdam Chamber forwarded the Report also to Stuyvesant, from which "you may know," they say, "what vexations we have suffered, and how full of peril it is to irritate a furious multitude." From the context of their letters it is evident how unpalatable were the recommendations of the Committee; for writing to the Director-general, they continue: "We presume you have placed too great a confidence in some of these ringleaders, or have been on too familiar a footing with them. And, although now their ingratitude and turbulent spirit is notorious, yet imperious duty must compel you to dissemble, and to treat them in regard to all that is past, conformably to said resolution; to prevent the last error being worse than the first."

A correct opinion may now be easily formed of the views of both parties. The progressive policy of the Com-

mittee of the States General had in view the gradual enlargement of the privileges of the colonists. The Amsterdam Directors pertinaciously insisted that their High Mightinesses had nothing to do with New Netherland, as the management of the affairs of that country had been committed to them alone, by the Assembly of the XIX. They were, besides, wedded excessively, and we might add exclusively, to the existing order of things; and in keeping with these prepossessions, they communicated to the Committee on the affairs of the Company, another set of "freedoms and exemptions," based on, though somewhat modifying, the charter of 1629. Patroons, or such as were disposed to become feudal lords in the American wilderness, were again to be allowed to take up four Dutch miles along on one side, or two miles on both sides of a navigable river, and to enjoy therein all the feudal privileges of high, low, and middle jurisdiction, hunting, fishing, and milling, &c., as laid down in the first charter, on condition that they should convey thither, within four years, one hundred souls over fifteen years of age. "All the inhabitants of the United Provinces and other neighboring countries," were to be free to proceed to New Netherland in the Company's ships, or in private traders, and to obtain there, "under quit-rent or feudal tenure in fee," as much land as they might be able to cultivate, provided they entered on the improvement thereof within a year. They were to enjoy, at the same time, free hunting and fishing in the public forests or rivers, according to the regulations of the Director and Council. No purchases of Indian lands were, however, to be valid, unless made in the presence of some of the Company's officers. The commercial privileges heretofore granted, were to be continued. In addition to these, they were to trade free of all impost, to the Brazils, "and other places situate within the West India Company's districts, the coast of Guinea excepted." But on their return cargoes, (which they were bound to bring exclusively to the Manhattans,) they were to pay the same duties as the inhabitants of these countries, and "on negroes, they shall pay

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BOOK IV. no more than twenty guilders per head." With these exceptions, the charter of 1650 was but a repetition of those of 1629 and 1640.

The colonists, it is evident, had gained but little by all the pains they had taken. Chartered monopoly and colonial placemen triumphed; "the hopes entertained at first, of a good issue to the remonstrance, were smothered in their birth;" and Van Tienhoven, the master-spirit of colonial misrule, gratified at the success of his mission, was about to return to New Netherland, "there to exercise his vengeance on all those who had complained of the Director," when, at the request of Van der Donck, an order was issued by their High Mightinesses for his examination, relative to the origin of the Indian war, and the mal-administration of the colony. His departure from Holland was thus estopped, and his return to America for the moment indefinitely postponed.¹

June 28. Meanwhile Van Couwenhoven and Bout had returned home in high hope, bringing with them an authentic copy of the Provisional Order, and communicated this paper, together with the letters of the States General and the Prince of Orange, to Director Stuyvesant. The Vice Director, Attorney-general, and the Nine Men requested, soon after, communication of these dispatches, but Stuyvesant refused to comply with this demand, on the ground that it was contrary to the instructions of the Directors in Holland. To the provisions of "the order of government" he also declined obedience. The guns which the delegates brought out were sold, it is stated, to the Indians; and even a stand of colors imported for the burgher corps was not permitted to be given to them, for so jealous were those in authority of this body, that it had not been under arms for the last two years. In vain the Nine Men remonstrated. They were met with "hard words," and the Director said, "he should do as he pleased." As for the Provisional Order, the Company, he boasted, was opposed to it, and

¹ Alb. Rec. iv., 21, 26, 27, 29, 67; Hol. Doc. iv., 212; v., 57, 61, 65, 110, 139, 179, 191-194, 204-207, 223-258, 274, 276-296, 304, 310; vi., 23, 141; vii., 31; xvi., 94.

had ordered him not to pay any attention to it. In so doing, they should sustain him, "yea, even to the shedding of blood;" for "they should be dismissed rather than he." CHAP.
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The past winter had been one of great severity. It was so cold "that the ink froze in the pen." Considerable distress ensued, for the people had scarcely enough to eat, and could not obtain food "either for beaver or money." Through the sparseness of the population, the greater part of the country still lay waste. The Director-general was obliged to victual the Company's ships, and to send provisions to Curaçoa; prices consequently advanced, and the stock, already too scanty, became further reduced. The Vice Director and the Nine Men protested against this exportation of human food. Quarrels were renewed, and this bad feeling became only the more embittered when the people learned that the "order" sent out from Holland was set at naught, and that no prospect remained of a change. Through the whole of these discouraging events, the Nine Men remained faithful to their trust, and entered protest after protest against every encroachment of power, until at length the whole board fell under the displeasure of the Director-general, who now proceeded to the violent length of ejecting them from the pew in the church, "with which they had been honored by the consistory," tearing up the seats and forcibly taking possession of it himself. As president of the Nine Men, Oloff Stevensen protested against this affront. He, however, was met with the retort that the Director-general could prove that he was a knave, and had robbed the Company of a hundred thousand guilders. It is almost impossible to depict the petty persecutions and public despondency of those days. "Men would fain hang and burn the Nine Men. We are unable any longer to withstand the grief and trouble which the commonalty suffer." "If redress does not come soon, we shall be ruined and cast into the ditch." "The commonalty are so disheartened that men have enough to do to keep them quiet, for abuses and misgovernment are as clear as the sun at noon-day,"—are some of the outpourings of the colonists from the depths of their discontent.

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Under the pressure of these circumstances, the popular tribunes were again forced to appeal to the States General. "We have seen and found your High Mightinesses our affectionate fathers, who have taken to heart the sorrowful and desolate condition of the poor commonalty here, for which we cannot sufficiently evince our thankfulness to the good God and to you. But the non-arrival of reform; the neglect of Director Stuyvesant to act on your High Mightinesses' letters, (except to proclaim the peace with Spain,) though they have been communicated to him; and the continuance of things in the same sad condition set forth by Adriaen van der Donck, constrain us again to supplicate your High Mightinesses to be pleased to show favor unto us, for we cannot undertake anything so long as reform is withheld. We hope, therefore, that your High Mightinesses will confer on us a good and wholesome government."

Aug. 15. These complaints were met by counter accusations against the popular leaders. The Director-general informed the Amsterdam Chamber that the returned delegates had abused their indulgence; had set at naught their good intentions; that they were endeavoring by all means, even the most culpable, to alienate the minds of the unthinking multitude; to lure them from their allegiance, and to dispossess the Company and its ministers, if possible, of their privileges, prerogatives and government." Baxter had succeeded in estranging the mass of his countrymen on Long Island from their fellow-colonists of Dutch origin; and the magistrates of Gravesend came forward, at this crisis, with an address to the Directors of Amsterdam, expressive of their allegiance to the West India Company, of confidence in the Director-general, and of hostility to the Nine Men.

Aug. 20. "We already declared in our last letters to your Honors

¹ Alb. Rec. iv., 49; Hol. Doc. v., 217, 220-222, 354-357; vi., 1-4, 15-17, 27, 29-31, 40, 41. The Nine Men this year, were Augustine Heermans, Jacob van Couwenhoven, Oloff Stevensen, Michel Jansen, Thomas Hall, Jan Evertsen Bout, Elbert Elbertsen, Hendrick Hendricksen Kip, and Govert Loockermans.

² Alb. Rec. iv., 43.

by Secretary Van Tienhoven, our confidence in our Governor's wisdom and justice in the administration of the common weal; and stated that you would receive, through him, correct information on the condition of the country. As for ourselves we cannot forbear thankfully to acknowledge the many benefits we have enjoyed and still enjoy under your Honors' authority, who are the rightful owners of this place. . . . We have been sorely troubled by the false reports of some who have returned here in the Falconer. We have been entrusted with the management of the affairs of this town, which is but a small part of the whole body, and we cannot be otherwise than sensible of the manifold strifes, such as schisms, factions, and intestine commotions, to which those people have given birth, paying no manner of respect to the government, but trampling it under foot. We humbly pray your Honors to take this into your wise consideration, and apply a seasonable remedy for the prevention of these irregularities, which, in our opinion, can be best effected by supporting and maintaining our present Governor against those malignants, and by our superiors in Holland discrediting the false reports of discontented persons. For we have so much experience of his affection for the public welfare here, and of his mindfulness over us in the performance of the public service committed to him, that we are anxious that he should still be continued therein, in order that we may live under his government."

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The position of Stuyvesant was now singular and unenviable. Estranged from the mass of his own countrymen,

¹ Hol. Doc. ix., 234. The letter of which the above is an extract, was written originally in English, then translated into Dutch. From the latter, we have again rendered the above passages into English. It was signed, George Baxter, William Willkins, Nicolas Stillwell, James Hubbard, sheriff, and attested by John Tilton, secretary. John Tilton's will is dated 15th of the 7th month, 1687. It mentions of his sons, John and Thomas, and of daughters, Sarah, (who married John Painter,) Abigail, (who married ——— Scott;) Esther, (who married Samuel Spicer;) and Mary, (who married ——— Carman.) He left to his executors a piece of land lying in Gravesend, to be used as a graveyard for them and their successors, and "for all friends in the everlasting truths of the Gospel, as occasion serves for ever, to bury their dead therein." It is recorded 3d April, 1688, in Brooklyn Rec. i., 103.

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1650. and leaning for sympathy and support on a fraction of the community who could have but little feeling in common with him, he found himself obliged to rely on and take counsel of Englishmen alone, in the delicate and important negotiation on which he was about to enter with his neighbors of New England, for the settlement of a boundary line.

## CHAPTER IX.

The Director-general visits Hartford—Opens a negotiation about boundaries, &c.—Dates his first letter “New Netherland”—The Commissioners of the United Colonies demand an explanation—Misunderstanding cleared up—Progress of the correspondence—Discussion about titles—Stuyvesant proposes an arbitration—The commissioners, a conference, and bring forward new matter—Stuyvesant waives the discussion of these, and submits the basis of a treaty—The commissioners cavil—Mutual explanations—Negotiation proceeds—Arbitrators named—Their powers—A treaty agreed to—Stuyvesant proposes a league, offensive and defensive, against the Indians—Terms offered by the commissioners—Project falls through—Stuyvesant returns to the Manhattans—Renewed popular discontent—Additional complaints to the States General—The Hartford treaty condemned by the popular party—Condition of affairs at New Amsterdam—The Nine Men no better than ciphers—Petition their High Mightinesses—Send in a list to the Director, from which to fill up vacancies in their board—Stuyvesant refuses to make any nominations—The board unable to meet—Further letters against the Director-general—Melyn returns to New Netherland—Lands purchased for Van der Capellen on the Raritan—Stuyvesant confiscates Van der Capellen’s ship and cargo—Prosecutes Melyn—Sells his property at the Manhattans—Effects of these proceedings on the colonization of Staten Island and the country in its rear.

THE arrangements for the meeting between the Director-general of New Netherland and the Commissioners of the United Colonies—so often proposed and so frequently postponed—having been at length completed, General Stuyvesant set out for the Connecticut in great state. He was courteously and honorably received at the several places at which he touched, and arrived at the end of his journey after a voyage of four days. Having expressed a desire to carry on the negotiations in writing, in order “that all inconvenience by verbal speaking, either through hastiness or otherwise, may be prevented,” he opened the correspondence by complaining of the encroachments of the English on the lands rightfully purchased by the West India Company on the river Connecticut, of which he demanded the full surrender and such compensation as the nature of the case required. To prevent the recurrence of similar encroachments, he proposed that a line defining

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 1650. the English and Dutch limits be provisionally drawn, to be afterwards submitted to the respective authorities in Europe for their approbation. He objected to the acts prohibiting Dutch trade with the Indians in the English colonies, and complained that the English sold goods so cheap to the natives as to ruin the commerce carried on by other nations. He next referred to the detention by Governor Eaton of fugitives from the Mannhattans, and expressed a hope that means might be adopted to prevent similar occurrences; and, finally, complained of the seizure and sale, by those of Rhode Island, of a Spanish prize captured by the Dutch, on the pretence of wages having been due to several of the seamen. He hoped that restitution would be made; otherwise he should be authorized to issue letters of reprisal.

This communication bearing date "New Netherland," at once arrested the progress of negotiations. The commissioners declared they would not proceed, unless Stuyvesant stated on what authority he affixed such words to a letter written at Hartford, or recalled them altogether. Sep. 21. The Director explained. The communication had been substantially agreed to by himself and Council at the Mannhattans, and the draft was translated and copied on board, during his voyage. He had, therefore, conceived it most proper to date it as from New Netherland. To obviate all misapprehension, he should abstain from so styling the place if the commissioners would, on their part, forbear calling it "Hartford, in New England." This letter being dated "Connecticut," satisfied the opposite party, and the negotiations were renewed by the commissioners replying to the various complaints and propositions submitted to them.

They maintained the soundness of their title, and pleaded ignorance of having committed any encroachment; for "how much land the Dutch claim here—where it lyeth—from whom purchased, we have only heard allegations without proof, which cannot be satisfactory." Whatever disturbances had heretofore occurred, were caused, they insisted, by injuries committed by the Director-general's

predecessors and himself, of which they already had complained; and now they were willing to refer the whole subject to Europe, if the Director could produce any commission or instructions, from that quarter, authorizing that course. With regard to trade, the commissioners never intended to regulate that within Dutch limits. Their prohibition extended only to territory belonging to the English, and had in view merely to restrain the mischievous sale of powder, &c., so injurious to both nations. They enquired not by what rule traders walked. They presumed they did not trade to their own disadvantage. If, however, the restrictive laws they had passed were ill considered, they should soon be repealed. The New Haven magistrates, they were assured, were inclined both to justice and friendship, but Stuyvesant himself had thrown impediments in the way, by claiming that place and jurisdiction over it, and some others had used offensive and threatening language—"ill arguments as the state of affairs then stood." Should the treaty be brought to a satisfactory issue, proper provision could be made for the rendition of fugitives, and the renewal of friendly correspondence. The seizure of the Island prize at Rhode was beyond their jurisdiction, and into its merits they could not enter.

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This letter, and the conclusions it bespoke, evidently showed that the commissioners were not disinterested umpires. Director Stuyvesant looked upon it as an unfavorable prognostic, and hastened to bring matters to a close. He considered it most judicious to abandon the controversy about Hartford, though he could produce the testimony "of Dutch, English and Indians" to the purchase of and payment for a certain quantity of land, now partly in Dutch possession and partly usurped by the Hartford people; but he forbore the further prosecution of these claims, where his opponents were both "judges and parties in the cause." He declined being responsible for his predecessor's acts, but took special note of the fact that the commissioners found him guilty of acts committed against themselves, before these were proved, or his

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answer heard. His doubts of receiving justice were, therefore, only strengthened. He declared himself innocent of any intention to use offensive or threatening language towards New Haven. On due examination it would be found otherwise. He reiterated his demand for the repeal of the act prohibiting trade with the New England Indians. The grounds on which it was passed were to prevent the sale, among them, of arms and ammunition. But this did not justify the punishment of the innocent with the guilty. Any person trading in articles of contraband should, with propriety, suffer. Such trade he himself prohibited. He reiterated the complaint of selling goods to the Indians at too low a rate, as he conceived such practice detrimental to the general interests, but waived all further discussion on the subject. He concluded by proposing that the commissioners should appoint two indifferent citizens of Boston and Plymouth, with proper powers, and he should depute two others, to whom each party should refer their rights and titles, and abide by their award. Or, if those aggrieved would consent to bury the past, he would agree to unite in the consideration of what may be thought most conducive to the public good of both nations in these parts.

The commissioners replied by reminding the Director-general that he came to treat with them; that he had addressed his letters to them; and consequently could not expect any answer but from them. The English colonies, they averred, had, on first confederating, enquired, and by all due means searched into the claim the then Governor made to some part of the Connecticut. They had perused M. Kieft's letters; considered his allegations and proofs; and compared them with those Connecticut had produced. This mode to arrive at the truth they considered clear and satisfactory. On full and serious reflection, they and the General Court of Massachusetts had concluded the Connecticut title fair and just, and communicated such opinion to the Dutch Governor. Notwithstanding, if they were yet informed of what was in dispute, and the grounds on which a question was raised, they should impartially

give their advice. But the claims of the Dutch had hitherto varied. Sometimes they claimed all the land on the river ; at other times only a part. Sometimes their claim rested on one ground, sometimes on another. All this left them in darkness and doubt. Some of the colonies had been charged with having committed injury, wrong, encroachment and usurpation, without a shadow of proof ; and yet it was taken ill that they retorted similar expressions. The New Haven people were willing that the question of fugitives should be decided by impartial men ; and the commissioners, though conceiving that their former answer on the subject of trade was full and satisfactory, now explained, that, as the French and Dutch prohibited commercial intercourse with their Indians, so the commissioners considered themselves justified in acting in the same manner within their bounds. They were willing, however, to reconsider their resolution, if the proposed treaty were, in other respects, satisfactory. They did not regard themselves as a court where the matters at issue were to be decided by a vote. They were willing to hold a free conference in order to arrive at a proper understanding, and if the Director-general's desire for peace were sincere, they would not object to the mode of arbitration he submitted. But they expressed a desire to see his commission, and to be previously made acquainted with his points of reference. Supplementary to this communication followed a long list of grievances which the English of Connecticut and New Haven claimed to have suffered at the hands of the Dutch. Most of these have already been mentioned in their chronological order ; several new ones were, however, now superadded.

The Dutch agents at Fort Good Hope had enticed servants to leave their masters, and had bought stolen goods which they also refused to restore on satisfaction being offered. They had removed from Hartford without paying their debts, which their successors, likewise, had refused to settle. They had not only, formerly, helped criminals to file their irons and make their escape, but "the neger belonging to the Dutch house" had lately

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 1650. assisted a criminal, committed on a capital charge, to break jail and make his escape, for which he had not been called to any account. Over and above all this, "some English couples refused at the plantations," had been married by the Dutch. Several other accusations of a like nature followed.

Sep. 27. The Director-general wisely passed unnoticed these supplementary issues, and adhered to the points which he had originally mooted, and to those questions which were directly connected with them. He shrewdly remarked, in his reply, that "the pretendant colonies" of Hartford and New Haven, anticipating no sufficient authority from mere possession for those rights they claimed, "had recourse to the indisputable patents of Massachusetts and Plymouth to shroud themselves under their wings;" they had, therefore, produced such evidence and letters as might serve their own ends. That all his allegations and proofs had been duly weighed, before indifferent judges, in the presence of the parties defendant, he conceived could never be proved. His commission was ready to be produced, when that on the other side was forthcoming. He questioned not the power of the commissioners to regulate trade within their limits, but desired that those under Dutch jurisdiction should enjoy the same freedom with the Indians, that they had always possessed. He was prepared to perform what he had already promised regarding this negotiation, and with that view submitted, for the joint consideration of the delegates to be selected, the four following points:—1st. The settlement of differences; 2d. A provisional boundary between the English and the Dutch; 3d. A course to be pursued concerning fugitives; 4th. A neighborly union between New England and New Netherland, as near as may be agreed upon.

The New England commissioners now began to evince a disposition to protract the negotiation and weary their antagonist, by cavil. They took it into immediate dudgeon that he should have styled Connecticut and Hartford "pretendant colonies," and implied against them "an injurious anticipation of some right" which he "pretended;" inas-

much as he had said that "they shroud themselves under the wings of patents" which did not include them. He had also alleged that Dutch evidence was not fairly produced to support his claims. All this, "if not retracted, cannot but offend." They again referred to his having sometimes claimed Cape Cod, and at other times Point Judith, as his eastern boundary, though hitherto he had exhibited neither patent nor purchase, to justify any such pretence. On a satisfactory explanation of these matters, the commissioners expressed themselves willing to treat, through referees, on the points submitted.

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The Director-general assured them he was induced to visit them by a love of peace, and not by a desire to create altercations. They were all aware he could not express himself as fluently in their language as in his own, and therefore he hoped that no advantage would be taken, to impede the treaty, of those things now objected against him. He explained what he understood as the difference between a pretended, and a real right. A man may pretend a right to that which he does not possess, and yet have a real right; and may pretend to possess that to which he hath no right at all. But he was willing, if they pleased, to leave this question altogether to their superiors. In the mean time he would treat with them all, as the United Colonies.

This explanation was deemed satisfactory, and the commissioners chose Mr. Symon Bradstreet, of Massachusetts, and Mr. Thomas Prince, of Plymouth, as arbitrators on their part, and Director Stuyvesant selected, on his side, Mr. Thomas Willett, merchant, of Plymouth, and Ensign George Baxter, his English secretary; who, on the following day, delivered in their award as follows:—

Sep. 29.

#### "ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT

Made and concluded at Hartford, upon Conecticott, Sept. 19, 1650, betwixt the delegates of the Honored Commissioners of the United English Colonies, and the delegates of Peter Stuyvesant, Governor-general of New Netherland.

"I. Upon serious consideration of the differences and

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1650. grievances of the two English colonies of Conecticott and New Haven, and the answer made by the Honored Dutch Governor, Peter Stuyvesant, Esq., according to the trust and power committed unto us as arbitrators or delegates betwixt the said parties ; We find that most of the offences or grievances were things done in the time, and by the order and command of Monsieur William Kieft, the former Governor, and that the present Honored Governor is not duly prepared to make answer to them : We, therefore, think meet to respite the full consideration and judgment concerning them till the present Governor may acquaint the H. M. States and West India Company with the particulars, so that due reparation may accordingly be made.

“II. The Commissioners for New Haven complained of several high and hostile injuries which they and others of that jurisdiction have received from and by order of the aforesaid Monsieur Kieft, in Delaware bay and river, and on their return thence, as by their former propositions and complaints may more fully appear ; and besides the English right claimed, by patent, presented and showed several purchases they have made on both sides of the river and bay of Delaware, of several large tracts of land unto and somewhat above the Dutch house or fort there, with the consideration given to the said sachems and their companies for the same, acknowledged and cleared by the hands of the Indians, who, they affirm, were the true proprietors, testified by many witnesses ; they also affirmed that according to their apprehensions they have sustained one thousand pounds damages, partly by the Swedish Governor, but chiefly by order from Monsieur Kieft, and therefore required due satisfaction and a peaceable possession of the aforesaid lands, to enjoy and improve according to their just right. The Dutch Governor, by way of answer, affirmed and asserted the right and title to Delaware, or the South River, as they call it, and to the lands there, as belonging to the H. M. States, West India Company, and professed he must protest against any other claim ; but is not prepared to make any such proofs as in

such a treaty might be expected ; nor had he commission to treat or conclude anything therein ; upon consideration whereof, We, the said arbitrators or delegates, wanting sufficient light to issue and determine anything in the premises, are necessitated to leave both parties in statu quo prius, to plead and improve their just interests at Delaware for planting or trading as they shall see cause ; only we desire that all proceedings there, as in other places, may be carried on in love and peace till the right may be further considered, and justly issued, either in Europe or here, by the two states of England and Holland.

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“III. Concerning the seizing of Mr. Westerhouse’s ship and goods, about three years since, in New Haven harbor, upon a claim to the place, the Honored Governor, Peter Stuyvesant, Esq., professing that which passed in writing that way was through the error of his secretary, his intent not being to lay any claim to the place, and withal affirming that he had order to seize any Dutch ship, or vessel, in any of the English colonies or harbors, which should trade there without express license or commission ; We, therefore, think it meet that the Commissioners of New Haven accept and acquiesce in this answer.

“Concerning the Bounds and Limits betwixt the English United Colonies and the Dutch province of New Netherland, We agree and determine as followeth :—

“Firstly, That upon Long Island a line run from the westernmost part of Oyster Bay, so, and in a straight and direct line, to the sea, shall be the bounds betwixt the English and Dutch there ; the easterly part to belong to the English, the westernmost part to the Dutch.

“Secondly, The bounds upon the main to begin at the west side of Greenwich Bay, being about four miles from Stamford, and so to run a northerly line twenty miles up into the country, and after as it shall be agreed by the two governments, of the Dutch and of New Haven, provided the said line come not within ten miles of Hudson River ; and it is agreed that the Dutch shall not at any time hereafter build any house or habitation within six miles of the said line. The inhabitants of Greenwich to remain, till

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further consideration thereof be had, under the government of the Dutch.

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"And it is agreed that the aforesaid bounds and limits, both upon the Island and Main, shall be observed and kept inviolate both by the English of the United Colonies, and all the nation, without any encroachment or molestation, until a full and final determination be agreed upon in Europe, by the mutual consent of the two states of England and Holland.

"Concerning fugitives, it is agreed that the same way and course shall be observed betwixt the English of the United Colonies and the Dutch within the province of New Netherland, as according to the 8th article of Confederation is in that case provided.<sup>1</sup>

"Concerning the proposition of a nearer union of friendship and amity betwixt the English and Dutch nation in these parts, especially against a common enemy, we judge [it] worthy of due and serious consideration by the several jurisdictions of the United Colonies, and accordingly desire it may be commended to them, that so a resolution may be had therein at the next yearly meeting of the Commissioners.

<sup>1</sup> Eighth Art. (extract:) "It is also agreed, that if any servant run away from his master into any other of these Confederated Jurisdictions, that in such case, upon the certificate of one magistrate in the jurisdiction out of which the said servant fled, or upon other due proof, the said servant shall be delivered either to his master, or any other that pursues and brings such certificate or proof. And that upon the escape of any prisoner whatsoever, or fugitive for any criminal cause, whether breaking prison, or getting from the officer, or otherwise escaping, upon the certificate of two magistrates of the jurisdiction out of which the escape is made, that he was a prisoner, or such an offender at the time of the escape, the magistrates or some of them of that jurisdiction, where for the present, the said prisoner or fugitive abideth, shall forthwith grant such a warrant as the case will bear for the apprehending of any such person, and the delivery of him unto the hands of the officer, or other person who pursues him. And if there be help required for the safe returning of any such offender, then it shall be granted to him that craves the same, he paying the charges thereof." Hazard's State Papers, ii., 5.

“And in testimony of our joynt consent to the several foregoing conclusions, we have hereunto set our hands this 19th day of September, Anno Dom. 1650. CHAP.  
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“SYMON BRADSTREET, THOMAS WILLETT,  
“THOMAS PRINCE, GEORGE BAXTER.”

The moment this award was delivered, the commissioners, who had, until now, declared that the act excluding the Dutch from the Indian trade within the United Colonies would be reconsidered “and probably repealed,” redeemed the professions they had made, by immediately extending its provisions. The liberty of seizing foreign vessels pursuing that trade had been, as yet, confined “to the members of that jurisdiction where the offence is committed.” Now any person inhabiting any of the United Colonies was authorized to seize any vessels trading with the Indians, together with their cargoes, within any of the New England jurisdictions.

In the further hope of concluding a league offensive and defensive against the Indians, Director Stuyvesant tarried some time longer on the Connecticut. In view of the fact that the English were far more numerous than the Dutch, he proposed that the former should bring into the field, when occasion required, at least twice more troops than the latter. The commissioners replied, that in that case they should have a double vote in the declaration of war or concluding of peace. As the States General and Directors might imagine such an arrangement as this dishonorable, the further consideration of the subject was deferred until the opinion of the respective governments in Europe should be known. Director Stuyvesant was strongly in favor of such a treaty. It was, in his opinion, a highly desirable arrangement, and afforded the only means to check the insolence of the Mohawks, and to restrain the other Indian tribes. But as his efforts to bring it about were unsuccessful, he returned, and wrote to Oct. 12. Holland, giving in general terms an account of the result Nov. 26. of the negotiation. Singular to say, he omitted forward-

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ing, with his letters, a copy of the treaty which he had so recently concluded.<sup>1</sup>

The Director-general's arrival at New Amsterdam was the signal for another outburst of popular clamor. The course he pursued in selecting Englishmen as his associates and counsellors in his visit to the East, could not fail to produce dissatisfaction among the influential portion of his own countrymen. It was an insult to them and their nation to have slighted them on such an occasion. It was a slur on their capacity, a reflection on their trustworthiness, and an admission of their inferiority as a class which it was impolitic, in such a position, to have made, whatever might have otherwise been his private feelings. Additional complaints were, therefore, forwarded to Holland, in which the Director-general was accused of having surrendered as much territory as might have formed fifty colonies, each four miles square; of having sold cannon and ammunition to the Indians; of having ceased to consult the Vice Director and Attorney-general, and retained their salaries; of having, as his advisers, an Englishman unacquainted with the Dutch language, and a Frenchman who owed ten thousand guilders to the Company; all against the will of the commonalty, "who, as freemen, were not the subjects of any military government." In the "Order" of the 11th of April, it was directed that the Nine Men should be continued until other arrangement could be made. But a rule right contrary was adopted. The Nine Men were considered "no better than ciphers, and were regarded as a mockery." According to their instructions, they proposed the names of twelve persons, that six might be selected from the list to fill the vacancies caused by the retiring members. But the Director-general refused to

<sup>1</sup> MS. Letters in Stuyvesant's time, 10-13; Alb. Rec. iv., 14, 15, 28, 32; Hol. Doc. v., 217; vi., 238; vii., 48-101; Hazard's State Papers, ii., 101-105, 114, 116, 132-135, 154-173, 216; New York Hist. Soc. Coll. i., 202-237; Trumbull's Conn. i., 175, 178, 179, 181, 182, 189-193; Hubbard, 437, 438; In April and September, 1655, five years after the conclusion of the Hartford treaty, the Directors express their surprise, that they had never been furnished with a copy of that document, and their apprehensions that discussions only had passed instead of a contract. Alb. Rec. iv., 177, 198.

make the nomination on the ground that the board had exceeded its powers. This body, fearing that it would be extinguished, like its predecessors, addressed, thereupon, another petition to the States General against "the grievous and unsuitable government" placed over them, and prayed for the redress of the utterly decayed condition of the country conformably to the recommendations of their High Mightinesses' deputies, "so that we may live as happy as our neighbors." They further represented, that the term of their office was about to expire, but that the Director had declared he would not appoint any other select men. They would not, therefore, dare to assemble again in a body, nor transact any further public business, "dreading unjustifiable prosecutions," "for we can already discern the smart thereof from afar." A vast quantity of letters and other corroborating documents accompanied this petition, and all were forwarded to Van der Donck, who still remained at the Hague as the agent of the colonists.<sup>1</sup>

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IX.  
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Dec. 22.

Meanwhile, Melyn—Stuyvesant's evil genius—arrived at the Mannhattans. His voyage was protracted and boisterous, and water falling short and "the last biscuit" having been divided among the passengers, the captain was obliged to put into Rhode Island to refit, and to replenish his supplies. The Director-general, who still entertained a strong prejudice against the Patroon of Staten Island, laid hold of this circumstance as a pretext to seize the ship and cargo, and caused the usual legal proceedings to be instituted against Melyn as owner of both. But as this connection could not be proved, the action fell through. The prosecution was then instituted against the skipper; and both cargo and vessel were finally, though unjustly, confiscated, for violation of the Company's regulations in having broke bulk previous to arriving at New Amsterdam.<sup>2</sup> Melyn,

Dec. 19.

<sup>1</sup> Hol. Doc. vi., 4, 12-17, 25-70.

<sup>2</sup> The N. N. Fortune was sold to Thomas Willett of New Plymouth, who sent her on a trading voyage to Holland by way of Virginia. She was replevined by Van der Capellen and his associates, whom the Company was obliged to indemnify, after a long and tedious law-suit, for the damages they sustained.

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1650.

hereupon, passed over to his colonie, "for the greater security" of which Van Dinclage had already purchased from the Raritan savages, in the beginning of August, on account of Baron Van der Capellen, the lands lying west of Staten Island and south of the North River bay.<sup>1</sup> Here he was busy in making preparations for the establishment of the newly arrived colonists, when Stuyvesant summoned him before him on some fresh charge. Melyn, dreading his anger, failed to obey. The Director-general hereupon seized, "by an unparalleled stratagem," and sold a house and lot belonging to him on Manhattan island. Melyn could now no longer visit New Amsterdam, yet dreading a descent from the Director-general, he fortified himself on Staten Island, where he had established a colonie government and a local court, though the settlement contained, it is represented, not half a dozen families. He is further charged with having kept in his interest—which, however, is highly improbable—one hundred and seventeen savages "from the Raritan and the South River," among whom he distributed arms and ammunition; and with having so stirred up, against Director Stuyvesant, some other tribes living at Nyack, that the Council resolved that his Honor should not go abroad, unless with a body-guard of four armed men.<sup>2</sup> As a natural consequence of this unhappy state of things, the colonization both of Staten Island and of the country in its rear, was most seriously and most mischievously retarded.

<sup>1</sup> This tract was purchased for goods valued at 193 guilders, or about \$77. Mr. Whitehead, author of "East Jersey, under the Proprietors," represents the purchase as having been made for Dinclage; but it was not so. He acted only as agent for Van der Capellen. Alb. Rec. viii., 23.

<sup>2</sup> Alb. Rec. viii., 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 64-66; Hol. Doc. vi., 42; vii., 32. Stuyvesant's body-guard of "Halberdiers," is referred to in Hol. Doc. vi., 263. The Rev. Mr. Grasmee states, that they were employed during his residence, and is confident they are so still. (1652.)

## CHAPTER X.

Van Slechtenhorst extends the limits of Rensselaerswyck—Purchases Katskill, Claverack, &c.—Van Twiller claims the monopoly of the North River—The Company determined to resist his pretensions—Slechtenhorst grants leases in Katskill—Stuyvesant protests—Remonstrance from Rensselaerswyck—School and schoolmaster—Indian alarm—Deputation to the Mohawks—The people of New Haven fit out an expedition to the Delaware—Stuyvesant's proceedings thereupon—Condition of the Dutch on the South River—Swedish opposition—Complaints of the Dutch settlers—Stuyvesant visits the Delaware—Negotiations with the Swedish Governor and Indians—Fort Nassau razed—Fort Casimir erected—Printz protests—Agreement between him and Stuyvesant—Further proceedings of the people of New Haven—Its jurisdiction extended to English plantations on the Delaware—Van der Donck harasses Van Tienhoven—The latter seduces a girl in Amsterdam—Fined—Summoned to the Hague—Receives further favors from the Directors at Amsterdam—Returns to New Netherland—Prosecuted by the mantua-maker's daughter—Further clamors of the popular party—Public discontent continues—Complaints against the Director-general—Van Dinslage expelled the Council and imprisoned—Sad state of things—Gravesend and Heemstede vote addresses to the Amsterdam Chamber, approbatory of Stuyvesant's administration.

REMOVED from the contentions which were distracting the capital of New Netherland, Commander Van Slechtenhorst was, all this while, actively extending the limits of Rensselaerswyck, by the purchase of the Mohegan lands to the south of that colonie. On the 4th of September, 1648, he had acquired for the Patroon the tract called Paponicuck, in exchange for some thirty ells of duffels and a few handfuls of powder,<sup>1</sup> and this spring purchased Katskill<sup>2</sup> and Claverack. On the other side of the Atlantic,

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May 27.

<sup>1</sup> The names of the proprietors of Paponicuck, were Wanemankeebie, Askanga his brother, Skiuias, (alias Aepje,) and Wampumit, "chiefs of the Mahecan-ders."

<sup>2</sup> "In manner, under restriction, stipulation, and condition as herein before particularly mentioned, [in the deed of Paponicuck,] hath the Honorable the Director sent deputies in the presence of the Rev. Mr. Megapolensis, in the name and for the account of the Honorable the Patroon of this colonie Rensselaerswyck, and bought of Pewasck, being a squaw, and chief of Katskill, therein included, and her son Supahoof, through the medium and interpretation of Skiuias, or Aepje, chief of the Mahecan-ders, a kill named Katskill, accounted to be nine miles from Fort Orange, and six miles from Beeren Island, together

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Wouter van Twiller was boldly laying claim to the control and monopoly of the upper waters of the Hudson River, and publicly announcing his determination not to permit any merchant vessel to pass Beeren Island, or to trade in the vicinity of Rensselaerswyck. For he maintained that Fort Orange had been built on the Patroon's territory, and that none—"not even the Company"—had a right to permit others to erect houses or pursue any branch of business thereabout. Feudal law and feudal privileges thus brought along with them, into these parts, the old feudal quarrels of Europe for the free navigation of Nature's highways to the ocean, and the question was, whether the North River should be open to all their High Mightinesses' subjects, or whether these should be debarred from its use by the garrison on Beeren Island, now named "in such a lofty way, 'The place by right of arms.'" The absurdity of the claim to the soil on which Fort Orange stood, was clearly established by the fact, that that fort was built and garrisoned by the Company full fifteen years before the existence of Rensselaerswyck; that up to the year 1644, the Company had the exclusive enjoyment of the fur trade, which the Company intended to reclaim "whenever it shall be able to provide its magazines with a sufficient store of goods." In view, therefore, of all these circumstances, and in order to correct a state of things, of which the merchants generally complained, the Directors determined to use their sovereign right to the confusion of Van Twiller—"that ungrateful individual, who had sucked his wealth from the breasts of the Com-

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Feb. 16.

with the land on both sides, that is to say, the kill with the falls, also along the north side of the kill three flat parcels of land, and on the south side two flats, extending on both sides, from the mouth of the kill unto the aforesaid fall, together with the wood and pasture of the woods on both sides, to hold all in peaceable possession. Whereof cession and conveyance are from this day made to the aforesaid Patroon. For the purchase thereof is this day handed to them, by the Honorable Director of this colonie, seventeen and one half ells of duffels, a coat of beaver, and a knife, and that in full without any further demand, all without fraud or deceit. In witness whereof the aforesaid Squaw as cedant, and her son, with witnesses, have signed this instrument with their own hands. Actum in the colonie Rensselaerswyck, this 19th day of April, Anno 1649. Skiuias for his services hath received 5½ ells of duffels." [All these goods were valued at gl. 108, 16.]

pany whom he now abuses." They accordingly dispatched orders to remove all obstructions to the free navigation of the North River and commercial intercourse with Fort Orange. If Van Twiller should again plant guns near that river, they were to be seized; and if any person dared to exact tolls, or salt duty, on any rivers, islands, or harbors within the Company's limits, to the injury of the inhabitants or traders generally, such were to be prevented by all means possible—even by force, if necessary—as it was the firm determination of the Directors never to part with these pre-eminences or jurisdictions to any colonists whatsoever.<sup>1</sup>

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Previous to this date Van Slechtenhorst had granted several leases for land in Katskill. But the Directors refused to admit the Patroon's pretensions to that section of country, as it had already been granted to another. In conformity with his instructions, Stuyvesant now protested against those leases, and announced his resolution to oppose these encroachments. The authorities of Rensselaerswyck were, consequently, much embarrassed, and therefore remonstrated: they had only obeyed the orders of their superiors in Holland: "as two opposite things cannot be made to approximate unless one give way," it is easy to see how impossible it had become for them to perform their duty according to their oaths. "It is unbecoming natives of the United Netherlands," they added, "to loosen the bond of union by which they are joined; on the contrary, they ought to use all possible means to tighten it." They therefore requested the Director-general to defer further proceedings in the matter, until they should communicate with their superiors, and promised in the meanwhile neither to send nor allow to be sent any settlers or cattle to the land in dispute.<sup>2</sup> Thus was impeded the early settlement of the present county of Greene.

The local authorities were now earnestly besought to provide the inhabitants with a proper schoolmaster. "Perceiving how necessary such a person was to the establish-

<sup>1</sup> Alb. Rec. iv., 44, 46, 49, 50.

<sup>2</sup> Gerechtsrolle der Colonie Rensselaerswyck.

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 1650. ment of a well-constituted republic," a committee was appointed to build a school-house and to collect funds for defraying whatever expenses might be incurred. Andries

Sep. 9. Jansz. was appointed to take charge of this institution in the course of the following year, and received a present, on entering on the discharge of his duties, of twenty dollars.

Whilst engaged in this praiseworthy undertaking, the settlers were thrown into great consternation by a report that the Mohawks were meditating an attack upon them.

Sep. 20. An Indian from Tappaan had arrived "unasked and unexpected," and said, "Ye Dutchmen have now been selling guns long enough to the Maquaas. They have been among us, and, by presents, engaged us to assist them to kill you when the river takes. They have been likewise among the Southern Indians, who have promised also to lend them a hand." When closely questioned he persisted in his statement. "Come and take me, and bind me fast; and if it do not happen at the stated time, as I have said, then strike me dead!" Asseverations so strong could not

Sep. 21. fail to convince. The settlers were called together, and the whole matter was laid before them. Opinions, however, differed. Some were for repelling force by force; others recommended negotiation. The latter and wiser

Sep. 23. policy prevailed, and the authorities passed, accordingly, the following resolution:—

"The insecurity of our lives and property forces itself continually upon us, living, as we do, under the licentious constraint of inhuman men and cruel heathens. Of this we had, last year, a suspicion, but now it has really manifested itself by evident demonstration and truthlike predictions and advices communicated to us, not by the parties implicated, but by warnings and premonitions from far distant Indians. Though some have advised a recourse to arms and resistance, and to measure our weakness with their strength, the Director, commissaries and council, weighing the necessity of the case, have concluded and resolved to commission and empower Mons. Arendt van Curler, Gerrit van Wencom, Cornelis Teunisz. van Breuckelen, Thomas Chambers, and Volckert Hanz, (being

thereunto requested,) to repair, with a suitable present, to the Mohawk country, and to renew former friendship and alliance, for the welfare of the Patroon's colonie, the safety of the common weal, and the protection of our wives and children, all which they willingly undertake." CHAP.  
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Labadie, the French commissary at Fort Orange, who was well acquainted with the Mohawk tongue, was invited to accompany this embassy; but he refused. Would it not be better, he was asked, to embrace peace than war? "It matters little to those in the fort," he selfishly replied, "how it goes—whether it be war or peace;" and truly they could not but feel secure. In addition to whatever arms they might have belonging to the Company, the commissary, to render his position stronger, had borrowed three pieces—one a six, another a five, and the third a three pounder—belonging to the Patroon. With these, therefore, it mattered little with him what the relations with the Indians were. But it was far different with the mass of the unprotected colonists.

The ambassadors departed in the beginning of October, Oct. 2. solemnly assuring the authorities of Rensselaerswyck that they should do all in their power to promote peace. To remove all cause of future misunderstanding with the Indians, a placard was issued abolishing licenses to trade in the interior, as well as "bosloopers" or runners—called by the French "coureurs de bois"—"a fountain of mischief, trouble and animosity;" "but as this could not be properly or effectually accomplished without the consent of the people, the latter, in confirmation of their good inclination, have, as far as they were concerned, assented thereto, in Fort Orange, under their own hands."

The embassy to the Mohawks was successful. Presents were distributed among them to the amount of five hundred and seventy-five guilders; the expenses of the delegation amounted to eighty-one and a half guilders, or about thirty dollars, the whole of which sums were paid by the authorities of Rensselaerswyck.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gerechtsrolle der Colonie. The items of expenses are stated in Slechtenhorst's accounts.

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IV.

1650.

The winter at the Mannhattans had passed over without any occurrence of moment, and Stuyvesant was almost persuaded that his Hartford treaty had put a final rest to all difficulties between him and his eastern neighbors. But if he ever indulged in such a dream, the spring dispelled it. The people of New Haven, still hankering after the rich and fertile banks of the Delaware, resolved to attempt another settlement in that quarter,<sup>1</sup> and hired a vessel, in which they embarked to the number of fifty, under a commission from Governor Eaton. In the course of their voyage they touched at New Amsterdam, to exhibit letters of recommendation with which they had been provided. Having so recently made known his determination to oppose any intrusion on the South River, the Director-general was taken rather by surprise when made acquainted with the intention of the adventurers. He immediately caused them to be arrested; sent next for the master of the vessel, whom he also committed, with two others of the party who had come on shore to speak with their companions. He now called on them to exhibit their commission, which he retained, and released them from duress only on a written pledge to abandon their expedition and return home. He warned them, at the same time, that if they should be found trading on the Delaware, their goods would be seized and themselves sent prisoners to Holland. He also wrote to Gov. Eaton, protesting in strong terms against the infraction of the provisional agreement entered into with the United Colonies, and took occasion to reiterate his determination to oppose, "even unto bloodshed," all intruders on the Company's possessions at the South River. Not knowing, however, to what length his neighbors might proceed, he thought it best to be prepared for every contingency. He, therefore, sent an express to Rensselaerswyck for pecuniary aid, and earnestly represented to the authorities at that place, that the intention of the English to seize on the whole of New Netherland was merely foreshadowed by their design on the South River.

Dec. 27.

1651.

April 11.

<sup>1</sup> Records of the Town of New Haven, 40.

The position of the Dutch, in the latter district, during the past year, was in no way improved. The Swedes were suspected of an intention to purchase the lands around Fort Nassau, with the design to cut off the communication between the Delaware and Fort Orange. Hudde, to anticipate them, proposed purchasing it for the Dutch. Stuyvesant approved of the project, and gave Thomas Broen permission to buy Mantuashoeck, a little above Fort Nassau, and establish himself thereupon. But this Printz would not allow, unless the Dutchman held under Swedish jurisdiction. Broen refused the terms, and the Swede is said to have erected the arms of his government thereupon.<sup>1</sup> He still remained, to all intents and purposes, master of the river, and continued to overhaul Dutch vessels. Trusting now to his superior numbers, he forbade his people to trade in any way with the Dutch, or to pay what they owed them; and issued strict orders to the latter, not to lay down any bouweries or plantations between Fort Beversreede and the Swedish post. Hudde disregarded these pretensions, and granted several lots to Dutch settlers. But all these improvements were stopped by Printz, whose servants "chopped into firewood" the timber which the parties had placed on the ground. Suffering from these and similar hardships, the people sent a strong remonstrance to the Director-general, claiming his and the Company's protection. Stuyvesant, though without instructions, found himself under the necessity of repairing to the spot. It was a matter of importance to terminate these feuds, and of wisdom to establish terms with Printz, by means of which the English—unfriendly to both parties—could be kept out of that country.

CHAP.  
X.

1649.

May 23.

1650.

1651.

April 15.

<sup>1</sup> Hol. Doc. viii., 37, 61, 62; Alb. Rec. xvii., 267, 272-274. In the translation of Acrelius, (New York Hist. Soc. Coll.) it is represented that Broen obtained his license in 1646, from Stuyvesant. This is an error, perhaps typographical, as Stuyvesant was not in the country in 1646. His letter is in Alb. Rec. ut supra, with the correct date. Another error is committed on the next page of the above translation, where the Director-general's letter is connected with the operations on the Schuylkill, in 1648; and Stuyvesant is represented as promising "money to buy the land," which, it said, "never happened." Stuyvesant's letter does not justify any of these assertions.

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IV.1651.  
July.

On his arrival, therefore, he immediately opened a correspondence with Printz, to whom he communicated the unquestionable title which the Company had to those lands, demanding, at the same time, exhibition of that of the Swedes. Printz claimed a considerable tract, but was not prepared to show his deeds, as these, he said, were in the chancery office at Stockholm. Considerable doubt was thrown on the Swedish right by one of the Indian sachems, who informed Stuyvesant, shortly after, that Printz was endeavoring to purchase the whole of his lands, though he had already maintained that he had previously bought them. The tract in question lay on the east and west sides of the South River, and extended, on the former, from the Narraticonsche or Raccoon creek, down to the Maetsingsing; and on the latter, from Neckatoensing Kill westward from the river to Settoensoene, other wise called Minquaas Kill, where Fort Christina stood. These the Indians now conveyed to "the grand Sachem of the Manhattans." For greater security and better understanding, a solemn council was called at Fort Nassau. It was attended on the part of the Indians by all the chiefs of these parts; and on the part of the Dutch, by the Director-general, the Rev. Mr. Grasmeer, Isaac Allerton, Cornelis de Potter, Capt. Newton, Ensign Baxter, Isaac de Forrest, Capt. Krygier, and Surgeon Abraham Staets. The sachems, after a long and full explanation, in which they maintained that the Swedes had usurped all the land they claimed except the spot on which Fort Christina stood, presented the Dutch, "as a free gift," with all the territory extending from the west point of the Minquaas Kill to Boemties Hook, called by them Neuwsings; "the Chief, Pemenatta, only conditioning that they should repair his gun, when out of order," and give the Indians, when they required it, "a little maize."

<sup>1</sup> Bozman, (Hist. of Maryland,) copying Chalmers, (Polit. Annals, 632,) says, that Hudde made this acquisition. But this is a mistake. It was made by Stuyvesant in person. Acrelius states that it was the only contract made in the name of the States General and the West India Company. Is not this assertion contradicted by the deed to Arent Corssen, confirmed to Van Dinclage and La Montagne, in 1648?

Fort Nassau being situate too high up and too inconvenient, was now demolished, and a new fort, called "Casimir," erected on the opposite bank of the river, "about a mile from Fort Christina."<sup>1</sup> Though Governor Printz protested against its erection, Stuyvesant and he mutually agreed to avoid all quarrels, and henceforward cultivate good correspondence and live together as friends and allies. The Director and suite then returned to New Amsterdam.

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X.  
1651.

The intelligence of these operations was, however, quite unexpected by the Chamber at Amsterdam. Stuyvesant had not given "as much as a hint" of his intentions. The Directors abstained from any opinion on the proceeding until they should hear how the court of Sweden would receive the news. Neither would they say whether it was an act of prudence to destroy Fort Nassau, especially as the Company's title to it was unexceptionable. As for Fort Casimir, they were "at a loss to conjecture why it had received that name." It turned out afterwards that these operations were rather embarrassing in a financial point of view; for the authorities at the Manhattans, owing to the heavy expenses they entailed, paid the following year, only fifty per cent. of their debts.

The people of New Haven were, in the meanwhile, seriously disappointed by the result of their expedition. They took the earliest opportunity to complain to the United Colonies of the injury they sustained, which they estimated at three hundred pounds, and demanded satisfaction for their imprisonment, as well as protection in the settlement of the lands they claimed as justly theirs. The Commissioners wrote to the Director-general protesting against his proceedings, and insisted that he acted in direct contravention to the Hartford treaty. They affirmed, moreover, that they had as good a right to the Island of Manhattan

<sup>1</sup> Bozman, ii., 451, fixes 1650 as the date of the erection of this fort. He anticipates by a year. Chalmers represents that it was called Casimir by the Swedes, after its reduction in the course of the next year, and that Fort Christina was erected subsequently. All these are only additional misstatements. Fort Casimir stood near the present site of New Castle, five miles below Wilmington, Del., called Sandhook by the Dutch previous to the erection of the fort.

BOOK  
IV.  
1651. as he to the English lands on the Delaware; and declared, that he, alone, should be held responsible for any mischief that might result from his unneighborly and unchristian conduct. For the encouragement of those who had now complained, they further resolved, that if at any time within twelve months, the petitioners should undertake, with a vessel and at least one hundred well armed men, authorized by a commission from New Haven, to settle their lands on the Delaware, the United Colonies would then afford them a sufficient force for their defence, in case they experienced any opposition from the Dutch or Swedes. They also declared all English planters on the Delaware, whether from New Haven or any other of the United Colonies, to be under the jurisdiction of the former government.<sup>1</sup>

In Holland, Van der Donck was still hot on the heels of Van Tienhoven. Prevented by the order of the States General from returning to New Netherland, the latter passed the winter in Amsterdam, where he succeeded in seducing a young woman, named Elizabeth Jansen Croon van Hoochvelt, under a promise of marriage, having represented himself as a single man, though he had a wife and family at the Manhattans. With this "decent man's child" he passed his time "in open shame." The spring fleet was now about to sail. In return "for his long and faithful services," he had received the appointment of Receiver-general of the Company's domains and revenues, and was now about to return home with a renewed commission also as Provincial Secretary, and a grant of a well-stocked farm, when Van der Donck procured an order for him to repair to the Hague to answer the interrogatories with which he had been served during the preceding August; and the captain of the ship in which he had taken passage was forbid to receive him on board without their High Mightinesses' permission. Van Tienhoven was obliged to obey. On his arrival at the Hague, he was arrested

April 21.  
April 28.

<sup>1</sup> Hol. Doc. viii., 38-44, 63, 67, 77; Alb. Rec. iv., 73; vi., 6; ix., 264, 269; Rensselaerswyck MSS.; Hazard's State Papers, ii., 192-196; Trumbull's Conn. i., 196-198.

by the local authorities on a charge of living in a state of public concubinage, and fined eighty-two rix-dollars. The air of the place no longer agreed with him. Notwithstanding their High Mightinesses' injunctions, he embarked in the *Waterhound*, accompanied by the victim of his lust, whom he still flattered with the prospects of marriage on his arrival at New Amsterdam. The unfortunate young woman finding at length that she was duped, instituted an action against her seducer, who, however, escaped all punishment. The Amsterdam Directors had already declared that he had suffered, whilst in Holland, from "the manœuvres of miscreants and perturbators of the public peace," and, now, through the influence of men high in office, "whose mouths were besugared" from the cargo of a Portuguese prize which the *Waterhound* had captured, "Van Tienhoven became so sweet that there remained no longer any bitterness in him."<sup>1</sup> The advocate of the Director-general, like all such characters in colonies, was the favorite with those in power, and justice was denied to the poor mantuamaker's daughter.<sup>2</sup>

The popular party persevered, notwithstanding the disadvantages under which they labored, in their demands for redress. The state of things against which they had so long and so loudly complained remained unchanged, and nothing they could do could induce Stuyvesant to swerve from the line of policy he was pursuing, and which, it is but justice to him to say, accorded now with the obstinate and mistaken opposition to right and adherence to wrong, which dictated the private instructions that he received, from time to time, from his superiors at Amsterdam. Finding that it was idle to expect a change, the Vice Director and Van Dyck drew up a long protest against the Director-general, unsparingly commenting on and condemning the acts of the administration from its commence-

<sup>1</sup> "Many goods from this cargo have been pilfered, particularly the loaf sugar, a quantity of tobacco, silver plate, and a few gold coins." Directors' letter to Stuyvesant, 4th April, 1652. Alb. Rec. iv., 70.

<sup>2</sup> Hol. Doc v., 310, 312, 344, 408, 412, 413; vi., 6, 33, 45, 56, 59, 246, 267, 279, 280.

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ment to the present time. This bold proceeding called forth a peremptory order for the expulsion of Van Dinclage from the Council. This he refused to recognize. He held a seat at that board in virtue of a commission as valid as that of Stuyvesant. A sergeant and a file of soldiers, under the command of Newton and Baxter, dragged him, by force, from the chamber and lodged him in the guard-house, where he remained incarcerated for several days, "whilst foreigners, English as well as French, were continued and employed in the public service." Dirck van Schelluyne, who in his capacity as notary acted as the official channel through which the protest was conveyed, was, at the same time, interdicted the practice of his profession. The popular leaders were now made again to feel all the weight of executive displeasure. Govert Loockermans, on a charge of violating the revenue laws, was sentenced to be banished; but the execution of this sentence was staid on condition, it is represented, that he should "say nothing against the Director-general." Augustine Heermans was menaced with like ruin, whilst Van Schelluyne "durst not keep his papers in his house, lest Stuyvesant should come, as he had threatened, and seize them." It was useless for any of the obnoxious party to remain in the country. "We live here like sheep among wolves; one friend cannot speak to the other without being suspected." The letters of safety with which the delegates had been provided by their High Mightinesses availed them nothing. "The Directors had instructed Stuyvesant to take no notice of them," and the leading citizens were "reduced to such straits that they put their trust in God alone, for they had lost all confidence in men." The return of Van Tienhoven made their position worse, if such could be possible. "That evil spirit scattered lighted fire-brands through the community." "To describe the state of this government to one well acquainted with it," writes Van Dinclage to Van der Donck, "is a work of supererogation; it is washing a black-a-moor white. Our grand Muscovy Duke goes on as usual, resembling somewhat the wolf—the older he gets the worse he bites. He

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proceeds no longer by words or letters, but by arrests and stripes.”<sup>1</sup>

Though the government was thus opposed by the Dutch colonists, it found, on the other hand, warm supporters in the English inhabitants of Long Island. Those of Gravesend, with Baxter at their head, voted another address, expressive not only of their entire confidence in the friendly dispositions of the Amsterdam Chamber, but of their great joy that the Directors had, after a full enquiry into the truth concerning the present administration, signified their satisfaction therewith, and their determination to uphold General Stuyvesant's authority, whom they requested to be continued over them. Had this address stopped here, no fault could have been found with its terms or tone. But its authors hesitated not, in opposition to their real principles, in condemnation of those institutions under which they saw their countrymen in New England prosperous and powerful, and in a spirit of disreputable selfishness and sycophancy, to denounce the opponents of the administration for preferring an elective form of government to the miserable and oppressive system of irresponsibility under which the province suffered. “We willingly acknowledge that the frequent change of government, or the power to elect a governor from among ourselves, which is, we know, the design of some here, would be our ruin and destruction, by reason of our factions and the difference of opinion obtaining among us; as there are many here who are unwilling to submit themselves to any sort of government, be it mild or strong. It must be one of compulsion and force, until the governor's authority be finally established. For such persons will not only scorn and contemn, or disobey, authority, and by their bad example seduce others, whereby the laws will become powerless, but every one would desire to do just what pleased himself. In fine, the strongest would devour the

<sup>1</sup> Hol. Doc. vi., 5, 7, 53-60, 67, 68 These were the Vice Director's words: “Noscenti et benescenti statum hujus regiminis multa scribere, est oleum perdere—Æthiopum lavare. Noster magnus Muscovi Dux antiquum obtinet et quod de lupo; quo annosior quo mordacior. Non procedit ulterius verbis aut scriptis, sed apprehensionibus et plagis.”

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Having thus exhibited their loyalty, they considered it but fair to put in a claim for some special privileges. These were nothing less than the exclusive right to import settlers and goods into the province. The traders, who come and go solely for their own private gain and advantage, "were, in their opinions, the oppressors of the people." To rid themselves of these, they calculated, by and with the advice of the "Governor and others assembled with him," to hire some vessels in Holland and to import therein farmers and laborers, of which they were most in need, "provided the Directors will consent and permit these ships and no others to trade hither." Were this allowed for a certain time, "this country would be able to employ from five to six hundred every year, which would both strengthen the province, and increase the revenue." They demanded also a supply of negroes, at such prices as the Company might determine. For, they added, "it is not with us as in our Fatherland, nor as in kingdoms and republics already established and firmly founded through long and well experienced laws and constitutions, best agreeing with the condition of the people. Our small body, composed of divers pieces—namely, of people of divers nations—requires many things for the laying a foundation for which there are no rules nor examples, and which must, therefore, be left to the discretion of a well experienced governor; for we are as a young tree, or plant, now-sprouting, for the first time, into existence, which, if watered and cherished, may grow up hereafter into a flourishing republic." Those of Heemstede followed with a similar address.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hol. Doc. ix., 240-248. The Gravesend letter was originally written in English, and afterwards translated into Dutch, from which it is now rendered back into English again. It was signed by George Baxter, William Wilkins, Nicolas Stilwell, Richard Gibbons, schout, James Hubbard, William Browne, assist's, and certified by John Tilton, clerk. That from Heemstede was certified by "John Moore, clergyman of the church of Heemstede."

## CHAPTER XI.

Further collision between the Director-general and Rensselaerswyck—Causes thereof—Van Slechtenhorst visits New Amsterdam—Is placed under arrest—Departs without leave—Sends his son to explore the Katskill Mountains for silver—Result of the expedition—Stuyvesant claims a separate jurisdiction for Fort Orange—Opposed—Consequences of the conflicting pretensions—John Baptist van Rensselaer—Dyckman—Schuyler—Progress of the difficulties—The Beverwyck limits staked out—The court of Rensselaerswyck order the stakes to be pulled up, and remonstrate—The Director-general lampooned—Dismisses Attorney-general Van Dyck—Visits the colonie—Calls on the authorities there to define their bounds—Orders the Patroon's flag to be struck—Van Slechtenhorst resists—A court of justice erected in Fort Orange—Van Slechtenhorst offers further opposition—Is arrested and removed to Fort Amsterdam—Changes in consequence—Dominie Schaets appointed to Rensselaerswyck—New regulations relative to the purchase of Indian lands—Katskill and Claverack excluded from the burthens of patroonship—Van Werckhoven's colonies on the Raritan and Long Island—Further proceedings of Van der Donck in Holland—His remonstrance against the Hartford treaty—Representations on the part of the several chambers—The Amsterdam Directors conciliate the colonists—Trade with Africa opened—Another clergyman sent out—NEW AMSTERDAM INCORPORATED—Reflections—Proceedings of the States General on Van der Donck's remonstrances—Stuyvesant recalled—The Amsterdam Chamber opposes his recall—The resolution reconsidered—Causes thereof.

THE call for a subsidy from Rensselaerswyck brought on a collision between the authorities of that colonie and the provincial government. The latter had, already, peremptorily demanded the excise on wines and strong liquors consumed in the Patroon's district, which was refused. It was considered an invasion of the freedoms, and in direct opposition to the custom of Fatherland. The Patroon had defrayed, from his own resources, the salaries of the minister and other public servants, as well as the general expenses attendant on the settlement of the country. These had amounted, on the 30th of June, 1650, to the sum of twenty-five thousand seven hundred and seventy-three guilders, or more than ten thousand dollars, no part of which had been paid either by the Company, or the co-directors of the colonie.<sup>1</sup> It would be, therefore,

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<sup>1</sup> This expenditure is stated in a letter, signed by Johan van Wely and John B. van Rensselaer, and dated 7th April, 1671. Rensselaerswyck MSS.

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 IV. forth. As it was a matter, however, that concerned the  
 1651. common interests of the country and the privileges of the  
 colonie, Commander Van Slechtenhorst was commissioned  
 to proceed to New Amsterdam, to remonstrate with the  
 Director and Council against it.

April 29. He arrived at the Manhattans towards the close of the  
 month of April, and took the earliest opportunity to  
 represent how contrary to reason, law and usage were  
 the proposed exactions. But Stuyvesant was inexorable,  
 and Slechtenhorst, on his side, was equally unyielding;  
 "for it was a matter of great importance, which may  
 cause not only tumult but bloodshed in the country." The  
 parties separated, but Slechtenhorst had not yet finished  
 his dinner, when a messenger summoned him before the  
 Director-general and Council. Immediately on his appear-  
 ance the authorities proceeded to pronounce sentence  
 against him, animadverting in strong terms on his conduct,  
 especially in reference to the settlement of Katskill.  
 Slechtenhorst, no ways daunted, demanded if a man could  
 be condemned unheard? The only answer he received

May 1. was an order for his arrest. He was detained four months  
 at the Manhattans, notwithstanding he repeatedly pro-  
 tested against his detention, and the authorities of Rens-  
 selaerswyck made several applications for his release.  
 Finally, seeing no prospect of obtaining permission to de-

Sep. part, he embarked in a sloop, and returned to Fort Orange,  
 having given a guarantee to the skipper to see him harm-  
 less, should he be prosecuted for having received him on  
 board. It was well for the skipper that he had taken this  
 precaution; for, on his return to the Manhattans, his  
 vessel was arrested, and he was fined two hundred and  
 fifty guilders and costs. Van Slechtenhorst estimated  
 his expenses in consequence of these proceedings at about  
 four hundred dollars.

Sep. 10. In conformity to instructions from Holland, he dispatch-  
 ed, on his return, his son to Katskill to explore the moun-  
 tains in that vicinity for precious metals, a maiden of one of  
 the boors having accidentally found a substance thereabouts


"which some thought was silver." The expedition well nigh proved fatal to the young man; for on his arrival at the Patroon's farm, heavy rains set in and continued a day and a night. The mountain torrent became swollen, in the space of three hours, to the unprecedented height of thirty feet. The farm house with all its contents, whilst the inmates were basking in fancied security, was swept into the kill, and the horses and cattle had well nigh perished had not young Slechtenhorst, "who was an excellent swimmer," afforded such efficient aid as to succeed in rescuing them. All idea of looking after the silver mine in the Katskill mountains was of necessity abandoned, in consequence of this misadventure.<sup>1</sup>

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Three years had now elapsed since Director Stuyvesant set up a claim for a separate jurisdiction for Fort Orange, distinct and independent of that of Rensselaerswyck. Yet the question remained still unsettled. Lines were not drawn in those days with as much precision as in our times. The Indians measured by the day's journey; Stuyvesant by the cannon ball. The jurisdiction of the fort, as claimed by him, extended over a circumference within the range of gun shot, which he estimated at six hundred paces of five feet to a pace;<sup>2</sup> a distance subsequently estimated at one hundred and fifty rods. As the hamlet of Beverwyck, now becoming every day more populous and valuable, would, by this operation, be severed from the colonie; and as the Company could not fail, in consequence, to secure the greater part of the fur trade, to the serious injury of the Patroon, considerable opposition was manifested to Stuyvesant's pretension. The authorities of Rensselaerswyck maintained that the fort stood on the Patroon's soil; that the whole territory from Beeren island to the Cohoes was his; and that, consequently, the fort could have no jurisdiction beyond its walls. As for trading in furs, or cutting timber, it was, they insisted, a flagrant spoliation of the Patroon's property.

<sup>1</sup> Rensselaerswyck MSS.

<sup>2</sup> De forts gerechticheyt synde, naer gemeene ordreende gebruyck, ontrent de doel van een gotelings schoot, gerekent op ses hondert geometressche passen.

CHAP. XI.  Jean Baptiste van Rensselaer, the first of that family who visited this country, was elected one of its magistrates, whilst this controversy was at its height. Shortly afterwards, an order was issued that all the freemen and inhabitants should take the oath of allegiance to the Patroon and his representatives.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> FORM OF OATH TAKEN BY THE COLONISTS OF RENSSELAERSWYCK TO THE PATROON.

"I, N. N., promise and swear that I shall be true and faithful to the noble Patroon and Co-directors, or those who represent them here, and to the Hon'ble Director, Commissioners and Council, subjecting myself to the Court of the Colonie; and I promise to demean myself as a good and faithful inhabitant or Burgher, without exciting any opposition, tumult or noise; but on the contrary, as a loyal Inhabitant, to maintain and support offensively and defensively, against every one, the Right and Jurisdiction of the Colonie. And with reverence and fear of the Lord, and uplifting of both the first fingers of the right hand, I say—So TRULY HELP ME GOD ALMIGHTY."

This date, 15th July, 1649, hath Steven Jansen Carpenter taken the Oath of allegiance from the hands of the Honorable Director before the commissioners of the colonie. Witness, A. DE HOOGES, Secretary.

23d Nov., 1651. RESOLVED, that all Householders and Freemen of this Colonie shall appear on the 28th day of November of this year, being Tuesday, at the house of the Honorable Director, and there take the Burgerlyke oath of Allegiance.

The following persons have taken the Oath at the appointed time, according to the foregoing formulary :—

Mons'r Arendt van Curler,	Everardus Jansz.
Mons'r Johan Baptist van Rensselaer,	Adriaen Pietersz. van Alkmaer,
Pieter Hartgers,	Thomas Jansz.
Jan Verbeeck,	Jochim Wessels Backer,
Sander Leendertsz. (Glen.)	Jacob Luyersz.
Gysbert Cornelisz. van Weesp,	Thomas Sandersz. Smith,
Willem Fredericksz.	Evert Pels,
Jan Michelz.	—— Hendricksz. Verbeeck,
Rutger Jacobszen,	[One name defaced here,]
Goosen Gerritsz.	—— Van Es,
Andries Herbertsz.	Hendrick Westercamp,
Cornelis Cornelisz. Vos,	Thomas Keuningh,
Jan van Hoesem,	Cornelis Segersz.
Jan Thomasz.	Cornelis Cornelisz. van Voorhout,
Pieter Bronck,	Jan Ryersz.
Jacob Jansz. van Nostrandt,	Jan Helms,
Harmen Bastiaensz.	Aert Jacobsz.
Teunis Cornelisz.	Guysbert Cornelisz. aende Berg,
Jacob Adriaensz. Raedmacker,	Evert Jansen Kleermaker,
Teunis Jacobsz.	Dirck Jansen Croon,
Rutger Adriaensz.	Jacob Simonsz. Klomp,
Casper Jacobsz.	Volcker Jansz.
Abraham Pietersz. Vosburg,	[21st May, 1652. Renss. MSS.]

These conflicting pretensions were necessarily productive of a bad state of feeling between the opposing parties. On New Year's night, some soldiers, armed with matchlocks, sallied from the fort, and fired a number of shots at the Patroon's house. Several pieces of ignited wadding settled on the roof, (which was of reed,) and had caused the destruction of the building, had not the inmates been on the alert. On the following day, the soldiers assaulted young Slechtenhorst in the street, "and not only beat him black and blue, but dragged him through the mud and mire in the presence of Joannes Dyckman, the Company's commissary,<sup>1</sup> who cried out all the time, "Let him have it now, and the d---I take him!" Philip Pietersen Schuyler<sup>2</sup> endeavored to save his brother-in-law. Dyckman, hereupon, drew his sword and threatened to run Schuyler through, if he interfered. The soldiers struck others of the commander's children, and threatened to shoot them, but were prevented. The friends of the family were justly incensed at this outrage, and menaced revenge. This coming to Dyckman's ears, he, it is represented, ordered the guns of

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<sup>1</sup> Dyckman had been first clerk to the Amsterdam Chamber of the West India Company, and sailed in the Waterhound, in the spring of this year, for New Netherland, having been appointed bookkeeper, at a salary of 30 fl. per month and board. On his arrival he was sent as Commissary and Vice Director to Fort Orange, which offices he filled until 1655, when, having become deranged, he was superseded.

<sup>2</sup> This was the first of the Schuyler family who settled in this country. He came from Amsterdam to America in 1650, and was married on 22d December of that year, to Margritta van Slechtenhorst, aged 22, daughter of the Director of Rensselaerswyck, by Anthonie de Hooges the secretary of the colonie, "in presence of the officers both of Fort Orange and Rensselaerswyck, and of some of the principal inhabitants thereof." By this lady he had ten children, viz.: Guysbert, Gertrude, (who married Stephanus van Cortland;) Alida, (who married, first, Rev. Nicholas van Rensselaer, second Robert Livingston;) Pieter, Brant, Arent, Sybilla, (died, aged four weeks,) Philip, Johannes, and Margritta. Peter Schuyler was the first mayor of Albany. John, the youngest son, held a captain's commission in 1690, when he led an expedition into Canada, and penetrated as far as La Prairie, being then only twenty-two years of age. He possessed great influence among the Indians, and is referred to frequently in La Potherie's History of North America. His grandson, General Philip Schuyler, occupies too high a place in the history of this State, to need further remark here. Philip Pietersen Schuyler died at Albany, on the 9th March, 1683-4, and was buried on the 11th of the same month in the church of that place, then situated at the junction of State street and Broadway. His will bears date Tuesday evening, 1st May, 1683, O. S.

BOOK the fort to be loaded with grape, with the intention of  
 IV. blowing down the Patroon's house.

1652. Things were in this unpleasant state when Stuyvesant

Jan. 29. sent up some placards relating to the limits of Fort Orange, which he ordered to have published in the colonie. Dyckman, accompanied by six followers and three soldiers

Feb. 8. "armed with carbines and pistols," proceeded to the house where the magistrates were in session, and demanded of Slechtenhorst to make a minute of what he was about to require. As it was contrary to law for any man to enter another's jurisdiction with an armed posse, without the previous consent of the local authorities, Dyckman's conduct was looked upon as an additional insult, against which

Feb. 22. Slechtenhorst protested, ordering the commissary at the same time to quit the room. Dyckman retired; but "as

Feb. 24. force hath more to say here than justice," he returned with increased numbers, and demanded that the placards should be published throughout the colonie by the sound of the bell. "It shall not be done so long as we have a drop of blood in our veins," replied the court, "nor until we receive orders from their High Mightinesses and our honored masters." But Dyckman, nevertheless, persisted, and ordered the porter to ring the bell. This was opposed also. Dyckman now proceeded to the fort; ordered the bell there to be rung three times; then returned to the Patroon's court-house; ascended the front "stoop," or steps, with his armed followers, whilst the wondering burghers stood around, and directed his deputy to make proclamation of the placards. The latter was about to obey, when Van Slechtenhorst, rushing forward, tore the placards from his hands, "so that the seals fell on the ground." Another long protest followed from the authorities of the colonie, whilst young Van Rensselaer said to the crowd, "Go home, good friends! 'tis only the wind of a cannon ball fired six hundred paces off."

On receiving the report of these occurrences, the Director-general immediately dispatched another placard to  
 Mar. 5. Dyckman, again declaring the jurisdiction of Fort Orange to extend within a circumference of six hundred paces of

said fort, "and in order that no man shall plead ignorance, we further charge our commissary, after publication hereof, to erect on the aforesaid limits, north, south, and west of the aforesaid fortress, a post, marked with the Company's mark, and to affix on a board nailed thereto, a copy hereof." Within these bounds, no house was, for the future, to be built, except by consent of the Director and Council, or those authorized to act for them.<sup>1</sup> This violent and illegal act, violating at once the rights of property and the sixth article of the charter of 1629, severed, now and for ever, the town of Beverwyck from Van Rensselaer's colonie.<sup>2</sup> It was not, however, quietly submitted to by the authorities of the latter, for they immediately ordered their constable to remove the posts forth-  
 with, "protesting before Almighty God and the States General, against all open force and violence, and insisting on reparation for all losses and damages which might accrue, or be caused thereby." On the same day, the court drew up a long remonstrance "against the unbecoming pretensions and attacks of the Director and Council of New Netherland," in which they denied that the latter had any authority over the colonie; they had never sworn allegiance to the Company, much less to Monsieur Stuyvesant, and owned no masters but the States General and their own immediate superiors, whose lands have been erected into a perpetual fief, with high, middle, and low jurisdiction; and he who would now destroy this, must be

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<sup>1</sup> Rensselaerswyck MSS.

<sup>2</sup> The Patroon and Co-directors of Rensselaerswyck never ceased to protest against this high-handed proceeding, and to demand the restitution of the property thus unlawfully taken from them. They succeeded at length in 1673, (when the country fell a second time into the hands of the Dutch,) in obtaining tardy justice. On the 3d of April of that year, the Directors of the West India Company acknowledged, by a notorial acte, after having examined the original Indian deeds, that the proprietors of the colonie were also right owners of the town, then called Willemstadt; that the aggression committed against them by Director Stuyvesant, was in special violation of the 6th Art. of the Charter of 1629, and could neither take away nor diminish the proprietorship claimed by the parties. The Company at the same time declared that they had no right or claim to any part of the said colonie. This view of the case was admitted also by Gov. Dongan, in 1686, who considered it necessary to obtain a release from the Patroon of all his claims, before he could legally incorporate the city of Albany.

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more powerful than the Company, "yea, than their High Mightinesses." The late Director Kieft understood the law better than those who administer it now-a-days, and this will be made manifest when the matter shall be subjected to that touchstone.<sup>1</sup>

This paper was declared, by the Director and Council, "a libellous calumny." Secretary de Hooges was called on to furnish the names of the magistrates who had voted in favor of it, and threatened, in case of disobedience, to prosecute him for contumacy.

In the meanwhile the question of jurisdiction presented itself in a new shape to agitate and disturb still further this infant hamlet. A negress belonging to Sander Leendertsen Glen, charged with theft, caused several "decent persons" to be prosecuted as receivers of stolen goods. She was ordered to be arrested for defamation, and Dyckman proceeded to take up the wench. Her master refused to surrender her that evening. Dyckman, offended at this, told the burgher that he had power to send him and all his family to jail; to pull his house down about his ears, and trample it underneath his feet, "as it was erected on the Company's soil." "I have nothing to do with you," replied Glen; "I cannot serve a new master until I am discharged from the one I live under." The commissary threatened him with Stuyvesant, but the other thought he should fare as well at the Director-general's hands as he. This retort overthrew Dyckman's temper. He drew his rapier and threatened to run his adversary through. But Glen was not afraid. He seized a stick to repel his assailant, who then retired. Next morning he was summoned to the fort, and placed under arrest. Rumors now became rife that Stuyvesant was about to visit the place, and the commissary went so far as to give out that a new gallows was building for Slechtenhorst and his son, and

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Mar. 22.

<sup>1</sup> On the 13th of this month, the authorities of the colonie purchased from the Indians two tracts of land on the east side of the Hudson, and situate north-east of the flats. One of these was called Paanpaack, (on which the city of Troy now stands,) the other Pan-hoosick, or "Hoosick," as it is now called, which adjoined the first mentioned on the north. It is described as running landward in "unto the Wappenakicks, or otherwise to the Fresh River."

for young Van Rensselaer, who were put down as the fomenters of this "rebellion."<sup>1</sup>

The Director was at this time occupied in ridding himself of all that remained of his opponents at New Amsterdam. Melyn was in a manner outlawed; Van Dinclage had retired to Staten Island to brood over his contumelies; Van Schelluyne durst not exercise his profession, and the Nine Men were under ban. The only one undisposed of was Attorney-general Van Dyck, and his hour had now arrived.

From the moment that he had been commissioned, he was treated by Stuyvesant with marked contumely, and excluded from the Council for over two years after his arrival in the colony. In the exercise of his office he was most commonly employed as a scrivener, to copy legal papers, the drafts of which the Director-general usually prepared; at other times he was "charged to look after the pigs and keep them out of the fort, a duty which a negro could very well perform." When Van Dyck happened to object, the Director "got as angry as if he would swallow him up;" or if he presumed to disobey, "put him in confinement, or bastinadoed him with his rattan!" A series of ill-usage such as this naturally drove the Fiscaal into the ranks of the opposition. Charges of drunkenness and of having received bribes were brought against him as early as 1647, and periodically renewed, but did not accomplish as yet his dismissal or disgrace.<sup>2</sup> But in the spring of this year a silly lampoon against the Director-general made its appearance, and Van Dyck was put down as its author.<sup>3</sup> The Council was convoked to con-

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<sup>1</sup> Rensselaerswyck MSS.

<sup>2</sup> The Directors, writing this year to Stuyvesant, say: "We have observed that your climate does not reform much the manners of individuals. Of this there is yet much less hope if the chiefs of the administration set a bad example to others. In this respect, we receive many complaints from those who return from New Netherland, against the Attorney-general, for drunkenness and other vices. If he continue such a disorderly life, we shall be compelled to employ such means of restraint as we deem expedient." Alb. Rec. iv., 74.

<sup>3</sup> This pasquinade was in these terms:—"Myn Heer General! It is impossible for me to conceal from your Excellency, that I heard you scolded and cursed on the evening of the 11th of March, at Mr. Fyn's house, as a rogue and a tyrant, with many other calumnious defamations, which cut me to the heart.

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sider this weighty affair of state, and a resolution followed, dismissing the Schout-fiscaal from office, "on account of the multitude of his misdemeanors and connivances." This resolution purported to be "by and with the advice of the Nine Men," but these repudiated the assertion, and declared, "that they never had any knowledge of the commonalty having complained of Van Dyck; that they had never agreed to the resolution ordering his dismissal; that Stuyvesant had passed it on his own authority, and that the secretary had falsely appended to it their names."

To fill this vacancy, Cornelis van Tienhoven, the putative author of the above intrigue, received the appointment of Attorney-general; Carel van Brugge, "an Englishman," provisionally succeeded him as provincial secretary; and Adriaen van Tienhoven became Receiver-general in place of his brother.

"Were an honorable person appointed in my stead," says Van Dyck, commenting on these proceedings, "the false accusations against me, which have been so long resolved upon and written, might have some semblance of truth; but the person whom the Director-general hath, on his own mere motion, made Fiscaal, is his perjured secretary, who returned here contrary to their High Mightinesses' prohibition; a public, notorious, and convicted whoremonger and oath-breaker; a reproach to this country, and the main scourge of both Christians and heathens, with whose sensualities the Director himself has been always acquainted." "The fault of drunkenness could easily be noticed in me, but not in Van Tienhoven, who has frequently come out of the tavern so full that he could go no further, and was forced to lie down in the gutter."<sup>1</sup>

Thou art a God appointed of God! I pray you for Christ's sake to prevent it, or I shall feel very unhappy, for I can no longer listen to it, and durst not acquaint you with it by word of mouth. Christman, Fyn, and two other women heard it also. I wish that the Fiscaal would bestir himself. No other man is better. Was neither signed nor subscribed, nor compared with the discovered scrap, this 28th March, 1652, in New Amsterdam, (signed,) Cor. van Thienh. secretary." Van Dyck accused Van Tienhoven, Christman, (V. T.'s clerk,) and others of having got up this plot, and circulated this lampoon to have him dismissed. Hol. Doc. vi., 263-265.

<sup>1</sup> Alb. Rec. iii., 264-268; Hol. Doc. vi., 194-276.

Having thus disposed of Van Dyck, Stuyvesant turned his attention to Van Slechtenhorst, and to conclude all difficulties with him, repaired to Fort Orange and called on the authorities of Rensselaerswyck to state where their bounds commenced. It was indifferent to him from what point, north or south, they should start. The exemptions allowed them four miles on one, or two miles on both banks of the river, and he was prepared to concede to that extent; but he warned them, if they should refuse this "reasonable offer," he would proceed *ex parte*. They replied that they had no instructions to act in the premises; and requested delay, until they advised with the interested parties in Holland. The delay was granted, but the question of supremacy over Beverwyck was not so easily settled. Sergeant Litschoe presented himself with a party of soldiers before the Patroon's house, and having stationed his followers at the door, ordered Van Slechtenhorst to strike the Patroon's flag. The latter peremptorily refused to obey, whereupon "fourteen soldiers armed with loaded muskets, entered the enclosure, and after firing a volley, hauled down the Lord's colors." Stuyvesant followed up this act, by issuing a proclamation erecting in Fort Orange a Court of Justice for the village of Beverwyck and its dependencies, apart from, and independent of, that of Rensselaerswyck. This placard having been affixed to the court-house of the colonie, was torn down by Van Slechtenhorst, who in return posted a proclamation vindicating the Patroon's rights, and denouncing the pretensions of those who infringed them. This was removed by those of the fort.<sup>1</sup>

From the date of General Stuyvesant's proclamation above mentioned, reckons the establishment of a legal tribunal in Beverwyck, and consequently, in the present city of Albany. It was an exercise of the prerogative which

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1652.

April 1.

April 10.

April 15.

<sup>1</sup> Gerechtsrolle der Colonie Rensselaerswyck, 103-114; Alb. Rec. ix., 123; Rensselaerswyck MSS. Gerechtsrolle van den Banck van Justitie der Fortresse Orange, Dorpe Beverswyck ende appendentie van dien, door den Eerentfesten ende Achtbaeren Heer, Myn Heeren, de Heer Directeur Generaal en Raaden van Nieuw Nederlandt, den 10 Aprilis A<sup>o</sup>. 1652, in loco synde gestelt. Mortgage Book A. in County Clerk's Office, Albany.

BOOK  
IV.  
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followed naturally the high-handed proclamation of the fifth of March preceding.

1652. Van Slechtenhorst's reign was now evidently drawing to a close. For four years he had manfully defended the rights of his "orphan Patroon," and unflinchingly contended against the invasions of superior force. But what, in those days, could avail in New Netherland the opposition of one man against the attacks of the Executive? Nine April 18. armed soldiers burst into his house, and, without exhibiting any authority for the act, dragged him, a prisoner, "against all his protests," to Fort Orange, "where neither his children, his master, nor his friends, were allowed to speak to him," whilst "his furs, his clothes, and his meat were left hanging to the door-posts," and his house and papers were abandoned to the mercy of his enemies. He was next conveyed on board a sloop lying in the river, and removed, in charge of a guard, to New Amsterdam, "to be tormented, in his sickness and old age, with unheard-of and insufferable prosecutions, by those serving a Christian government, professing the same religion, and living under the same authority."

April 24. Jan Baptiste van Rensselaer succeeded Van Slechtenhorst as Director, and Gerrit Swart was appointed Sheriff or Schout-fiscaal of Rensselaerswyck in his place. Provision was made at the same time for the regular preaching of the gospel, and the conversion of the heathen, by the appointment of the Rev. Gideon Schaets as minister of the colonie, at a salary of eight hundred guilders, or \$320, per annum. This stipend was afterwards raised to one thousand, and then to thirteen hundred guilders.²

July 1. On returning to New Amsterdam, Stuyvesant set about

¹ Slechtenhorst's Memorial, MS. It has been stated that the commander was lodged in the keep at New Amsterdam. This was not so. He was placed under what was called "civil arrest." Some of his time was passed at Staten Island, some at Breukelen.

² The power of attorney to J. B. van Rensselaer is dated 8th May, 1652. Gerrit Swart was born in 1607, and was, consequently, 45 years of age when he came to New Netherland. He filled the office of sheriff in Albany, to 1670, when Capt. Salisbury was elected his successor, by a majority of the burghers of that city. His commission and instructions will be found in App. C. For some particulars relating to the Rev. Mr. Schaets and his descendants, see App. D.

introducing, in conformity to the instructions of his superiors, some regulations relative to the purchasing of Indian lands, now rendered necessary by the disposition which several individuals manifested, to acquire large tracts of wilderness, not with any view to improvement, but on speculation, and in the hope of disposing of their rights to the Company at enormous prices. The lands held by Van Twiller at Red Hook, and elsewhere; the flats at Amersfoort claimed by the Gerritsens; Katskill and Claverack, purchased by Van Slechtenhorst; the land about the Neversinck acquired by Van Dinclage for Van der Capelien; Loockerman's purchases at Mattineconck, were declared to be of this description, and the sales thereof by the Indians were pronounced null and void. The purchase money was ordered to be returned, or if the "pretended proprietors" preferred, they were to hold such tracts as the Director and Council may please to give them, provided they petitioned therefor within six weeks. And in keeping with the rule laid down on 24th May, 1650, all persons were forbidden to buy land from the natives without the consent of the Director and Council, on pain of forfeiting all such illegally acquired tracts.¹ The Amsterdam Chamber subsequently modified this order, so far as it related to Katskill, Claverack, and the other Indian purchases in the neighborhood of Rensselaerswyck. These were to be granted to the holders in the name of the Company, but the farms thereon were not to be subject to feudal burthens, or the "patronage" of the colonie.²

Meanwhile the Honorable Cornelis van Werckhoven, Schepen of Utrecht, and one of the members of the Dutch government, gave notice to the Amsterdam Chamber of his intention to plant two colonies in New Netherland, "one of which was to begin at Nevesing and to proceed northwards to the colonie of Baron Van Nederhorst; the other, at Tappaan, extending northward to the highlands; all in

CHAP.
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1652.

1651.
Nov. 7.

¹ Smith, Hist. N. Y. i., 39, ascribes the introduction of the law relative to the purchases of Indian lands, to Nicolls, and gives 1665 as the date of the "rise" of this "salutary institution." It had then been already in force over twelve

" s.

lb Rec. iv., 97; vii., 318-320.

- BOOK IV. conformity to the regulations lately presented by the Company to the States General for their approval." Augustine
1651. Heermans accordingly purchased from the Indians, for
 Dec. 6. Werckhoven, the land extending from the mouth of the Raritan westerly to Mankackewacky creek, now known as the Raritan Great Meadows; next from Point Amboy north up along the kill behind Staten Island unto Pechciesse creek, and along the same westerly, until it meets the above mentioned Great Meadows. Another tract, called Kehackanick Wakonaback, on the south side
1652. of the Raritan, was afterwards added to the first named
 Nov. 22. purchase;¹ together with two tracts on Long Island—one situated to the east of the North River, near its mouth, and joining Gowanus, "as it was before purchased by the Company," and stretching in an oblique line through the mountain to Merrakawick, (Breukelen,) lying to the east (west) of Amersfoort, whence a course is taken by Gravesend to the sea; the other was "Nyack," a parcel of land within the present town of New Utrecht. For the first of these Long Island tracts, the Indians received six shirts, two pairs of shoes, six pairs of stockings, six chisels, six axes, six knives, two pairs of scissors, and six cans; for the second, six coats, six kettles, six axes, six chisels, six small looking glasses, twelve knives and twelve combs.² In the selection of these lands Mr. Van Werckhoven was very unfortunate. Baron Van der Capellen entered a caveat against his obtaining Nevesing, whilst the lands on Long Island had, it was maintained, been positively granted to Englishmen, who had built on and cultivated them "long

¹ Augustinē Heermans is represented in "East Jersey under the Proprietors," as purchasing these Raritan tracts on his own account. But this was not the case, as most clearly appears from a declaration of Jan Vigne, Schepen of New Amsterdam, dated 1st November, 1656, of which the following is a translation: "In the year 1651, 1652, Sieur Augustyn Heermans purchased from the Indians the Raritan lands for the behoof of the Hr. C. van Werckhoven, for which purpose he, deponent, was present when possession was taken of the aforesaid lands for the said Hr. C. van Werckhoven, and in the trees of each hook of the aforesaid land, were cut the marks of the Hr. C. van Werckhoven, thus, *WH*." N. A. Rec.

² Alb. Rec. viii., 20-23, 151-153, 161. The Nyack farm is now in the possession of the Cortelyou family.

before the Indian war.”¹ A protracted dispute was the consequence, and the Directors finally decreed that as colonists were not allowed more than four (Dutch) miles along a navigable river, and as the tracts claimed by Van Werckhoven on the main were supposed to extend twenty miles in a straight line, he could not be allowed both these parcels of land. He might take one of them, if he pleased. He did not do so, however. He abandoned both, and commenced a settlement on his lands on Long Island; but dying in a few years, even this never prospered until it was erected, several years afterwards, into the town of New Utrecht, so called out of respect to Mr. Van Werckhoven’s native city in Holland.²

The accumulated grievances of the last two years had already been formally brought before the States General, by Van der Donck, in a long remonstrance embodying all the complaints which, during that period, he had received from New Amsterdam. He called the attention of their High Mightinesses, at the same time, to the Hartford treaty, and charged Stuyvesant with having surrendered an immense tract of Dutch territory to his English neighbors. He called again for the confirmation of the Provisional Order of 1650, and as he was about to return to America in the spring, prayed that he should be furnished with such conclusions as would afford consolation and encouragement to the commonalty. This representation was referred to the Heer Van der Capellen and other deputies. Van der Donck was called on for evidence in support of the allegations contained in his petition, and ordered to send in a description of the old boundaries of New Netherland, distinguishing those parts which had been ceded by Stuyvesant. Copies of the “Provisional Order” were again transmitted to the several chambers of

CHAP.
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1652.
Dec. 13.

¹ Alb. Rec. viii., 23, 55.

² Alb. Rec. iv., 88. Mr. Van Werckhoven died in Holland, in 1655, whither he had returned from New Netherland, in 1654. He left Jacques Cortelyou, the private tutor of his children, to manage his estate. His children, Peter and Cornelis Jansen van Werckhoven, entered a complaint against Cortelyou, in 1658, for refusing to render an account of his stewardship. He should be first paid, said he, what was due him. Alb. Rec. viii., 191, 192.

BOOK IV. the West India Company, with instructions to report their
 ~~~~~ opinions thereupon without delay.

1652. Van der Donck lost no time in complying with the above orders. He furnished copious extracts from letters, journals and resolutions, with memorials furnished him by the commonalty, all corroborative of the representations he had made against the provincial authorities.<sup>1</sup> He also handed in a paper on the boundaries of New Netherland, explaining those claimed in 1609, the subsequent usurpations of the English, and the district since given up by Stuyvesant. The last, he stated, embraced from Cape Cod to Greenwich, a distance of sixty Dutch miles, including divers commodious bays, kills, rivers and islands, "namely Stamford, Stratford, the Redhill, (New Haven,) Totolet,<sup>2</sup> Gillfort, Kieft's Hoeck, (Saybrook,) and the beautiful Fresh River, whereupon fifty or more colonies might be planted; also Pequatoos River, with numerous islands, bays, kills and advantageous places." The greater part of Long Island with its shores, two hundred miles in extent, was also surrendered. All the latter should have been retained, together with the main land as far as Sequin's river. The English would then have gained the territory from Cape Cod, thirty miles in length. As it was, the Dutch trade had been greatly injured, for by the treaty, the English obtained the possession and control of all the wampum manufacturers, and the Dutch must hereafter "eat oats from English hands."

Anticipating the effect of these representations, the Chamber at Amsterdam had already sought to strengthen themselves by securing the influence of the Burgomasters of their city. With this view, they addressed a memorial to the latter, in which they referred, with confidence, to the improvement the province had of late experienced in population, commerce and agriculture, though the returning insolence of the savages, under the impression that the Dutch were forbidden to offer them any resistance, was

<sup>1</sup> These are not repeated here, as their substance has already been related in the chronological order in which the events occurred.

<sup>2</sup> "Totoket," Trumbull; "Sotoket," Hazard.

somewhat of a drawback to the general prosperity. To counteract this insolence, the Director-general had endeavored to engage the English in an alliance offensive and defensive against the Indians, but as yet was not successful. Grave disorders, they admitted, prevailed in New Netherland; these were caused by the committee of the States General, who had provided several insolent individuals with letters of safety, under which they claimed authority to perpetrate every sort of mischief, and to instigate every sort of malefactor against the Director-general and the Company's servants. Vice Director Van Dincklage patronized all these seditious persons, in consequence of which he had been ordered home to defend his conduct; but before the receipt of these orders he had retired along with Melyn, "the principal leader of all the factions," to Staten Island, where they set up a sort of government and court of judicature, on their own principles. The committee had also commissioned and sent out, without the Director's knowledge, one Dirck van Schelluyne, as a notary public, all which was in absolute contravention to the Company's orders and privileges, and in their opinion a serious grievance. The unlimited grant of colonies, and the excessive pre-eminences accorded to and claimed by these, were likewise prejudicial and inconvenient. For "the Patroons have become so daringly enterprising as not only to abuse their privileges, but to presume to exclude the inhabitants of New Netherland from trading in their colonies, which is not only contrary to the law of nature, but opposed to the laws and customs of the land." To remedy these abuses, the Directors asked a conference, the result of which was a recommendation on the part of the Burgomasters that the authorities of New Netherland be invested with the necessary power to keep the Indians in check, and to conclude an offensive and defensive league with the English. The committee of the States General had, in their opinion, no power to grant *sureté de corps* to any person. As for Melyn, Van Schelluyne, and others, "who are skulking under those letters and unwilling to submit to the Company's orders,"

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1652.

Feb. 14.

BOOK IV. they advised their prosecution according to law in New  
 ~~~~~ Netherland; "but if this were not deemed prudent, they  
 1652. should then be brought hither by compulsion—pede ligato—
 if they refused to come voluntarily to defend their conduct." The deputies from the Burgomasters at the Hague were requested to support the Directors in all their reasonable claims, and to defend their privileges against all individuals. Supported by this influence, the Amsterdam Chamber replied to the letter of the States General. They
 Feb. 23. reminded their High Mightinesses that they had already given their opinions on the Provisional Order of 1650. Since that time, they had repeated conferences with the deputies of the States, and had concluded that it was their High Mightinesses' intention to set aside the unfounded complaints of "the pretended and disaffected delegates of a few evil-disposed persons in New Netherland." They were now astonished that a plan should be revived which had lain dormant for so long a time. They concluded by hoping that nothing would be done in the matter until full information be laid before them, which could not be furnished except by themselves, as the government of the province in question had been conferred specially by the XIX. on the Chamber at Amsterdam.

The Maas department had already approved of the
 Mar. 2. "Order" of 1650, and now recommended that all the Chambers and private persons might trade henceforward to New Netherland. They were specially favorable to the advance of fifty thousand guilders to promote emigration. The settlement of the boundaries was a matter of great importance, and they insisted that in whatever arrangement may be agreed upon, Long Island, "lying right in front of the coast," should be retained by the Dutch. The Zealand Chamber coincided with that of the Maas, that the benefits to be derived from New Netherland should not be confined exclusively to the department of Amsterdam, but that they should be participated by all the members of the Company. It was contrary to right and law that one Chamber should monopolize the whole of that province. If the present system were changed, they would

be happy to assist in bringing about a reform in the government, to the utmost of their power. Until then they could not interfere. The other Chambers replied in the same sense.¹

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1652.
Mar. 8.

Power, in redressing grievances, never anticipates public discontent. The tone of these replies and the continual clamor which was kept up, satisfied the department at Amsterdam that, if they wished to retain their monopoly, they must make some concession. They had already addressed a letter to the commonalty at the Mannhattans, recommending them to be more dutiful and quiet. "Some malignants had dared to allege that this letter was a forgery." It became now necessary to "silence such false and calumnious fomenters of rebellion;" with this view, another letter was sent out to the people, communicating "the good intentions" which the Chamber at Amsterdam entertained towards them; and thus at length, after years of heart-burning, a few partial concessions were, grudgingly, consented to. The export duty of eight per cent. on tobacco was removed; the passage money to New Netherland was reduced from fifty to thirty guilders; and, in addition to the privilege of trading to the Brazils, the colonists were, henceforward, to be allowed to "sail to the coast of Angola and Africa, to procure there as many negroes as they might be willing to employ." Supplies of ammunition were sent out for distribution "at a decent price" to the inhabitants; the establishment of a public school was assented to, and the city tavern was to be appropriated to a school-house "if the same were practicable;" the Reverend Samuel Drisius, a clergyman of piety and parts, qualified to preach in English, French and Dutch, was sent out to assist "that worthy old servant, the Rev. Megapolensis."² "As we are informed," continue the Directors, "that there still remain

¹ Hol. Doc. vi., 1-112.

² Dominie Drisius, (or Dries,) was at this time about forty years of age, and unmarried. He had sojourned some time in England, which country he now quitted, in consequence of its disturbed state. His salary was fixed at 1450 gl. or \$580. He subsequently married Lysbeth Juriaensen, (daughter of Skipper Juriaen Andriessen and Jannetin Jans,) widow of Isaac Greveraet. "Elisabeth Drisius," and "Mother Drisius," are both mentioned in a tax list of the city of New York for 1677.

BOOK IV.
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 1652. turbulent, seditious persons, who impose on, and deceive the inhabitants; and continue even here, also, to act, as they pretend, in the name of the commonalty, we trust your protestations shall confound them and make them blush, whilst we are confident that good citizens will, as in duty bound, remain in allegiance to us, their patroons, who are desirous that they shall be governed with lenity and prudence in the enjoyment of their rights and privileges, of which ye all will be convinced by the present orders transmitted herewith to the Director-general and Council."

What were the "orders" thus announced with such confidence and parade? What were those conclusions, which, like oil, were to calm the troubled waters of colonial dissatisfaction? After two years of obstinate and unwise opposition, the Directors had, at length, granted to New Amsterdam, in accordance with the 17th clause of the Provisional Order of 1650, a Municipal form of government, to consist of one Schout, two Burgomasters, and five Schepens, to be elected by the citizens in the manner usual in "this city of Amsterdam," to act as a Court of Justice, with the right of appeal, in certain cases, "to the Supreme Court of Judicature." In conferring this charter, orders were given that "every attention should be paid to the selection of these magistrates, so that honest and respectable persons may be chosen." To prevent the recurrence of complaints already made against the exclusive employment of foreigners in the government, it was "directed" that preference should be given, as much as possible, to individuals of this (Dutch) nation, as this will, in our opinion, be gratifying to the citizens at large."

<sup>1</sup> Alb. Rec. iv., 68, 72, 73, 75; viii., 8-13, 16-19, 42. The Directors in their letter to Stuyvesant, communicating the concession of this charter, say: "We have resolved, on your proposal, to stop the slandering mouth, to agree to establish, &c." From this it would seem that the grant of a municipality to New Amsterdam, was on Stuyvesant's "proposal." This is more than the facts warrant. When the report of the Provisional Order of 1650 in which this charter was first recommended, was first made, a copy of that paper was sent out to the Director-general, probably for his opinion; and it is most likely that he "reported" in favor of assimilating New Amsterdam in some degree to Old Amsterdam, by the grant to the former of the above privileges. But the first "proposal" was undoubtedly from the Nine Men, which was followed by the Provisional Order of 1650.

Such was the origin of municipal institutions in the commercial metropolis of this Empire State. They sprung not up in one night, like Jonah's gourd; they owed their existence, like all such ameliorations, to the persevering demands of the masses; to the provident foresight and indomitable energy of those who occupied the island of Mannhattans centuries ago. In the year 1642, the Twelve Men had demanded privileges similar to those now conferred. "The smallest village in Fatherland had a board of from five to seven schepens, for the management of their local affairs." Though these honest men had to bow before the despotism of their day, and though their successors experienced persecution and obloquy, the event is matter for just congratulation and encouragement to all those who labor for the advancement of reform. Sooner or later the cause of right triumphs, and though the People may, for a while, be baffled, they cannot fail in the end of success, if their object be good.

The mass of evidence, produced by Van der Donck, exercised in the mean time a powerful influence on their High Mightinesses, and conclusively established the truth of the numerous complaints which had been brought against the Director-general. A resolution was passed ordering him to return forthwith to Holland to give an account of his administration, and to furnish explanations regarding the boundary which he had negotiated with the United Colonies. The letter conveying this grave censure was entrusted to Van der Donck, who, having obtained his discharge, was on the eve of returning to New Netherland.

The Amsterdam Directors were astounded on receiving intelligence of this event. They dispatched their secretary with all haste, to the Hague, to have the order countermanded, and wrote to Stuyvesant, informing him that such a resolution was utterly repugnant to the privileges conferred on them, wherefore they commanded him to give it neither regard nor attention—"not to be in too much haste to commence his voyage, but to delay it until the receipt of further orders." Meanwhile their agent influenced the members of the States of Holland and some of

CHAP.  
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1652.

BOOK IV. the Burgomasters of Amsterdam, who immediately demanded communication of the resolution of the 27th April. 1652. This having been read, they protested against it, "signifying that this subject ought to have been first proposed to May 16. the States of Holland." The resolution was reconsidered; Van der Donck was ordered to return the letters of recall, and all further action in the matter was indefinitely postponed. May 27. The Directors rejoiced at their success, expressed their thanks to the States General, and requested that they might be heard before the deputies who had the business in charge, as they were confident that they could give such satisfactory explanations regarding the boundaries and all other points submitted, as to render it unnecessary to send for the Director-general.<sup>1</sup> Thus this affair terminated, and Stuyvesant owed his escape from the humiliation which threatened him, less to any want of disposition on the part of the States General to probe the complaints against him to the bottom, than to the circumstance that they were on the eve of a rupture with England, and required the services of a man of his military experience to protect their American possessions.

Two settlements were commenced on Long Island in the course of this year. One of these was located immediately east of the old established plantation of Mespeth, in contradistinction to which, it was familiarly called "the New Town," though its legal appellation was Middelburgh.<sup>2</sup> The Indian title to the lands composing the town was not extinguished until some years subsequent to this date. A church was erected here previous to 1655.<sup>3</sup>

The other was situate in the "Vlacke-bos," or Flatbush, between Breukelen and Amersfoort, and received from Director Stuyvesant the name of Middelwout.<sup>4</sup> Though endowed, at its foundation, with over a dozen parcels of

<sup>1</sup> Hol. Doc. vi., 123-125, 140, 153, 156; Alb. Rec. iv., 63, 64, 68; viii., 46-49. For particulars of the remainder of Van der Donck's history, see p. 550.

<sup>2</sup> "The New Town, by us called Middelburgh, situate on Long Island." N. A. Book of Conveyances, Nos. 7 and 8.

<sup>3</sup> New Amsterdam Rec.

<sup>4</sup> De Directeur heeft op syn eygen autoriteyt, een buurschap begonnen te fonderen op 't Lange Eyland in 't Vlacke-bos tusschen Amersfoort and Breukelen by hem Middelwout genaamt. Hol. Doc. vi., 221.

land for the support of religion and schools,<sup>1</sup> its progress was much impeded in its infancy. The Indians had not been paid for their property, and in their displeasure threatened to burn the bouweries of the early pioneers. Payment was promised, "but nothing came of it." The inhabitants continued in constant danger, and "the village did not thrive." These and other difficulties about Indian claims, superadded to the war with England, produced a good deal of confusion and discontent, and laid the foundation of another appeal ere long to the authorities in Holland.

<sup>1</sup> Flatbush Rec.



## BOOK V.

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FROM THE INCORPORATION OF NEW AMSTERDAM TO THE  
FIRST WAR WITH THE ESOPUS INDIANS.  
1652—1659.

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### CHAPTER I.

Effects produced in Holland by the death of Charles I.—Murder of Dorislaus—Death of the Prince of Orange—Office of Stadtholder abolished—Overtures to Cromwell—Ambassadors appointed by the commonwealth—Their demand—The Dutch temporize—Indignities offered to the English Envoys by the populace—Failure of the negotiations—The English Ambassadors return home—Passage of the Trade and Navigation Act—Dutch Ambassadors proceed to England—Progress of negotiation—Attempt to settle the boundaries between New England and New Netherland—Fails—Singular mirage—Sea-fight between the English and Dutch fleets—Preparations for the protection of New Netherland—Instructions from the Amsterdam Chamber—War proclaimed—Patroon of Rensselaerswyck complains of Stuyvesant—Reply of the West India Company—Corporation of New Amsterdam—Government of Amsterdam explained—Stuyvesant retains the appointment of the Schout, Burgomasters and Schepens, and their officers, in his own hands—Powers of the city court—Preparations for public defence—A loan raised—New Amsterdam palisaded.

THE intelligence of the terrible catastrophe which over-  
took the British monarchy in the person of Charles the First,  
excited deep commiseration throughout Holland. William  
the Second, Prince of Orange, was a general favorite, and  
having married the daughter of the late unhappy monarch,  
the sympathy for the Prince created a corresponding de-  
gree of feeling for the deceased King's son, who now so-  
journed at the Hague. Addresses of condolence, couched  
in terms suitable to the occasion, were presented by the  
States General, the States of Holland, and the body of the  
clergy, to the Prince of Wales, now Charles the Second;

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I.  
1649.

- BOOK V.  
 1649. for all men, of what quality soever, expressed their detestation of the Whitehall tragedy. The influence of the Stadtholder, to which most of this feeling was mainly ascribable, had hitherto prevented the recognition of Sir John Strickland, whom the Parliament had accredited as its agent to the Dutch government, and secured every respect for Boswell, Charles' representative. The Parliament being desirous, notwithstanding, to establish an alliance betwixt the two republics, sent Doctor Dorislaus, a native of Delf, and formerly professor of history at Gresham College, in his place. It was an injudicious appointment. Dorislaus had been employed to prosecute the late King, and could not fail, therefore, to be peculiarly obnoxious to the Royalists who now crowded the Hague.
- May 12. A few evenings after his arrival, whilst seated at supper at the public hotel, he was set on by six Scotsmen, followers of Montrose, and murdered. The assassins escaped, and Charles, exceedingly perplexed at this accident, withdrew to St. Germain, and in the course of the following
1650.  
 June 12. summer, proceeded with a small squadron furnished by the Prince of Orange, to Scotland, to make an attempt to recover his father's throne. Unfortunately for the King's interests at the Hague, the Prince died towards the close
- Nov. 16. of the year. The democratic party gained the ascendancy, and abolished the office of Stadtholder. It was now discovered that one of the King's agents had issued letters of marque in Holland; that one of these privateers had seized some vessels which had sailed from the Maas, and that others had captured a fleet of Dutch traders off the Isle of Scilly. The tide set, in consequence, stronger than ever
1651.  
 Jan. 28. against the King. A resolution passed the States General acknowledging the republic of England, and in favor of receiving its ambassador, at the very moment almost that the latter nation determined to send Chief Justice St. John and Sir John Strickland as Envoys Extraordinary to Holland, to conclude an alliance with the United Provinces. The business of negotiation soon after commenced.

The English republicans had long cherished the idea of forming, by the union of the United Provinces with their

own commonwealth, a great and powerful republic, capable of striking terror into all the crowned heads of Europe. They proposed, accordingly, a confederacy for the preservation of the liberties of both countries against all enemies, whether by sea or land. The Dutch at once perceived that such a treaty would cost them the friendship of all the other European States, and deprive them of most of those commercial advantages, which, as the common carriers of Europe, they then enjoyed. The critical condition of affairs in Scotland, the uncertainty whether Charles would come out of that contest "a beggar or a king," also induced them to temporize, and though they were willing to place England on a par with the most favored nations, they had recourse to all expedients to gain time and save themselves from the hard conditions which the English still pertinaciously urged.

Whilst negotiations dragged along, the position of the Envoys was far from agreeable. The common people, "who had imbibed with their mothers' milk the great achievements which the house of Orange had performed for their national independence," ill brooked the presence of the men who had contributed so much to the death of the grandfather of their young Prince. The "things called ambassadors" were daily exposed to the grossest insults; "neither they nor their people could put their noses out of doors" with safety, whilst "a continual storm of stones rained against their windows." St. John, the mouth-piece of the Parliament and the confidant of Cromwell, was too proud to brook these indignities or the delays which were thrown in his way. In a tone of marked haughtiness, he gave notice that the period of his sojourn was limited, and if the treaty were not concluded by a certain time, he and his colleague should depart. Mutual misunderstanding ensued. The terms proposed by the English were considered too hard. The States General submitted, on their side, as the basis of an agreement, thirty-six articles extracted from an ancient treaty. These would not be accepted. The object of St. John was to get the Dutch pledged to offensive operations against the King's party,

CHAP.  
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 1651. both in Holland and England ; and having failed in this, he  
 July 2. returned home, determined to crush, if possible, a power  
 which he could not render subservient to English interests  
 and English designs. The course of events soon enabled  
 him to execute his plans. The battle of Worcester was  
 fought and lost : Charles was again a fugitive, houseless  
 and homeless, with a price set on his head ; and now St.  
 John, being at the helm of affairs, hurried to give scope to  
 his resentment. He caused the Parliament to pass the  
 celebrated Trade and Navigation Act, by which all for-  
 eigners were excluded from importing into England or  
 her colonies any goods other than the produce of their  
 respective countries ; and had letters of reprisal issued  
 against the Dutch, in favor of some English merchants,  
 who claimed to have experienced serious injuries at their  
 hands. These measures struck at the Dutch with peculiar  
 severity. The first lopped off one great source of their  
 commercial prosperity, the latter brought eighty of their  
 ships prizes into English ports. Those who had but a few  
 months before evinced little disposition to court English  
 friendship, were now constrained to seek an alliance they  
 had so lately slighted, and Messrs. Jacob Cats, Gerrit  
 Schaep Pieterzoon, and Paulus van der Perre, proceeded  
 as ambassadors to the English republic.<sup>1</sup>

Oct. 9.  
 Dec. 20.  
 1652.  
 Feb. 21.

The Heer Schaep had already been Resident at London  
 on behalf of the States of Holland and West Frieslandt.  
 On receiving this appointment he had been empowered to  
 propose the settlement of the limits between New England  
 and New Netherland.<sup>2</sup> But as negotiations had been  
 transferred about that time to Holland, he effected nothing.  
 On the renewal of diplomatic intercourse at London, the  
 Dutch envoys again presented the draft of the treaty pre-  
 viously submitted at the Hague, of which the following  
 articles had special reference to the American colonies :—

“ XI. The inhabitants and subjects of the aforesaid

<sup>1</sup> Aitzema, iii., 323, 324, 329, 376, 377, 468, 637, 638, 658, 660, 664, 667, 668, 694 ; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, (Boston, 1827,) v., 2426, 2665, 2666 ; Lingard, xi.

<sup>2</sup> Alb. Rec. iv., 35.

Republic of England and of the States General of the United Netherlands shall sail, and trade to the Caribbee islands and Virginia freely and unmolested, in the same manner as they have hitherto resorted to and traded with those places, without any distinction as to whether those islands and places were first or last occupied or possessed by the inhabitants and subjects of the aforesaid Republic, or of the United Netherlands, any prohibition, published or promulgated by the one or the other party, to the contrary notwithstanding.

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“XII. And with a view in like manner to maintain good friendship, peace and neighborhood, between both of the aforesaid nations, on the continent of North America, a just, certain and immovable boundary line there shall be settled and determined as soon as possible.”

The Council of State replied to the first of these articles, Mar. 25. that the people of the Commonwealth of England, having been always strictly forbidden trade in all the plantations and places belonging to the United Provinces, not within the Netherlands, it should acquiesce therein, and therefore forbear to sail to, or trade with, any of their plantations abroad, and should not interrupt or disturb them in their sailing to them. As for their trading to any of the English plantations, such is forbidden by the late act “for the increase of the navigation of this nation, from which we do not deem it fitting to recede.” To the other they answered, “that the English were the first planters of the northern continent of America, and have plantations there from the southernmost part of Virginia, in thirty-seven degrees of north latitude, to Newfoundland in fifty-two degrees; and not knowing of any plantations of the Netherlands there, save a small number up in Hudson’s River, we think it not necessary at present to settle the limits, which may be done hereafter in a convenient time.”

It was now apparent that the views entertained by the English were not only essentially different from, but wholly contrary to, those presented by the Dutch. To

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reconcile these, the latter submitted that inasmuch as the Netherlanders, by their navigation and trade, had, from time to time, maintained, benefitted and advanced the Caribbean islands and the English colonies, it would therefore be now unjust to exclude them therefrom. But the others replied that the Dutch freely possessed their own plantations, and permitted no foreigners to trade thither; that the English, consequently, had like motives to establish the same rule in their colonies; and as regarded the Dutch supplying provisions, such had tended to their own profit, as they thereby promoted their own trade. The ambassadors answered, the Dutch had wrested the most of their plantations from the Spaniards by their treasure, their arms and their blood, whilst the English obtained their islands without any opposition and solely jure occupationis, and had moreover planted their colonies there in peace, by their industry, though not without the assistance of the Dutch. No parity of reasoning could therefore be applied to both cases. The English contented themselves with remarking, that in forbidding foreigners to trade in their plantations, they had only followed the footsteps of the States General. Should it, however, be proposed to open and establish the trade, on both sides, on a free basis, they should receive such a proposal with due respect. The further consideration of a boundary line was deferred, according to instructions from Holland, until a more fitting time,<sup>1</sup> and thus was forever lost the opportunity to procure the ratification of the Hartford treaty.

Whilst these negotiations were going on, "signs and wonders in the heavens" portended the approach of events which were about to convulse the world. Hostile fleets appeared over the horizon drawn up in hostile array, and next engaged in close combat, to the great terror and astonishment of the humble fishermen who witnessed the phenomenon, whilst pursuing their laborious vocations off the coast of Holland. Men's minds had hardly ceased to

<sup>1</sup> Aitzema, iii., 704, 708.

dwell on this singular apparition,<sup>1</sup> when intelligence arrived that in vindication of the Dutch flag and the freedom of the seas, an engagement had taken place in the straits of Dover, between the Dutch and English fleets, the former under Van Tromp, and the latter under Blake.<sup>2</sup> This

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<sup>1</sup> The following account of this singular mirage, is taken from Aitz. iii., 710. "With the rising of the sun, the pilot first perceived an appearance like that of a table-land about a man's height above the horizon. A large body of foot soldiers and cavalry seemed to him coming from out the north, or north-east. At sight of this he called his crew and boys, saying, Remark this miracle of God. The whole then in appearance vanished. Next appeared a fleet of ships against the clear sky, on the same side, coming from the north, some the mainsail half up, others in full sail, others reefed; amongst the rest was a large ship which immediately lost its topmast, but shortly afterwards another was rigged. This ship seemed so near, that its flag lay over our vessel. It was a flag of three colors, or a prince's flag. Shortly after a powerful fleet of various sizes appeared at the same height, coming from the south-east. Both fleets seemed sailing towards each other. Coming together, a thick mist-like smoke arose, as if they were fighting one against the other, which clouded the phenomenon. This dark mist afterwards disappeared, and then the first vessels were again seen so clear and perfect, that all their cordage and blocks could be perceived. This lasted an hour. Afterwards all the vessels disappeared as if they had sunk. But a little farther away, all the ships again showed themselves so clear, yea, so perfect in all respects, that it seemed as if they should heave on our board. Then appeared a great armed ship that seemed to touch the ground, and lay with its head in the water, but the stern stuck in the air, and another ship seemed to sail by. This sight continued during three hours, and created such terror among the crew, that many could not eat, they were so much frightened; so that the steersman took a book in his hand, called the Christian Sea Chart, and began to read from it, for the encouragement of himself and men. In the east-north-east appeared a great lion, remaining on the north side of the vessels. About the same quarter appeared some strange beasts, all of which turned into ships. But though the ships tacked or turned, the lion kept steady to the north, and so remained during the whole sight, about two or three hours." This mirage appeared about the White Water, twelve (Dutch) miles off the Waal. The weather was clear sunshine, and the particulars are attested by the whole of the crew.

<sup>2</sup> Aitzema, iii., 711, et seq. The Council of the Admiralty of Holland, which governed the maritime affairs, without communication with the States General, gave their instructions to Admiral Van Tromp, "that when he met any of the English ships of war, he should not strike to them, nor show them any other respect than what they received from them. And if the English expostulated the matter, they should answer frankly, the respect they had formerly shown upon those encounters, was because the ships were the King's, and for the good intelligence they had with the crown. But they had no reason to continue the same in this alteration of government, except there were some stipulation between them for that purpose. And if this answer did not satisfy, but that force was used towards them, they should defend themselves with their utmost vigor." These instructions were very secret, and never suspected by the English commanders, who had their old instructions to oblige all foreign vessels to

BOOK untoward event put an end to all hope of peace. The  
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~~~~~ Dutch ambassadors withdrew in the course of a few weeks  
1652. from London, and the States General, in hourly expectation

July 17. of a declaration of war, ordered the Admiralty to dispatch a frigate to the West Indies and New Netherland, to advise them of the threatening aspect of affairs. They

July 22. wrote also to Director Stuyvesant, whose recall now was no longer thought of, to put him on his guard against the English; and instructing him, at the same time, to employ no person, either in the civil or military departments of the government, who was not, in the completest manner, well affected to the United Provinces. They called on the West India Company to report in what manner the coasts of Brazil, Guinea and New Netherland could be best

July 30. protected, and the English annoyed. New Netherland, in the Directors' opinions, was the only place from whence the English could be effectually harassed, especially in the West Indies. Five or six frigates were recommended to be commissioned for that purpose. They considered that it would be impolitic to trouble the English on the American continent, as they were very strong. After

Aug. 6. having delivered these opinions, the Directors dispatched the following letter to the Director-general:—

“Although we flattered ourselves with the hope that some arrangement would have been made between our government and the commonwealth of England, we have been disappointed, as that republic, notwithstanding all our honorable and just proposals, did not hesitate, whilst our Ambassadors were yet there, to arrest all our vessels, without paying any regard whence these came; to take the crews from others, who, ignorant of the present state of affairs, had entered their harbors; to arrest these vessels, to our great loss, not permitting the departure of a single one—not even of the men-of-war arrived from the Brazils. So that when the Ambassadors of our Republic complained

strike sail to them, which had never been refused by any nation.—CLARENDON. Aitzema, iii., 713, gives the Instructions to Van Tromp on the above occasion. He was to protect Dutch ships from being visited and searched, by force of arms if necessary. It was the first struggle against the arrogant claim which England set up of its “undoubted right to the dominion of the surrounding seas.”

to Parliament in vain of these grievances, and received only empty words in lieu of redress, they were recalled, and are actually returned home. It appears to us from the formidable equipments and preparations, principally by our government, that war will be soon declared, especially as our Admiral Tromp has been seen about the north, with about one hundred sail, whilst the British Admiral Blake was steering the same course. May it please the Almighty to bless us with a happy issue, and to crush British pride!

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“This unexpected rupture, which we have not courted, induced many merchants trading to New Netherland, to solicit us to send an express to your Honor, so that you and the colonists might be informed of this state of things. Wherefore we have considered this plan, and agreed with them that they should freight and dispatch a swift-sailing galliot. . . . Although we do not doubt but that you shall have agreed about the limits with those of New England, in conformity with our intentions, or entered into a more close union and harmonious compact with them, as once before, so that we have nothing to fear from New England; we consider it, nevertheless, an imperious duty to recommend you to arm and discipline all freemen, soldiers and sailors; to appoint the officers and rendezvous; to supply them with ammunition, and to inspect the fortifications of New Amsterdam, Forts Orange and Casimir. To this end we send you, for your protection, a fresh supply of ammunition. . . . We warn you not to place an unbounded confidence in our English inhabitants, but to keep a watchful eye on them, so that you may not be deceived by a show of service, through their sinister machinations, as we have been before deceived. If it happen, which we will not yet suppose, that those New Englanders did incline to take a part in these broils, and injure our good inhabitants, then we should advise your Honor to engage the Indians in your cause, who, we are informed, are not partial to the English. You will employ, further, all such means of defence as prudence may require for your security, paying attention that the merchants and

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 ~~~~~  
 1652. inhabitants convey their valuable property within the forts. Treat them with kindness, so that they may be encouraged to remain there, and to abandon the thought of returning hither, which would cause the depopulation of the country. It is therefore advisable to surround the villages, at least the principal and most opulent, with breastworks and palisades to prevent surprise."

Dec. 13. But the vessel by which these instructions were sent out, was captured—"God help it!"—by the English, who thus obtained a full knowledge of the plans of the Dutch. The Directors at Amsterdam, no way deterred by this accident, sent out a duplicate of their dispatch; but having received advices, in the mean time, that harmony continued between the Dutch and those of New England, they expressed the hope that it would be in the Director-general's power to avoid any broils with the latter. He was instructed, at the same time, to use all honest means to cultivate good neighborhood with them, and to promote commerce, principally with the Virginians, "which is the way through which the Manhattans must prosper, the population increase, and trade and navigation flourish. For when these are once established on a permanent footing; when the vessels of New Netherland ride on every part of the ocean; then numbers, now looking towards that coast with an eager eye, shall be lured to embark thither. It is needless to warn you," add, however, the Directors, "that you will remain on your guard, so as not to be deceived by them through artful wiles. You will secure and strengthen your fortifications, and keep an ever-watching eye, so that you may employ all those means which God and Nature have prepared for your defence."<sup>1</sup>

Dec. 16. Information had now been received by the Patroon and Co-directors of Rensselaerswyck of the high-handed measures which Stuyvesant had exercised in the early part of this year in regard of their colonie. They thereupon sent in to the Amsterdam Chamber a remonstrance, complaining, 1st. That the Director-general had dared to intrude

<sup>1</sup> Alb. Rec. iv., 83-85, 87, 91; Hol. Doc. vi., 165, 167, 176, 177, 190, 191.

into their colonie, and had commanded the Patroon's flag to be hauled down; 2d. That he had caused timber to be cut on the complainants' lands, without either their knowledge or permission; 3d. That he had claimed for the Company the right of jurisdiction and property over all the land within a circumference of one hundred and fifty rods of Fort Orange, where he had erected a court of justice, notwithstanding the soil had been purchased from the right owners by the Patroon, with the jurisdictions thereunto belonging; whereby the colonists were reduced to a state of dependency, absolved from their oaths, "transformed from freemen to vassals, and incited to disregard their former solemn compacts and their Lord and master;" 4th. He had, moreover, discharged Sheriff Swart from his oath of office, and obliged him to swear allegiance to the Company; 5th. Demanded copies of all the rolls, protocols, judgments, resolutions and papers relative to the colonie and its affairs; 6th. Ordered his commissary to force Van Slechtenhorst's house, and to toll the bell at the publication of his illegal placards; 7th. Arrested by force and arms the Director of the colonie; had him conveyed to the Manhat-tans, where he illegally detained him in custody; 8th. Taxed the colonie to swell the Company's revenues; licensed those who quit the Patroon's service to sell articles of contraband to the savages; and in addition to the exaction of the tithes, had raised a tax by farming out the excise on wines and beers—"thus in every respect and everywhere using violence and infringing rights, jurisdictions and pre-eminences, apparently determined to take our goods and blood, contrary to all laws, human and divine; declaring, over and above all this, that he is continued in his administration solely in the hope and consideration that before his departure he should ruin this colonie."<sup>1</sup> The Patroon and Co-directors solemnly avowed

<sup>1</sup> We, the undersigned, certify that it happened in December, Anno 1651, when M. Joannes Dyckman was in conversation with us concerning the Heer General Petrus Stuyvesant, and the differences between his Honor and the colonie, that he answered thereupon, that the Heer General was continued in his office for no other purpose than to plague the colonie. This we declare to have occurred, and are ready to confirm the same by a solemn oath. Done in

BOOK their intention "to employ all lawful remedies to preserve  
 V. and maintain their rights and privileges, and to protect  
 1652. their colonists against such lawless aggressions," and insisted that the West India Company should forthwith order their Director to abandon these attempts, repeal his placards, and compensate for the injuries which he had inflicted. But if the Directors were of opinion that they had any just cause of complaint, they were then called on to appear in any court of justice to make good their pretensions before "our common judges." Failing to answer categorically the above accusations within four-and-twenty hours, the interested parties threatened "to complain where they expect they shall be heard."

The Directors answered, in vague terms, that they were unwilling to commit an infraction on any person's privileges; but this not being deemed satisfactory, the Patroon and his friends addressed a memorial to their High Mightinesses the States General, of whom they demanded justice and redress. This paper was immediately sent to the department of Amsterdam, who, after considerable delay, 1653.  
 Jan. 17. returned a reply to some of the charges brought against their agent in New Netherland. They denied all knowledge of the Patroon's flag having been hauled down; of his colonists having been released from their oaths; of any of his lots having been taken away; and of the establishment of a court of justice in Fort Orange. The timber was removed from a place so defined as to injure no one, and all complaints against the extension of the jurisdiction of Fort Orange were without foundation. That jurisdiction was determined "before the colonie of Rensselaerswyck was granted." "The limits of the colonie were, therefore, fixed above and below the fort, under whose walls the petitioners were afterwards permitted to shelter themselves from the savages; but from this concession no right or title can be imagined or acquired." Gerrit Swart was not discharged from his oath to the Patroon. He was only obliged to take a second one to the Company, "re-

the Colonie Rensselaerswyck, the 16th March, A<sup>o</sup>. 1652. B. V. Slechtenhorst, Director; A. van Curler. Rensselaerswyck MSS.

maining subject to both masters." The demand of the rolls and papers belonging to the colonie, as well as the levying tithes and excise therein, was authorized by the charter. As Van Slechtenhorst would not "toll the bell," on the publication of the placards, it was unavoidably necessary that should be executed by others; and his arrest was imperatively demanded, in order "to curb the insufferable insolence, effrontery and abuse of power," of which he was guilty. The authorizing the sale of arms and ammunition to the savages was acknowledged. "It was deemed prudent that it should be now and then permitted."

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Having thus disposed in one way or another, and as best they could, of the charges which were brought against them, the Directors now assumed the offensive, and presented against the Patroon and Co-directors of Rensselaerswyck a number of counter-charges, in justification of the measures they had adopted, or as an offset to those accusations made against themselves.

They had, it was averred, exceeded their lawful limits, and were now called on to record their boundary lines in the land office of the Company, otherwise the latter would have the survey made by its own orders. They had attempted, against all law, to extend their lines along the North River, to monopolize the trade, to the ruin of private persons. They refused to permit any vessel to pass by a certain house called Rensselaers-stein, and claimed without any foundation the privilege of staple right. They exacted seven per cent. duty on each beaver and five per cent. on other goods, enforcing these pretensions with cannon shot, which they discharged into yachts that refused to come to. They have endeavored, "by perverse machinations," to possess themselves of Fort Orange, and when frustrated herein, they undertook to lease lots in its vicinity and erect buildings thereupon. "They had dared to grant commissions to individuals to sail to the coast of Florida;" and forbade colonists to move within the Company's limits on pain of corporal punishment, confiscation of property and banishment; to cut or cart wood for the inhabitants of Fort Orange; to pay to the latter what they

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1653. owed them; or to appeal from any judgments over fifty guilders, as they were privileged to do. They declined to furnish any extracts of their proceedings or judgments; to make returns to writs of appeal; to publish placards or permit such publication by others, but tear them by force from the hands of the court messengers and destroy their seals; and if any writ be served by the Company's officers, then they incite the parties summoned not to appear. Over and above all this, the oath which the colonists are compelled to take is "seditious and mutinous," for no notice is taken therein, either of their High Mightinesses or of the Company. No report has been made of the state of the colonie, as should have been annually done, nor have the instructions issued for the administration of the colonie been ever communicated, as the charter required. "From all which flow, as a natural consequence, an insolent and overbearing demeanor on the part of their commanders to their inhabitants; insufferable protests, injuries, menaces, disputes and provocations against the Company's ministers; and, lastly, a general disobedience of all the Company's commands and ordinances, to such a degree that they would not permit the Director and Council to proclaim even a day of prayer in the colonie in the same manner as in all other parts of New Netherland."<sup>1</sup>

Municipal government in Amsterdam Whilst all parties were in this state of turmoil and agitation in the United Provinces, no less excitement prevailed at the Mannhattans. After a protracted struggle of many years its citizens had, at length, acquired municipal privileges, and a Court of Justice, to consist of a Schout, Burgomasters and Schepens.<sup>2</sup> To understand,

<sup>1</sup> Alb. Rec. viii., 59-63, 215-221; Hol. Doc. vi., 303-306; vii., 1-24.

<sup>2</sup> Dunlap, in his *History of New York*, (Ed. 1839,) i., 40, 46, gives 1623, or 1625, (indeed, some infer, 1621,) as the date of the first Incorporation of the city of New Amsterdam. He even goes so far as to refer to certain Articles, which he publishes, ii., App. F, as the charter by right of which the citizens chose their municipal officers. These errors are so palpable that they would not need correction, were it not that they have misled some already, and may mislead more. The charter Dunlap publishes in his Appendix, (under date 1623,) is that granted to the colonie which the city of Amsterdam planted, in 1656, on the South River, and has not the least reference to New Amsterdam. It is found in its proper place in Chapter VII. of this Book.

fully, the duties and powers of these several officers, it will be necessary to turn to the city of Amsterdam, and examine the constitution of its government, and the source whence its several branches derived their existence. That government consisted of one Schout, four Burgomasters and nine Schepens, besides a council of thirty-six members. The fourteen first-named officers composed a board or college, and were styled "The Lords of the Court of the City of Amsterdam." In these was vested the right to make all city laws and ordonnances.

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1653.

The Schout or Sheriff, the nature of whose office has already been sufficiently explained, was originally appointed by the Counts of Holland, or their deputy. In the fifteenth or sixteenth century, the city purchased the right of appointment, which it has since reserved. This officer assisted in the enactment of the city ordonnances; he was the public prosecutor on its behalf, and executed the sentences of the Court of Schepens. All constables and deputy sheriffs were under his superintendence.

Schout.

The office of Burgomaster, though not so ancient as that of Schepen, was esteemed the highest and most important in the city. It dates from the fourteenth century. On the 31st January of each year, the electors of burgomasters—that is, all who had already served as such, or as schepens—were summoned by those in office, to assemble on the following morning at the town-hall, to nominate three new, instead of the three outgoing functionaries. Those adjoined a fourth unto themselves. The burgomasters were, ex-officio, the chief rulers of the city; the principal church-wardens; the guardians of the poor, of widows and orphans; and without their consent, no woman or minor could execute any legal instrument. They held, in trust, all city property and managed the same. They also farmed the city excise, and assisted in the enactment of city laws. No distress could be levied on a citizen's property unless one of them were present; their consent was necessary before sentence of death could be pronounced on a burgher, and in their presence only could such sentence be executed; for they were "the fathers of

Burgo-  
masters  
how  
elected;

their  
duties.

BOOK the burghery." In their capacity as guardians of the  
 V. public peace, they had certain authority over the military,  
 1653. and power to quell riots. They were keepers of the city  
 seal, and in their names were all public instruments drawn.  
 Each burgomaster attended, daily, in rotation, during three  
 months of the year, in the city hall, for the dispatch of the  
 public business; and at the end of his quarter called a meet-  
 ing of the acting and ancient burgomasters, to whom he  
 reported the state of the city. In this particular the offi-  
 ciating burgomaster resembled somewhat our mayor.

Sche- The office of Schepen was first established in the year  
 pens; 1270. The city council assembled on the 28th of January  
 in each year, and nominated fourteen citizens, whose names  
 their were forwarded by the burgomasters to the Stadtholder,  
 election after they had pricked or designated such as they consid-  
 ered best qualified for the office. The selection having  
 been made, the new schepens entered on their duties on  
 the second of February, or Candlemas day. They consti-  
 tuted a court of criminal and civil jurisdiction. In the  
 and former case they could inflict, with the consent of the bur-  
 powers. gomasters, capital punishment. In the latter, their juris-  
 diction was almost unlimited; subject, in certain cases, to  
 an appeal to the Supreme Court at the Hague. It was their  
 province to appoint curators to vacant estates; to author-  
 ize the sale of minors' property; to issue interdicts; to  
 provide for the burial of friendless strangers; and to per-  
 mit the erection of "dangerous buildings" within the city.  
 Bailbonds, conveyances, mortgages, and such-like instru-  
 ments, were executed before them. They acted, also, in  
 certain cases, as arbitrators between citizen and citizen.  
 Thus it will be perceived, that whilst the office of schout  
 and burgomaster was chiefly executive, that of schepen  
 was judicial. Assembled together, they exercised legis-  
 lative powers for municipal purposes.<sup>1</sup>

How The powers of these officers in New Amsterdam were  
 appoint- far more limited. Though the instructions plainly laid  
 ed in  
 New  
 Amster-  
 dam.

<sup>1</sup> Wagenaar Beschryving der stad Amsterdam iii., 269, et seq; Van Leeuwen's Com. 12; Van der Linden, 379. Consult also Bilderdyk, Vad. Historie; Kok Vaderlandsche Wordenboek, Art. Amsterdam.

down, that they were to be "elected," and to constitute a "court similar to that which exists in this city." Stuyvesant retained their appointment in his own hands, and gave them early to understand, that their existence did not in any way diminish the power and authority of himself and Council "to make ordinances or publish particular interdicts even for New Amsterdam."

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On the feast of Candlemas, or the 2d of February, 1653, Feb. 2. the Director-general issued a proclamation, appointing Arent van Hattem and Martin Krygier burgomasters; Paulus Leendertsen van der Grist, Maximilian van Gheel, Allard Anthony, Willem Beekman and Pieter Wolfertsen van Couwenhoven, schepens. The city was, however, not allowed a Schout of its own: Cornelis van Tienhoven, the Company's Fiscaal, was commissioned to act as the city's sheriff. A similar infraction of the city privileges was committed on the appointment of Secretary. "Ever since Amsterdam had burgomasters, the city secretary was appointed by them." This rule was, however, no precedent for Stuyvesant. He nominated Jacob Kip clerk to the board, at a salary of two hundred and fifty guilders (\$100) a year.<sup>1</sup>

In the transaction of public business, the burgomasters and schepens sat at first together, and performed the same duties. They constituted a court of sessions "for the hearing and determining differences and disputes between parties as far as it may be practicable." Yet their jurisdiction was

<sup>1</sup> Alb. Rec. vi., 54, 60. Jacobus Kip was born in Amsterdam, 16th May, 1631, and married, the year following his appointment to the above office, Maria La Montagne, (8th March, 1654,) then in her seventeenth year. He was appointed Schepen of New Amsterdam in 1659, and filled that office also in 1662, 1663, 1665, 1673, and 1674. The family had a farm of 150 acres on the East River, on what is still known as Kip's Bay. Jacob erected on this farm a house, in 1655, which was rebuilt in 1696; it was for a short time, during the Revolution, Washington's head quarters. Five generations of the family have been born here. As everything in this transitory world must pass away, sooner or later, scarcely a vestige is left of the Kip mansion, the Corporation having ordered the opening of Thirty-fifth st., on the line of which it stood. Like many other families of New York, the Kips were divided in politics at the period of the Revolution, and Samuel Kip became a captain in Col. Delancey's regiment of Loyalist Rangers. He was severely wounded in a skirmish with the Whig forces in Westchester Co., yet survived the war several years. That portion of Nassau st., N. Y., between Ann and Spruce sts., was originally called "Kip st.," after one of this family.

BOOK not well defined. They tried actions for the recovery of  
 V. debt, for defamation of character, for breaches of marriage  
 1653. promise, and prosecutions for assault and theft, and committed to prison for contempt of court. They summoned before them parents and guardians accused of withholding their consent, without sufficient cause, to the marriage of their children or wards, and if they thought proper, obliged the former to withdraw their opposition to the desired union. It was their province also to grant passports to those who were leaving the city, either for another country, or another part of the province. The proceedings before this court were in writing. Witnesses were examined on interrogatories, and from its decisions in certain cases an appeal lay to the Director-general and Council. Its regular sessions were held once in two weeks, or oftener, as occasion required; the court opening at nine o'clock in the morning and adjourning at noon. The absent magistrates were fined six stivers for the first half hour, twelve for the second, and forty stivers if absent during the whole meeting. As the attendance of farmers was inconvenient during the season of harvest, there was a vacation for three weeks, commencing about the middle of July. There was also a short intermission during the Christmas and New Year's holidays. The annual installation of the new magistracy was opened with a long and solemn prayer, in which the blessing of the Most High was invoked on their deliberations and on their acts.<sup>1</sup>

This new power in the government came into existence at an important crisis in public affairs. The parent state was at war with that country to which the English colonies were most closely connected, and it was important to maintain peaceful relations with these powerful neighbors. The Council immediately resolved to write to New England and Virginia, to express to those governments the sincere esteem which the authorities of New Netherland and the West India Company entertained towards them, and to propose a continuance of peaceful com-

<sup>1</sup> New Amsterdam Rec.

mercial intercourse.<sup>1</sup> The Director-general not only communicated to the Burgomasters the letters of the Directors, but informed them of certain preparations then making in New England, but whether offensive or defensive was not known, in view of which it was unanimously determined that the citizens should from this date mount guard every night at the city tavern and court-house, and that the fort should be thoroughly repaired.<sup>2</sup> But as this could not contain all the inhabitants, and as all the houses could not be defended, it was determined, further, to enclose the principal part of the city with palisades and a breastwork to be thrown up from a ditch three feet wide and two feet deep. Within these defences all the people were to retire, with their goods and families, in case of imminent danger. The city magistrates were at the same time ordered to devise ways and means to defray the expenses attendant on these precautionary measures. They proposed to raise six thousand guilders, to be collected from the commonalty when the defences should be completed. In the mean time the money was to be borrowed from the wealthier portion of the citizens.<sup>3</sup> Allard Anthony, one of

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<sup>1</sup> Alb. Rec. ix., 57.

<sup>2</sup> The names of those enrolled in this guard, will be found in Appendix E.

<sup>3</sup> The following are the names of these citizens, and the sums they respectively loaned :—

	Gt.	Gt.
The Hon'ble Werckhoven,	200	Jacob Backer, 150
Joannes van Beeck,	200	Nicolaes Boodt, 100
Joannes van Brugh,	200	Isaak de Foreest, 100
Joannes de Peyster,	100	Abram Geenes, 100
Cornelis van Steenwyck,	200	Jacob Steendam, 100
Govert Loockermans,	150	Anthony Clasen, 50
Oloff Stevensen,	150	Jan Jansen, Jr., 50
Jacob Schelling,	200	Borger Joris, 100
Pieter Prins,	100	Jan Vinje, 50
Antonie van Hardenberg,	200	Arent van Hattem, 100
Joannes Nevius,	100	Martin Krygier, 100
Gulian Wys,	200	P. L. van der Grist, 100
Pieter Buys,	100	Maximilian van Gheel, 100
Adriaen and Johannes Keyser,	100	Allard Anthony, 100
Paulus Schrick,	100	Abram de la Noy, 100
Jacob Gerrits Strycker,	200	Daniel Litschoe, 100
Francois Fyn,	100	Philip Gerardy, 50
Matheus de Vos,	100	Egbert van Borssum, 100
Adriaen Blommaert,	100	Hendrick Kip, —
Evert Tesselaer's clerks,	200	guilders 5050—

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the schepens, was dispatched to Holland, in the course of the summer, to obtain from the Chamber at Amsterdam further aid, at this critical conjuncture.

Owing to the excessive cultivation of tobacco, the inordinate pursuit of the fur trade, and the increase of immigration for the last two years, a scarcity of food now became imminent. In order to prevent this, and in view of the danger with which the country was threatened through the war with England, the export of breadstuffs was prohibited; tobacco planters were ordered to set as many hillocks of corn as they did of tobacco, and the consumption of grain by brewers and distillers was strictly forbidden. Finally a proclamation was issued appointing, until otherwise ordered, the first Wednesday of every month to be observed as a day of general fasting and prayer.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Alb. Rec iv., 122, 165; vi., 58-67, 69, 71-73; vii., 323-325, 328; viii., 96, 97, 286.

## CHAPTER II.

Excitement in New England on hearing of the war—Rumors that the Dutch had bribed the Indians to cut off the English—Proceedings of the United Colonies in consequence—Issue a manifesto—Stuyvesant disclaims all knowledge of the plot—Calls for an investigation—Commissioners appointed by the United Colonies—Their proceedings—Quit the Mannhattans suddenly—Capt. John Underhill raises the standard of rebellion on Long Island—His seditious address—Flies to New England—Stuyvesant writes to the United Colonies in vindication of his government—Result of the enquiries into the plot—Connecticut and New Haven insist on hostile proceedings against the Dutch—Massachusetts opposes their demand—First instance of nullification—New Haven applies to Cromwell for assistance—Rhode Island commissions Dyer and others—Underhill seizes Fort Good Hope, and sells it—Thomas Baxter turns pirate—Embassy to Virginia—De Sille, Van Ruyven and others appointed to office.

THE news of the war excited naturally some anxiety in New England, as to the policy which the Dutch would pursue in America. This feeling soon assumed a graver character, especially in the more western colonies, in consequence of intelligence communicated to Governor Haines of Connecticut, by Uncas, a Mohegan chief, that Director Stuyvesant was stimulating the Indians of Narragansett to cut off the English. Information of a similar nature was communicated by other Indians to the people of Stamford, under the jurisdiction of New Haven, who were assured “that the Dutch Governor did earnestly solicit, about a month previously, the Indians in these parts to kill all the English.”

The Governors of Connecticut and New Haven were never very friendly to General Stuyvesant, and were consequently open to entertain accusations even founded on looser evidence than this, against men whom they regarded with jealousy and suspicion, particularly when they recollected that they had already gravely wronged those whom they now suspected. An extraordinary session of the Commissioners of the United Colonies was

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held towards the end of April of this year at Boston, "to consult and determine what is, or shall be judged convenient forthwith to be done, before the Dutch receive such recruits or aid as it is understood they expect, to prosecute so vile a design." Preparatory to this meeting, a commission was sent from Massachusetts to Narragansett, to enquire of the sachems there, whether Stuyvesant had not engaged, or did not endeavor to induce them to fight against the English; whether, with that view, he did not present them with supplies of guns and powder; the commission was finally to learn the intentions of those sachems and their warriors, what other tribes had pledged themselves to the Dutch, and to invite Ninnigret and the other Narragansett chiefs to repair to Boston to satisfy the council on these several points.

The sachems absolutely denied the existence of any real foundation for these enquiries, and consequently answered them in the negative. They professed, at the same time, to be the firm and sincere friends of the English. Ninnigret boldly avowed that he had been at the Mannhattans. "I am the man who hath been there. I am, therefore, responsible for what I have done. But I utterly deny any such acts having been done by me, or to my knowledge, at or with th Dutch." What, he asked, "are these great rumors that I hear? That I am to be cut off, and that the English have a quarrel against me? I know of no cause for it. Is it because I went thither to take physic? I found no entertainment from the Dutch Governor, when there, to encourage me to stir in such a league. It was winter time, and I stood a great part of a winter day knocking at the Governor's door, and he would neither open it nor suffer others to let me in. I am not wont to find such carriage from my English friends." Not content with thus asseverating their innocence, the sachems sent messengers to the commissioners, who were rigidly examined, but nothing could be extracted from them, further than that "Ninnigret said that he heard some ships were to come from Holland to the Mannhattes, to cut off the English." But this would not convince those who were unwilling to believe anything but their

own suspicions. "The Indians," they argued, "know not God, but worship and walk after the Prince of the Power of the Air; serving their lusts and hating one another." Yet, in violation of all sound reasoning and rules of evidence, men were found ready to condemn their Christian Protestant neighbors, on the isolated testimony of those whom they themselves pronounced worshippers of the Devil! They began by impeaching the characters of their own witnesses, and then demanded that those whom they accused should be found guilty on such evidence. In keeping with this design, a long manifesto against the Dutch was submitted to the commissioners, in which were embodied all the complaints that Connecticut and New Haven had been reiterating for the last thirteen years, and which, like old wine, lost apparently nothing either of strength or acerbity by keeping. "To add weight to the premises, treachery and cruelty," they continue, "are in bloody colors presented to us, and charged upon the Dutch Governor by many concurrent and pressing testimonies of the Indians, at least since the Hollanders, in times of treaty, began the unexpected war upon England; and since, instead of giving satisfaction, they have proclaimed their resolution to continue it. The Dutch Governor and his Fiscaal, as by evidence following may appear, have been at work, by gifts and promises, to engage the Indians to cut off the English within the United Colonies, and we hear the design reaches also to Virginia. They may have used more instruments and baits than are yet discovered; but the Indians round about, for divers hundreds of miles circuit, seem to have drunk deep of an intoxicating cup, at or from the Manhatoes, against the English, who have sought their good, both in bodily and spiritual respects." They referred, then, to Ninnigret's visit to New Amsterdam, and repeated, that whilst there, he had entered into a league with the Director-general, to whom he had given a present of wampum, in return for which he had received twenty guns, with powder and shot in proportion; that whilst at the Hudson River, he had collected several sachems, whom he had urged to take up arms against the English, after which

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he had returned home in a Dutch sloop, in company, as was reported, with a Dutch spy. From Providence, and the traders of Rhode Island, information was received, that the Narragansett Indians had made peace with those tribes with whom, heretofore, they had been at war; that their whole discourse is in disparagement of the English, and in praise of the Dutch, who promise to supply them with goods at half the English prices; that they are plentifully supplied with powder "as if it were sand;" that Ninnigret had bought "wildfire from the Dutch, which, being shot with arrows, will burn anything;" that he had charged his men to lay in a stock of ammunition, and that he had promised them strong drink without limit. Reports of the same sort are brought daily from the north and east, where the Indians grow generally more insolent, so that the English throughout the whole country are wearied with extraordinary watchings, and hindered in their agricultural labors. In addition to this, some of the Dutch, at or about the Manhatoes, tell the English "they shall shortly have an East India breakfast, in which, it is conceived, they allude to the horrid, treacherous and cruel plot and execution at Amboina." After enumerating various other charges of a similar description, all based on Indian testimony, reference is made to several letters the Director-general had written to the Governors of Massachusetts, Plymouth and New Haven, stating that he was instructed by his superiors to observe peaceful relations, or at least neutrality, with the English colonies; wishing for free commerce, "though himself hath distrained all the corn transported hence in those parts," and expressing a desire to treat for peace, if time and place were appointed. But as he would send none but his Fiscaal, "who in reference to the premises is much distrusted by many of the Dutch there, and cannot be trusted here;" and as the Dutch Governor acknowledges that whatever is concluded can be binding only until he receive contrary commands from his superiors, which may be interpreted,—until he hath strength and opportunity to inflict mischief; it becomes a matter of serious consideration, whether, in the present state of the rela-

tions between England and the Netherlands, such a treaty would comport with the honor and satisfaction of the English nation, and the safety of the United Colonies.

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This declaration excited considerable debate, and it was found necessary to call on the Council of Massachusetts and the neighboring Elders for advice. These functionaries were very cautious in their conclusions, and avoided as much as possible compromising themselves by a decisive opinion. The presumptions against the Dutch Governor were, they admitted, very strong, but they considered it most becoming a people professing to walk in the Gospel of peace, and having to do with a people of like religious profession, to give the Dutch Governor an opportunity to answer the charges against him. This was, in truth, a common-sense view of the matter. But those who were accused, and all but condemned in their absence and without a hearing, did not wait to be summoned or arraigned. Letters were received from the Director-general, one May 8. addressed to Governor Eaton, the other to the Governor of Massachusetts, both containing an absolute denial of the plot, together with offers either to come to Boston in person, or to send an attorney to clear his character. He demanded, at the same time, that some persons be delegated to enquire at the Mannhattans into the truth of the prevailing rumors, and to receive his replies. This offer was accepted, and Mr. Francis Newman, magistrate of New Haven, Capt. John Leverett and Lieut. William Davis, of Boston, were appointed delegates accordingly. May 12. The commissioners wrote to the Director and Council at the same time, referring to "the late treacherous conspiracy against them, their wives and children, at a moment when overtures were making for a treaty of peace." To show that necessity alone impelled them to other remedies, they once more enumerated their former wrongs, and the reasons they had to charge "this bloody plot" on the Dutch. They concluded by stating that they sent three commissioners to submit the evidence they possessed in support of the charges against the Director and his Fiscaal. They expected, in return, "speedy and just satisfaction for

BOOK all former grievances, and due security for the future.”

V. Five hundred men were then voted to take the field, “if

1653. God called the Colonies to make war against the Dutch;” and Capt. Leverett was appointed commander-in-chief of these forces, in consequence “of the opportunity he now hath to view and observe the situation and fortifications at the Manhattoes.”

May 22. On the arrival of these agents at New Amsterdam, they proposed to General Stuyvesant to fix on some place, within New England, for the production of their evidence.

May 23. But to this the Director-general, for obvious reasons, demurred. They then suggested Flushing or Heemstede, or both these places, and demanded power to summon such witnesses as they thought proper; that the local magistrates be ordered to administer the oath to these persons, and that no Englishman, Indian, nor any other who may testify, should be disturbed, during his residence under Dutch jurisdiction, for any testimony he might give. The Director and Council, “together with those representing the courts of justice in the colonies of New Netherland,” replied to these propositions by avowing that, as they felt themselves guiltless of any plot against the English nation, they desired nothing more than that the matter be truly and thoroughly examined, the authors found and the accusation proved, so that the guilty may be punished, or the innocence of those accused established. They, therefore, assented willingly to the propositions, on condition that the examination of the witnesses be conducted in presence of Messrs. De La Montagne, “first counsellor,” David Provoost and Govert Loockermans, “who all jointly, or in some measure, understand the Dutch, English and Indian languages.” In case any man were found to stand to the accusation, he should be examined on interrogatories, “and according to the custom of our laws of New Netherland, touched [tortured] and heard in the presence of the gentlemen sent hither, of the Governor-general and Supreme Council, and those that represent the aforesaid particular colonies and courts of justice of this province.” An order was annexed to this reply, commanding all magistrates to cite

and bring before this joint commission all such persons as <sup>CHAP. II.</sup> they shall require.<sup>1</sup>

To this proposal the New England commissioners offered <sup>1653.</sup> sundry objections. Those by whom it was signed, were <sup>May 24.</sup> not the persons with whom they were instructed to negotiate; the question of clearing himself of the plot seemed to be altogether changed by the Director-general; two of the commissioners named by the Dutch had rendered themselves justly incapable of such employment; and, finally, they objected to restricting the enquiry to New Netherland; from the whole of which they inferred, that the letter was got up for show and delay. They concluded by demanding, in the name of the United Colonies, satisfaction for the various affronts offered to these "in former and latter times," and security for the preservation of peace for the time to come.

This haughty communication would have justified the ordering these delegates out of the province; but the Director-general contented himself with stating that he had hoped his propositions would have been considered satisfactory, as he was sure they would afford, before all Christian people, evidence of a sincere desire that the enquiry should be prosecuted according to law. If there were any defect in the answer, he was willing to correct it, and to submit himself to the judgment of indifferent persons, as to what related to claims for pretended injuries. What form of security was expected by the United Colonies for the future he knew not, but he was willing to agree to a treaty which would guarantee a continuance of peace and commerce as heretofore, irrespective of all existing differences in Europe, and mutual justice against all such as should seek to defraud their creditors on account of the present war; including an alliance offensive and defensive against all Indians and other enemies and disturbers of the peace of both provinces. If the present commissioners had not

<sup>1</sup> Signed, Petrus Stuyvesant, Werckhoven, Bryan Nuton, Martin Krygier, (Burgomaster,) John Baptist van Rensselaer, Pieter van der Grist van Carloe, Willem Beekman, Pieter Wolfertsen, Allard Anthony, (Schepen,) Rutger Jacobsen.

BOOK power to conclude a treaty on this basis, the Director-  
 V. general expressed his willingness to delegate one or two  
 ~ agents to the United Colonies to agree in his name to such  
 1653. an arrangement, on these being provided with letters of  
 safe conduct.

Instead of taking advantage of this reasonable proposition and amicable advance, the New England delegates looked upon it as closing all correspondence with the  
 May 25. Director-general. They immediately charged him with duplicity: they had expected clear, full and satisfactory answers to their proposals, yet they received none but dilatory and offensive replies. It was their intention to refer the propositions he had last communicated to their superiors, and then warned him, in the name of the United Colonies, that if he, by himself or Indians, offered any injury to the English in these parts, either on account of the national quarrel or differences with the United Colonies, they would not suffer their countrymen to be oppressed on any such grounds. Having shot this Parthian arrow, they left the Manhattans at nine o'clock at night, without the ceremony of leave-taking, or waiting for a reply, and repaired to Long Island.

Among the most active in this section of the province, in insisting on the reality of this "plot," was Capt. John Underhill, the leader of the Dutch forces in the Indian war. On receipt of letters from Gov. Eaton and the New England agents, he forthwith set about collecting evidence from the Indians and neighboring settlers against the Dutch, and openly charged Van Tienhoven with conspiring against the English. He was hereupon arrested, and removed to New Amsterdam under a guard of soldiers. He was, however, dismissed without trial,<sup>1</sup> and returned to Long Island the determined foe of his former friends. Having succeeded in seducing some of his countrymen in Flushing and Heemstede from their allegiance, he hoisted  
 May 20. the Parliament's colors,<sup>2</sup> and issued a seditious address to the

<sup>1</sup> Record in Secretary of State's office, Hartford, endorsed "Towns and Lands," i., 81.

<sup>2</sup> Those of Heemstede and Flushing connived when the Parliament's colors

commonalty of the Mannhattans, "on behalf of as many of the English and Dutch as were interested therein," declaratory of the motives "which impelled them to abjure the iniquitous government of Peter Stuyvesant over the inhabitants living and residing on Long Island in America, and maintaining the justice and lawfulness of defending themselves and their rights, in a manner becoming a free people, against the oppressive administration of the said government." This paper was couched in these bold and unscrupulous terms:—

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"I. We have transported ourselves hither at our own cost; and many among us have purchased their lands from the Indians, the right owners thereof: But a great portion of the lands which we occupy being as yet unpaid for, the Indians come daily and complain, that they have been deceived by the Dutch secretary, called Cornelis, whom they have characterized, even in the presence of Stuyvesant, as a rogue, a knave and a liar; asserting that he himself had put down their names in the book, and saying that this was not a just and lawful payment, but a pretence and fraud similar to that which occasioned the destruction of Thomas Hutchinson, Mr. Collins, and nine other persons:

"II. He hath unlawfully retained from several persons their lands which they had purchased from the natives, and which were confirmed to them under the hand and seal of the previous governor:

"III. He hath unlawfully imposed taxes, contrary to the privileges of free men; namely, six stivers per acre, chimney money and head money; the tenth part of all our grain, flax, hemp and tobacco; the tenth part of butter and cheese from those who pasture cattle; excessive duties on exported goods—fifteen stivers for a beaver; all which taxes are to be paid by the poor farmer, to maintain a lazy horde of tyrants over innocent subjects:

"IV. He hath, in violation of liberty of conscience, and

were hoisted there by an English captain, (Underhill,) which example cannot imbue us with great confidence in the individuals of that nation, who reside in our territory. Chamber of Amsterdam to Director Stuyvesant. Alb. Rec. iv., 121.

BOOK V. contrary to hand and seal, enforced articles [of belief]  
 upon the people, ordering them otherwise, against the laws  
 1653. of God and man, to quit the country within two months :

“ V. He hath imprisoned both English and Dutch, without trial, setting them at liberty again, after a popish inquisition, to their great sorrow, damage and loss of time, himself not having any Patent from King James of England, the right grantor thereof :

“ VI. He hath, also, imposed general laws forbidding the inhabitants to sell their goods, or to brew their grain, without the approbation of his government :

“ VII. He hath neglected to avenge English and Dutch blood shed by the Indians since the peace :

“ VIII. He hath treacherously and undoubtedly conspired, as proved, to murder all the English :

“ IX. He hath been guilty of barbarous cruelty towards Mr. Jacob Wolfertsen and his wife, at the time of the birth of their child :

“ X. He hath acted treacherously towards Thomas Newton ; for, notwithstanding the government had promised him safe and secure conduct, he hath ordered his arrest and surrendered him :<sup>1</sup>

“ XI. He hath been guilty of the unheard-of act of striking with his cane an old gentleman, a member of his Council, and hath publicly threatened every freeman who does not conform to his pleasure :

“ XIII. He hath, moreover, imposed magistrates on free-men without election and voting. This great autocracy and tyranny is too grievous for any brave Englishman and

<sup>1</sup> This man Newton was “ some time a capital offender in one of the N. E. Colonies,” whose surrender the commissioners had demanded by virtue of the treaty of Hartford. We find it recorded of him, that he was married in April, 1648, at Flushing, to Joan Smith, by Wm. Hark, (or Hart,) then sheriff of that place, against the consent of the woman’s parents, and without being legally authorized so to do by the supreme authority. “ As this is an indecent and never heard-of manner of marrying,” the sheriff was fined 600 carolus guilders, and “ the indecent marriage ” was declared null and void. To prevent the daughters of honest and respectable inhabitants being married against the will and without the consent of the parents, by unlawful and unauthorized persons, the bride and bridegroom were fined 300 gl. and ordered to have their marriage again solemnized after three previous proclamations of banns, which was accordingly done. Alb. Rec. vii., 141-145.

good Christian any longer to tolerate. In addition to all this, the Dutch have proclaimed war against every Englishman, living wherever he may wish or like.

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“The above grounds are sufficient for all honest hearts that seek the glory of God and their own peace and prosperity to throw off this tyrannical yoke. Accept and submit ye, then, to the Parliament of England, and beware ye of becoming traitors to one another, for the sake of your own quiet and welfare.

“Written by me,

JOHN UNDERHILL.”<sup>1</sup>

The government could no longer suffer, with safety to itself, the residence within its jurisdiction of the author of this inflammatory paper. Underhill was ordered to quit the province forthwith. As necessity had no law, he was forced, like Jephthah, to put his life in his hand, and offered his services to the Commissioners of the United Colonies, in the interests of the Parliament, to save English blood and vindicate the rights of the English nation.<sup>2</sup> He applied, also, to Rhode Island for assistance. The people of Heemstede and Middleburgh wrote, at the same time, to the commissioners, representing their great danger and requesting protection and arms and ammunition for their defence.

June 2.

Immediately on the departure of the New England delegates, the Director-general prepared a reply to the letters of the Commissioners of the United Colonies. In regard to those injuries and usurpations to which, they complained, they had hitherto received nothing but “dilatatory exceptions, offensive affronts and displeasing answers, as well in the South River bay, as upon the Fresh River, by you called Connecticut, which by living testimony to this day you could never make appear, he had always (he said) manifested a willingness to refer the question either to indifferent persons here, or to the determination of their superiors in Europe. He had desired to enter into further conference with the New England messengers relative to the points and matters in question, and to our proofs and in-

May 26.

<sup>1</sup> Hol. Doc. ix., 227-231.

<sup>2</sup> Hazard, ii., 248, 249; Trumbull's Conn. i., 206.

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1653. instructions. It would be a long, tedious and unnecessary relation to answer all the points in the commissioners' letter, the more especially as the most part of them were decided by the treaty of Hartford. He should not, therefore, repeat letters, protests and answers which have passed over and over again betwixt them. "Our oldest neighbors, such as those of Virginia, Boston and Plymouth colonies, never yet complained of encroachments by our nation on any part of their jurisdiction;" both sides have always possessed their own in peace until the governments of Hartford and New Haven (by what authority and under what commission they do not show) had commenced their usurpations, "long after the Hollanders had bounded their limits by the fort the Hope." With great patience and at great length he now proceeded to reply, seriatim, to each article of the declaration of the United Colonies; and having disposed thereof by arguments, already more than once resorted to, the Director-general took up the charge of conspiring with the Indians against the English. He declared, at once, there was no appearance of truth in it. Had the messengers sent from New England instituted their enquiry "according to the due course and manner of law, our innocency and the truth of our cause had been," he maintained, "truly made manifest. We shall not argue further on this matter. *Conscia mens recti fama mendacia ridet*; and it shall be a bulwark of brass for us against any who will put upon us and our nation, any false rumor or report, or any trouble or molestation thereby." Asseverating again and again his innocence of any such "treasonable, treacherous designs," he referred to the proposals he had made to the delegates for a continuation of peace, amity and trade, as these had formerly existed, irrespective of the differences and wars arising in Europe between the English and the Dutch, "drawn as they, at their first coming, desired and obtained, but which was not by them fully and clearly answered." He then expressed his intention to rest "satisfied in that which God shall present; trusting that He being a righteous judge, will also most righteously defend and bless our rightful means

for a just defence. If not, we shall take his righteous judgments as our punishment and amendment, and commit the success to Him." As for what happened in Amboyna, they knew nothing of it, "as neither of us hath been there." It was true, however, that Ninnigret had been at the Manhattans, in the course of the preceding January. "But he came hither with a pass from Mr. John Winthrop," in which the cause of his visit was mentioned, viz.: "to be cured and healed." If he had visited other Indians, it was without the knowledge of the Director-general. He heard that he had been with several Indians "upon Long Island, at Nyack;" "but what he hath negotiated with them remains to us unknown. This only we know—that what your worships lay unto our charge are false reports and forged information. Your messengers might, if they pleased, have informed themselves of the truth of this at Nyack and Gravesend; and also have obtained more friendly satisfaction and security concerning our real intentions, if they had pleased to have staid a day, or two, or three with us, to have heard and further considered those articles which are now deferred until another meeting, much to our grief."

Messrs. Leverett, Newman and Davis were, in the mean time, actively at work fishing up testimony favorable rather to their fears than to facts. At Flushing, they took the *ex parte* evidence of other Indians, which, however, did not amount to anything more than hearsay. They obtained affidavits also from Mrs. Van der Donck, daughter of the Rev. Mr. Doughty, and some Englishmen residing thereabout. But the sum and substance of these differed materially from the raw-head and bloody-bones story, to which the fears of the New Englanders had given existence. It now came out that the Director-general had only declared, that he should strengthen himself with the Indians, as much as he could, "in case the English should attack him."<sup>1</sup> And this was, in truth, all the foundation

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Coe, magistrate, acknowledged that he had been with the Dutch Governor two days before, and he told him that *if the English came against him*, he had spoken to the Indians to help him. Hazard, ii., 247. William Alford, dis-

roox  
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 1653. that this pretended plot had to rest on. The Directors of Amsterdam had already, as we have seen, instructed Governor Stuyvesant on the breaking out of the war between Cromwell and Holland, to engage the Indians in his cause, "if it happened that those of New England were inclined to take a part in those broils, and to injure the good people of New Netherland." In obedience to these instructions, and in order to repel invasion should it occur, he had, no doubt, taken every care to ingratiate himself with the natives, and to win them over to his side. It was a policy as old as the discovery of America, to which every European power possessing a foot of land on this continent has invariably had recourse, and which the people of New England had themselves pursued in their own wars. On the part of the Dutch it was a purely defensive precaution, justifiable in their position; and the more the evidence on all sides is examined, the stronger will their innocence appear of the foul charges brought against them.

The delegates from New England had now returned to
 June 3. Boston and submitted a report. A committee was thereupon appointed to draw up a statement of the facts between the English and the Dutch, but it could not agree. Separate reports were presented by Governor Eaton and Major-general Dennison. To reconcile these, a conference was held before the General Court of Massachusetts. Finally,

June 7. all the papers were referred to the Elders for consideration, who, upon examination of the proofs produced, reported that they could not consider these a sufficient and clear

June 8. ground for war; and, on the following day, a message was received from the General Court, concurring in opinion with this learned and venerable body. With this conclusion the majority of the commissioners, who expressed themselves dissatisfied in every particular with Stuyvesant's answer, refused to agree, and urged, with much pertinacity, the necessity of hostile measures against the Dutch.

coursing with the present Governor of the Manhatoes, that some had a hand in the plot concerning the Indians cutting off the English, he said he had no hand in such plot, but confessed that in case any English should come against him, then he should strengthen himself with the Indians as much as he could. *Ib.*
 248.

But nothing could induce Massachusetts to recede from its position. No determination of the commissioners to declare an offensive war, even though unanimous, was binding on any colony whose General Court, or local legislature, might dissent therefrom. This resolution elicited considerable discontent among the other colonies. It was the first time that the great principle of Nullification was promulgated and enforced, and then, as in our days, it threatened a dissolution of the Union.¹

No ways rebuffed, however, New Haven and Connecticut sent two delegates to the General Court of Massachusetts, to call again on that colony for its quota of five hundred men, that "for the honor of the English nation, the peace and safety of the English in all this part of America, by war if no other means will serve, the Dutch at and about the Manhatoes, who have bine and still are like to prove injurious and dangerous neighbours, may be removed." Should such demand be not responded to, the agents were instructed to ask permission to beat up for volunteers, to the number of two to four hundred men, but no person belonging to Rhode Island, "or of that stamp or frame," was to be received.

Governor Endicott declined compliance with this request. They would "not act in so weighty a concernment as to send forth men to shed blood," except they could satisfy their consciences "that God calls for it, and then it must be clear and not doubtful, necessary and expedient." New Haven, soon after, sent an address to Oliver Cromwell, in which they complained bitterly of those of Massachusetts, who feared "their own swords more than Dutch or Indians, or the displeasure of the state of England," and represented that "unless the Dutch be either removed or subjected, the peace and comfort of these smaller western colonies will be much hazarded and more and more impaired; for," they went on to say, "this earthly generation of men, whose gain is their god, are grown very gracious with the barbarians, whom they have at their command, an armed people prepared (if we enter

CHAP.
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1653.

July 8.

July 24.

Oct. 22.

¹ Hazard's State Papers, ii., 203-271, et seq.

BOOK

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prise aught against the Dutch) to assault the English." They concluded by requesting that two or three frigates be sent out, and that Massachusetts be commanded to assist the other colonies, to clear the coast of "a nation with which the English cannot either mingle or sett under their government, nor so much as live near, without danger of their lives and all their comforts in this world."¹

Rhode Island, with whom those of Connecticut and New Haven refused to associate, had, in the mean time, received a copy of the order which the Council of State had issued against Holland; and, forgetful of the principles of her benign and enlightened founder, proceeded to organize a marauding expedition against her neighbor, at the head of which she placed Underhill, who could receive no countenance in the United Colonies, and one William

June 3. Dyer. To these was given the following commission:—

"This certifieth whom it may concerne y^t whereas we y^e free inhabitants of Providence Plantat^{ns} having rec^d authoritie and power from the R^t Honourable y^e Counsell of State: by authoritie of Parliament to defend ourselves from y^e Dutch y^e enemies of y^e Commonwealth of England, as also to offend them, as we shall thinke necessarie, as also to seize all Dutch vessels or shippes y^t shall come within our harbors or within our power, and whereas by true information and greate complainte of y^e servile condition y^t many of o^r countrymen, English natives liuing on L. I. are subjected to by y^e cruell tirannie of y^e Dutch power at the Manathoes and the desperate hazards they are subject to by the bloody plottings of y^e Governour and Fiscal there, who are euidently declared to have drawne in and engaged y^e Indians by bribes and promises to cutt off and destroy the English natives in those parts, by w^{ch} conspiracie our countrymen are proscribed and putt in great hazard and in continual feare to be cutt off and murdered unlesse some speedy and suitable remedy be provided. These premises considered and well weighed by our Gene-

¹ Rec. of Gen. Court of New Haven, 3, 8, 11, 12, 27; Thurlow's State Papers, folio, Lond. 1742, i., 564. Hooke's letter to Cromwell is at length in this work.

rall Assemblie met the 19th of May, 1653, It was agreed and determined by y^e said Assemblie y^t it was necessarie and that for our owne defence (whereas if y^e English there should be routed or cut off we could nott longer enjoy our stations) Therefore as before we have thought it necessarie, both to defend ourselves and to reskew them, to giue, and doe hereby giue by virtue of our authoritie received, as before, full power and authoritie to Mr. W^m Dyre and Capt. John Underhill to take all Dutch ships and vessells as shall come into their power and to defend themselves from the Dutch and all enemies of y^e Commonwealth of England; and we further think it necessarie that they offende y^e Dutch after all inducements used to draw them by indulgence and to p^rvent the effusion of blood; provided alsoe that noe violence be used nor noe detrement sustained to them y^t shall submit to y^e Commonwealth of England, w^{ch} being observed then they may offende them at y^e dispostⁿ. of Capt. W^m Dyre and Captaine John Underhill who by aduice and counsell of three counsellors, one of w^{ch} counsellors concurring, have power to bring y^e Dutch to conformitie to the Commonwealth of England provided y^t y^e States p^t be secured and all vessells taken be bro^t into y^e harbor at Newport and according to y^e law be there tryed and y^e States part secured; provided also that those premised and authorized by vs doe giue accompt of their proceedings to y^e president and assistants of y^e colony and accordingly rec^d. further instructions to order their affaires by y^e president and assistants aforesaid. It is further resolved y^t Capt. John Underhill is constituted commander in cheife uppon the lande and Capt. W^m Dyre comd^t. in cheif at y^e sea; yett to joyne in counsell to be assistant each to other for y^e propagatinge of y^e service premised for the honor of y^e Commonwealth of England in w^{ch} they are employed. Given under the seale of y^e Colony of Providence Plantations this present 24 May, 1653.

“Per me WILL^m LYTHERLAND,
General Recorder.”¹

¹ Rec. in Secretary of State's Office, Hartford, endorsed, "Towns and Lands," i. 76.

BOOK Underhill went into this war for profit, not for glory.
 V. Instead of capturing Fort Amsterdam, he faced the defence-
 1653. less and unoccupied House of Good Hope, on the Connec-
 July 7. ticut, and valiantly posted on the door the following
 notice:—

“WHEREAS by virtue off Commision graunted me by Providence Collonye, authorized by the Councill of State, and I havinge in the said Commision full power for land service against y^e Dutch in these terms following:—‘It is farther resolved y^t Capt. Jo. Underhill shall be Commander in Cheife in y^e service against y^e Dutch by Land, and Mr. W^m Dyer, Com^r in Cheife by Water’—by vertue of y^e s^d Commision, and according to Act of Parlyment and wth permission from y^e Generall Court of Hartford, I Jo. Underhill doe seaze upon this hous and lands thereunto belonging, as Dutch goods claymed by y^e West India Company in Amsterdam enemies of the Commonweal of England, and thus to remayne seazed till further determined by y^e said Court. Hartford, this 27th of June, 1653.”

Aug. 2. Having achieved this feat, he sold and gave a deed for the property, to one Ralph Earle, of Rhode Island, for Oct. 23. £20 stg.; but not satisfied with this operation, he sold it, a second time, within a few months after, to Messrs. Gibbons and Lord, giving them also a deed for the same.¹

Associated with these worthies, was one Thomas Baxter,

¹ Hartford Rec., (sup. cit.) i., 81, 86, 87, 88. The lands seized on this occasion are thus described, Ib. 77: “One parcel lying in the south meadow containing by estimation twenty-three acres and a half, (be it more or less,) and abutteth on the Great River [Connecticut] north, and on Capt. Cullett his land east, and on a highway leading from the meadow gate to the Indian land on the south, and on George Steele his land west. *More*, One parcel on the south meadow containing by estimation one acre, (be it more or less,) and abutteth on the landing place in the Little River on the east, and on the Little River north, and on the said Gibbons and Gregory their lands on the south. *More*, One parcel of land lying in the poynt of ye little meadow containing by estimacon three acres, (be it more or less,) and abutteth on the Little River south and west, and on Mr. Haines his land north, and on ye Great River east. *More*, One parcel being an island lying near the east side of ye Great River over against the south end of the little meadow and containeth by estimacon two acres, (be it more or less.”) The opposing claims of Earle gave rise subsequently to a protracted suit of law, which continued from 1660 to 1663. As everything relating to this Fort of Good Hope is of interest, we give Underhill’s deed to Gibbons and Lord in App. F.

previously a resident of the Mannhattans, who, in his zeal for the Commonwealth, was not very particular in distinguishing between friend and foe. For, after having made sundry descents on English and Dutch, indiscriminately, on Long Island and near New Amsterdam, he turned pirate and took possession of a ship belonging to Plymouth Colony. To arrest these depredations, the Director-general dispatched two vessels of war with a hundred men, who blockaded Baxter in Fairfield harbor. Unfortunately the jealousy of the United Colonies prevented this expedition accomplishing any good. They issued an order prohibiting all Dutch ships to enter any of the ports belonging to the Confederation, without express permission, under the penalty of being seized and confiscated. Under these circumstances, the Dutch deemed it prudent to retire, and Connecticut and New Haven sent forth their authority to arrest the pirate; not, however, until his depredations had given rise in New Netherland to considerable complaint against the provincial government.¹

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1653.

Sep. 27.

Dec. 2.

The anxiety of the Director-general had led him, at the commencement of these difficulties, to endeavor to place his relations with the English at the south in a safe position, and for that purpose he sent Burgomaster Van Hattem and Attorney-general Van Tienhoven to Virginia, in May, to negotiate a treaty with the authorities there. The attempt was, however, unsuccessful. Gov. Bennett, who had succeeded Berckley, the Royal Governor, did not consider himself authorized to come to any conclusion on so delicate a subject, before he had communicated to his superiors the propositions submitted to him. He promised, however, to transmit them to England, and the Dutch ambassadors returned to the Mannhattans. At the close of this year, "the Reverend and very learned Samuel Drisius,

¹ Alb. Rec. ix., 155; Rec. of General Court of New Haven, 31, 34; Hazard's State Papers, ii., 287, 294; Rhode Island Hist. Coll. v., 95. Baxter was arrested at Fairfield, (where he committed various excesses,) in March, 1654; brought to New Haven, thence sent to Hartford. He was subsequently surrendered to Stuyvesant on requisition, but broke jail and fled, leaving his vessel and a house in New Amsterdam in possession of the authorities, by whom they were sold. Alb. Rec. ix., 117, 129.

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minister of the Gospel in the city of New Amsterdam," was sent to renew the former proposals to Gov. Bennett, and to conclude with him a commercial treaty, including a power to the merchants of New Netherland to collect debts due them in Virginia. Should these be accepted, the Director-general pledged himself to ratify whatever his plenipotentiary might agree to, provided, however, that six or eight days' notice may be given of any intention to revoke such agreement as may be concluded, "so as to prevent losses and animosities between nation and nation." This mission proved entirely successful.<sup>1</sup>

Some changes were made this summer in the personnel of the government. Nicasius de Sille, "a man well versed in the law and not unacquainted with military affairs, of good July 24. character and satisfactory acquirements," was commissioned as First Counsellor to the Director, at a salary of one hundred florins (\$40) per month, including board.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dominie Drisius' commission is in Alb. Rec. ix., 59. It embodies the statements in the text. It is rather singular that none of the historians of Virginia, (at least, so far as our research has gone,) gives any particulars of these early embassies.

<sup>2</sup> Alb. Rec. iv., 100, 107, 111; vii., 328. The following is De Sille's commission, addressed to the Director and Council: "We have deemed it advisable for the better administration of the government in New Netherland, to strengthen your Council with another expert and able statesman; and whereas Nicasius de Sille, the bearer of these open letters, did apply to us for this appointment, so we have, trusting in the good reports of his character, and confiding in his talents, appointed him First Counsellor to the Director, to reside as such at Fort Amsterdam, and deliberate with you on all affairs relating to war, police and national force; to keep inviolate all alliances of friendship and commerce, and if feasible, to increase these; to assist in the administration of justice, criminal as well as civil, and further, to advise you in all events and occurrences which may be brought forward. We address this to your Honors that you might be informed of this our intention, and to have this Nicasius de Sille acknowledged and respected by all the inhabitants, as in our opinion the service of the Company shall hereby be promoted. Amsterdam, 24th July, 1653." Nicasius de Sille was married twice. By his first marriage he had two daughters and one son, Laurence. One of the girls married a Kip. His second wife's name was Tryntie Croegers, by whom he had no family. A misunderstanding broke out between this couple in 1668-9, which was the source of much unhappiness. To reconcile the parties, Governor Nicolls appointed a committee composed of Cornelis van Ruyven, Oloff S. van Cortland, Johannes de Peyster, Johannes van Brugh, and P. Leendertsen van der Grist, to endeavor to bring about a reconciliation. This commission reported that all affection and love were estranged on both sides, and that there was no hope of a reunion between the parties as man and wife, though the husband was more disposed to a reconcilia-

Cornelis van Ruyven was, at the same time, appointed secretary, at thirty-six guilders per month and eighty per annum for board, whilst Carel van Brugge was removed to the custom house, "where he officiated before." Levinus van Ruyven accompanied his brother, as assistant in the secretary's office; but as he obtained a free passage, he was not to receive any salary for six months. When these changes took place, La Montagne's salary was increased to fifty florins per month, and two hundred for board, "so that his debt to the Company may in this manner be liquidated and cancelled."

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tion than the woman. An equal division of the property was recommended. Mde. de Sille produced before the commission sealed articles of marriage, on the back of which it was endorsed that they should be opened in the event of the death of one of the parties, and insisted that they could then be opened, as her husband, so far as she was concerned, was virtually dead. The commissioners refused to sanction such a proceeding. De Sille resided in New Utrecht after the surrender, of which place he was one of the first settlers, having built the first stone house in that town. He was secretary to the Dutch villages in 1674. He has left us a brief but interesting "History of the First Beginning of the Town of New Utrecht," which has been translated by T. G. Bergen, Esq., and published in the Brooklyn Eagle. Mrs. de Sille survived her husband, and died in 1694, leaving by her will all her estate, real and personal, to her cousin Jacobus Croeger. From Laurence de Sille proceed all the branches of that family now in this country. They reside chiefly in the neighborhood of New York and Albany, having dropped the *de* before the name. The Rev. G. W. Sill, one of the descendants, is at present a clergyman in the State of Missouri.

## CHAPTER III.

Serious discontent prevails on Long Island—Causes thereof—A meeting of delegates at the City Hall—Rupture between them and the Director-general—Further proceedings of the delegates—Negotiations of the Burgomasters and Schepens—Reply of the Director-general—Another convention called—Delegates meet—Their remonstrance—Stuyvesant's action thereupon—The delegates retort—Threaten to appeal to the States General—Forbid to meet again on pain of corporal punishment—The Director writes to the Dutch villages on Long Island—Gravesend addresses the department of Amsterdam—Accuses them of seeing only through the eyes of interested persons—Warns them of the consequences of their policy—The Dutch at the Mannhattans address the magistrates of Amsterdam in support of their remonstrance—Low state of the treasury—Burgomasters and Schepens called on for supplies—Call together the burghers—Demand the surrender of the excise—Stuyvesant will not give it up—Supplies, therefore, refused—Stuyvesant submits—Further demands of the burghers, and further misunderstanding—The city authorities appeal to Holland and dispatch a special agent thither.

BOOK V.  
 1653. THE losses incurred, through the past season, by the Long Island settlers, at the hands both of Indians and freebooters, and the conviction of their exposed position, led them to consult together in the hope of arriving at some plan for their mutual security. Delegates from Flushing, Heemstede, Middleburgh and Gravesend assembled, accordingly, at the first-named village, and entered into communication with the authorities of New Amsterdam.<sup>1</sup> The result was a meeting at the City Hall, to take into consideration what was best to be done "for the welfare of the country and its inhabitants, and to determine on some wise and salutary measures to arrest those robberies." It was attended by the Hon'bles La Montagne and Werckhoven, on the part of the Supreme Council; by Messrs. Krygier and Van der Grist, on the part of the city authorities; by Geo. Baxter and Sergeant Hubbard, from Gravesend; John Hicks and Tobias Feake, from Flushing; and Messrs. Coe and Hazard from Middleburgh, or the "New Town."

Nov. 25.

Public sentiment was not favorable to the government,

<sup>1</sup> Alb. Rec. viii., 53.

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and the general confidence in its power of protection, and administration of the affairs of the country, was seriously shaken. The inhabitants had lost considerable property, and were without the means of self-defence. The Indians had not been paid for their lands, and were, in retaliation, having recourse to outrage to enforce justice. Patents which were promised, had been in some cases withheld, in others grossly infringed by grants to favorites within the limits of long established towns. Rights and privileges guaranteed by Dutch freedoms—local tribunals and local magistrates—were, in additional instances, denied to other settlements, whilst public laws were made and enacted without the knowledge, consent, or co-operation of the people, who were afterwards punished for an ignorant and unintentional infraction thereof. The country was, moreover, without any representative form of government, whilst in New Amsterdam little or no respect was paid either to the representations or conclusions of the city authorities; for the Director and Council arbitrarily changed resolutions passed with the concurrence of the Burgomasters and Schepens, in the absence and without the consent of the latter. Symptoms of dissatisfaction marked, therefore, the very organization of this meeting. For, upon the orders of the Director-general having been read, instructing the delegates to communicate, severally, in writing, their opinions as to how and by what means the robberies should be prevented, Ensign Baxter, “and all the English delegates,” demanded by what right the Hon’ble Mr. Werckhoven sat there?¹ As a delegate, they were informed, from the Council. This was not deemed satisfactory. He should not be acknowledged in that capacity, nor as one of the Council: “they had nothing to do with him;” “nor would they permit the Director-general nor one of his Council to preside over their body, as he could not protect them.” “If,” continued they, “the Director-general, acting for the Privileged West India Company, will not protect us, then we are compelled to provide against our own ruin and destruction, and there-

¹ This gentleman’s patent encroached on the limits of Gravesend.

BOOK fore, we will not pay any more taxes." Having thus  
 V. delivered themselves, they avowed their readiness to con-  
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 1653. tinue under the allegiance of the States General and the
 Company, and their disposition "to enter into a firm union
 with the Burgomasters and Schepens." And hereupon
 the meeting adjourned, until the afternoon.

At nine o'clock on the following morning the several del-
 egates, except Messrs. La Montagne and Van Werckhoven,
 Nov. 27. again assembled. The English deputies demanded of those
 representing the city, if they were willing to live with them
 in peace, as friends and brothers? The latter answered in
 the affirmative, but stated that they could not enter into
 any alliance with them until they had communicated with
 the Director-general and the other courts and villages.
 Then said the Englishmen, "if the Burgomasters and Sche-
 pens will not unite with us, we shall enter into a firm union
 among ourselves on Long Island, for the Director-general
 affords us no protection."

The delegates from the city were now summoned
 before Stuyvesant, to whom they reported the overtures
 that had been made to them. He had no objection that
 they should co-operate with those from the English towns,
 "but as they could not outvote the latter now, it was his
 intention to grant, at the next election, a court of justice
 to the villages of Amersfoort, Breukelen, and Midwout, so
 as to possess, with Fort Orange, on all future occasions an
 equal number of votes."

On the re-assembling of the convention in the evening,
 Messrs. La Montagne and Van Werckhoven handed in a
 declaration from the Director-general, wherein he avowed
 his readiness to protect his subjects with all the means
 "which God and their liege Lords vouchsafed him." This
 was considered insufficient. They demanded proofs of his
 capability, "for if he cannot protect us against sixteen or
 seventeen men, what can he do against a greater number?"

Perceiving the serious turn which matters were now
 taking, Messrs. Krygier and Van der Grist prudently sug-
 gested the propriety of addressing a remonstrance to the
 Directors of the West India Company. They promised

to warn each other, in the meanwhile, of all threatening danger; to afford mutual assistance, and to live together as friends. Being desirous, however, to learn the opinions of their fellow-colonists at Midwout, Breukelen and Staten Island, especially as the lateness of the season prevented them obtaining the views of those of Fort Orange, Rensselaerswyck and the South River, they recommended a further adjournment. The English delegates concurred in these views, and the several parties resolved to meet again, at the same place, on the 10th of December. On the conclusion of this arrangement, the Burgomasters and Schepens, with the English delegates, invited the Director and Council to partake of a collation, which they had caused to be prepared at the house of Pieter Wolfertsen van Couwenhoven. At the termination of the repast, the discussion on public affairs was renewed, and the proposed meeting mentioned. Whether this was well received does not appear. Most probably it was not, for the parties found themselves necessitated to tell the Director, in plain terms, "that they should meet on the tenth of next month; he might then do as he pleased, and prevent it if he could."

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The Burgomasters and Schepens gave formal notice to Nov. 29. the Director and Council of the resolution of the delegates to re-assemble for the purpose of addressing the Directors in Holland, on the subject of the actual state of the country, and "seeing the necessity of such a step," seriously solicited permission to summon the Dutch villages to depute some of their citizens to the proposed convention, to assist in preparing such a remonstrance as may then be deemed necessary for the public good.

Director Stuyvesant embraced the opportunity to com- Dec. 3. ment, at some length and in severe terms, on the transactions of the 26th and 27th November. The refusal of the English delegates to recognize Van Werckhoven, or to admit even the Director-general, or one of his Council, to a seat in the convention, "smelt of rebellion, of contempt of his high authority and commission." The assertion that the Director-general was unwilling to protect them was a false calumny, and they were dared to deny the fact, that armed

BOOK V.
 1653. vessels had been sent three times against the robbers, and an armed force dispatched also at different times over land against those marauders. That all this had been insufficient, was owing, not to any neglect on the part of the authorities, but to the circumstance that the colonists, contrary to the Company's orders and the Director-general's warnings, had settled apart and at a distance from any villages or neighbors, and in localities so remote, the one from the other, that it was impossible to protect them, even if hundreds of soldiers had been enlisted against the robbers, "who often come as friends and neighbors, and are provided with lodgings by the English" themselves. Similar outrages occurred in Fatherland, but loyal and peaceable subjects, there, had never made them a pretext to calumniate their government, much less to refuse payment of their just dues. As to the request that delegates from the Dutch villages be summoned to the proposed convention, the Director-general expressed his doubts whether the result would be as beneficial as was expected. The experience of the past—the altercations during Director Kieft's administration—the misunderstandings of their own day—"which, God help them!" are not yet settled—prove how pregnant with evil are all these assemblies. Yet as he desired nothing more than the prosperity of the country and the union of the people, "without any distinction of origin," and wished to hold himself harmless before his superiors, and not to be considered too punctilious, he consented to the meeting, "under the direction of two of the Council," to agree on a remonstrance to the Patroons, on the actual condition of the country, provided that nothing should be done to prejudice the resolutions by which the conduct of the former delegates had been disapproved. In conformity with this permission, writs were
 Dec. 8. issued to the several villages to elect and send delegates to New Amsterdam on the appointed day.

This convention, the most important that had yet been held in New Netherland, assembled, according to order, at the specified time and place. On the call of the roll, delegates answered from New Amsterdam, Breukelen,

Flushing, Newtown, Heemstede, Amersfoort, Midwout, and Gravesend. Four Dutch and four English towns were represented, but in point of origin those speaking the English language had a majority. This circumstance was, however, in the present alarming crisis, of little moment. The dangers to which the people were exposed affected all alike; and the grievances of which they complained were no respecters of persons. The greatest harmony and concord therefore prevailed; so true is it, that the fortuitous circumstances of birth or religion weigh but little with the right thinking and unbiassed masses, except when seized on by those interested in the existence of public abuses to lead the public mind astray, so as to secure the continuance of a state of things from which the latter derive either honor or profit.

On the second day of the meeting the following remonstrance to the Director and Council and the States General was agreed to, in the name and on the behalf of the Colonies and Villages of the Province of New Netherland:—

“WE acknowledge a paternal government which God and Nature have established in the world for the maintenance and preservation of peace, and the good of mankind, not only in conformity to Nature’s laws, but in accordance with the rules and precepts of God, to which we consider ourselves bound by His word, and therefore submit.

“The Lord our God having invested their High Mightinesses, as His ministers, with power (which we gratefully acknowledge) to promote the welfare of their subjects, in the United Provinces and in the foreign possessions thereunto belonging, and these having, by their power and authority, commissioned, for the same purpose, some subaltern magistrates, such as the Lords Directors of the Privileged West India Company, whom we acknowledge, together with your Lordships, whose representatives they are, as Lords and Patroons of this place; we humbly conceive that our rights and privileges are the same, harmonizing in every respect with those of Netherland, being a member dependent on that State, and in no wise a people

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Dec. 10.

Dec. 11.

BOOK V.
 1653. conquered or subjugated, but settled here, on a mutual covenant and contract entered into with the Lords Patroons, and with the consent of the natives, the first proprietors of these lands, from whom we purchased the soil with our own funds.

“WE transformed, with immense labor, and at our own expense, a wilderness of woods into a few small villages and cultivated farms. Encouraged by the privileges which we already obtained—the preservation of which we cherish, and the increase and amplification, not the abridgment, of which we did expect—and by the deep homage and profound respect which we entertain for the government of the Netherlands; composed of various nations from different parts of the world; leaving at our own expense our country and countrymen, we voluntarily repaired under the protection of our sovereign, high and mighty Lords the States General, whom we acknowledge as our Lieges, and being immatriculated into one body, subjected ourselves, as in duty bound, to the general laws of the United Provinces, and all other new orders and ordonnances which by virtue of the authority aforesaid may be published, agreeably to the customs, freedoms, grants and privileges of the Netherlands.

“This being premised, we humbly solicit that this our Remonstrance and Petition may be received and construed favorably and without misinterpretation. We shall, therefore, frankly declare, with all humbleness, our fear, and the alarm which for some time have broken our spirits and discouraged us in our labors and callings, so that we, being in a wilderness, are unable to promote the prosperity of the country, with the same vigor and affection as heretofore; the reasons whereof are as follow:—

“I. Our apprehension of the establishment of an arbitrary government among us. It is contrary to the first intentions and genuine principles of every well regulated government, that one or more men should arrogate to themselves the exclusive power to dispose, at will, of the life and property of any individual, and this by virtue, or under pretence, of a law or order which he might fabricate, without the consent, knowledge or approbation of the whole body,

their agents or representatives. Hence the enactment, in manner aforesaid, of new laws affecting the commonalty, their lives and property, which is contrary to the granted privileges of the Netherland government, and odious to every free-born man, and principally so to those whom God has placed under a free state, in newly-settled lands, who are entitled to claim laws, not transcending, but resembling, as near as possible, those of Netherland. We humbly submit that it is one of our privileges, that our consent, or that of our representatives, is necessarily required in the enactment of such laws and orders.

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“II. We are usually and every year full of apprehension that the natives of the country, by the murders they commit under the pretext that they have not yet been paid for their lands, may commence a new war against us. This causes many calamities and mischiefs to the country, besides great loss and interruption to the inhabitants in their labor. It has, thus far, been out of our power to discover the truth hereof, or to ascertain to what tribe these murderers belong. They are too often disregarded as the acts of far-distant savages, which fills us with daily anxieties, so that we are compelled to look to our own defence, as we cannot discover in what manner our lives and property shall be protected, except by our own means.

“III. Officers and magistrates, though by their personal qualifications deserving such honors, are appointed to many places contrary to the laws of Netherland; several acting without the consent or nomination of the people, whom it most concerns.

“IV. Many orders and proclamations made in days of yore, without the approbation of the country, by the authority alone of the Director and Council, remain obligatory. We are, therefore, totally ignorant of what are, or what are not in force, and consequently know not when we transgress these, but commit many offences, in our ignorance, to the imminent ruin of ourselves and families.

“V. On the promises of grants and general patents of privileges and exemptions, various plantations have been made, at a great expense to the inhabitants, through build-

BOOK ing houses, making fences and tilling and cultivating the
 V. soil; especially by those of Middleburgh and Midwout
 1653. with their dependencies, besides several other places, who
 took up many single farms, and solicited the deeds of such
 lands, but were always put off and disappointed, to their
 great loss. This creates a suspicion that some innovations
 are in contemplation, or that it is intended to introduce
 other conditions, different from former stipulations.

“VI. Large quantities of lands are granted to some individuals for their private profit, on which a whole village or hamlet of twenty or thirty families could have been established. This, indeed, must, in the end, cause an immense loss hereafter to the Patroons, in point of revenue, and impair at present the strength of the province, which, under such circumstances, is incapable of defence, except villages or settlements be planted or formed.

“As we have reduced, for easier reference, all our grievances under six heads, so we renew our allegiance, in the hope that satisfaction shall be granted to the country according to established justice, and all dissensions settled and allayed. As we have unfolded to your Lordships the grievances under which we labor, we shall address ourselves to your wisdom for a remedy. That applied, we shall remain thankful, all further application being needless, which, otherwise, we shall be compelled to renew. Humbly soliciting your Lordships’ answer on each point or article, in such wise as to afford us satisfaction, or to cause us to proceed further as God shall direct our steps, we remain your Lordships’ suppliant servants,

ARENT VAN HATTEM,

THOMAS SPICER,

MARTIN KRYGIER,

GEO. BAXTER,

WILLEM BEEKMAN,

J. HUBBARD,

P. WOLFERTSZ. V. COUWENHOVEN,

ROBERT COE,

P. L. VAN DER GRIST,

THOMAS HAZARD,

JOHN HICKS,

FRED’K LUBBERTSEN,

TOBIAS FEAKE,

THOMAS SWARTWOUT,

WILLIAM WASHBURN,

JAN STRYCKER,

JOHN SOMERS,

ELBERT ELBERTS,

PAULUS VAN DER BEECK.”

This petition having been presented to the Director and Council, they requested that a copy of the document should be furnished to each member, so as to enable them to give a decisive answer on every part of its contents. An order so singular was met by the observation that, as the original was in the hands of those authorities, they themselves might, if they saw fit, cause a copy to be made for each of the councillors. The delegates demanded at the same time, "a categorical answer" to each point of their remonstrance, as they were under great expense, and were anxious to know on what they were to depend, so as to regulate their conduct accordingly.

Stuyvesant now threw off the mask. He refused to recognize the delegates from Midwout, Breukelen and Amersfoort. These villages had no jurisdiction, and therefore were not entitled to send deputies; the meeting of the others was illegal, inasmuch as it not only contravened the resolution of the 24th ult. but reversed the orders issued by the Director and Council on the 3d inst. The latter were not, therefore, obliged to give a "categorical answer to an obscure and private remonstrance of a few unqualified delegates who assume, without authority, the name and title of commonalty," and who are now forbid to present any address in that name, to the Director-general "or to anybody else." If the burgomasters and schepens, or the magistrates of any village, had any petition from their particular locality, he and the Council were ready to answer it "as justice and circumstances might demand."

But though Director Stuyvesant would not return "a categorical answer" to the several representations which the remonstrance contained, he was not disposed to allow that paper to pass away altogether without comment. He dispatched to the convention a long reply. It opened with a sneer, and an insidious attempt to create, by an appeal to national prejudices, a division in the popular camp. "Is there," he asked, appealing to the Burgomasters, "no one among the Netherlands nation, expert enough to draw up a remonstrance to the Director and Council," "that a foreigner or an Englishman is required

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 1653. to dictate what ye have to say?" "The most antient colonie of Manhattan, the colonies of Rensselaerswyck and Staten Island, and the settlements of Beverwyck and South River, are too prudent to subscribe to all that has been projected by an Englishman."¹ "It is very dubious, indeed, if the author, George Baxter, himself understood what he meant;" for if the rights of the petitioners were, as he represented, the same as those of Netherland, "then, no doubt, they might claim to send delegates to the Assembly of their High Mightinesses," like the other cities and provinces of that republic. It was "an absolute falsehood" that they had purchased the soil from the natives. They could not prove that they had ever purchased "one single foot of land," much less paid for it, "agreeably to the orders of the Directors, and the placards of the Director-general and Council;" for it was not legal for any individual to purchase land from the Indians without the previous permission of these authorities. As for their expectations of an extension of their privileges, "it must be observed, that those Englishmen, the actors, instigators and leaders of these novelties, actually enjoy greater privileges than the New Netherland exemptions allow to any Dutchman."

Having thus disposed of the preamble to the remonstrance, the Director-general proceeded to its several "points." He understood not what they meant by "an arbitrary government." The Burgomasters and Schepens, with a majority of the petitioners, had been summoned to appear before the Director and Council, and on being

¹ Bancroft, in his *Hist. U. S.*, (13th Ed.) ii., 306, 307, has, seemingly for the purpose of supporting a peculiar theory, given a version to the language of the Director-general on this occasion, which is entirely unwarranted by the Records. "Will you set your names to the visionary notions of the *New England man*?" are the words Mr. B. puts in Stuyvesant's mouth. The Director-general does not call Baxter "a New England man"—he calls him plainly an Englishman, as distinguishing him from a Dutchman, without any reference at all to New England. In Baxter's previous history, we cannot discover any title he has to the name of a "New England man," except the circumstance that he immigrated thither originally, and the fact that he was afterwards driven out of that country for his heterodox opinions. We should not notice this trifling matter, were it not that Mr. Bancroft seems to convey, in a note, that his version is sanctioned by the Dutch original, which is not the case.

asked, "what they understood by an arbitrary government?" they gave no answer. The remonstrants had no cause to villify the present government. They had voluntarily sworn to acknowledge and obey it; and "if it was more arbitrary than that of Director Kieft, then they ought to prove it." Proofs were also demanded that any individual had been bereft of his property, contrary to the laws of Fatherland, by the Director and Council, who by their commissions are authorized "to make laws for the regulation of the police, commerce, militia, and the country and its preservation," and "these the remonstrants were bound, as good subjects, to obey." It was not the thirst or ambition of authority, but the evil disposition and the irregularities of the people that evoked new laws, and the Director and Council know of no law having been enacted, contrary to those of Fatherland. Besides, it is a matter of fact that in all affairs in which the country at large was interested, the general ordonnances have been always sanctioned by the qualified members of the whole province. The English remonstrants have overrated their privileges; the Burgomasters and Schepens may learn from their instructions the extent of their authority, and the other petitioners may obtain the same information from their patents and deeds.

"Would to God that neither the English nor the Dutch had caused a just apprehension of a new war with the Indians, either by fearing them too much, or by deceiving them, or by telling them the present value of an acre of land." On acquiring this last information, the natives concluded that they had not received the full price for their property. The allegation that the savages had committed murders on the pretence that they had not been paid for their land, was put forth in bad faith. "The three murders on Staten Island were committed under the impression that Melyn was a magician, that he had poisoned the Indians, and had sold them bad powder and guns. The savages at the South had, therefore, sworn, pretty generally, to take his life, and those of all the colonists on that island." It was, besides, a contradiction in itself to assert, as the petitioners now did, that those murders were committed because the

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BOOK natives had not been paid for their soil, whilst in the pre-
 V. amble to this address they maintain that they had pur-
 1653. chased their lands from the savages.

The only point the English remonstrants were called on to consider was, how the province was to be protected against the robberies committed by the English privateers. That they not only neglected, but declared their unwillingness to act against their countrymen, or any vessels bearing a commission from the Parliament: it was idle therefore for them to seek protection by lawful means.


In regard to the appointments to office, "the English not only enjoy the nomination of their magistrates, but some of them absolutely usurp their election, and actually appoint whatever magistrates they please, paying no regard to the religion these profess." Some, especially in Gravesend, are Libertines and Anabaptists, which is unquestionably in contradiction to the general laws of the Netherlands. The magistrates of New Amsterdam were not yet permitted to nominate their successors. The Director and Council, until they should receive orders to the contrary from the Patroons, had reserved this right to themselves for "momentous reasons." "For if their rule was to become a cynosure—if the nomination and election of magistrates were to be left to the populace, who were the most interested, then each would vote for one of his own stamp—the thief, for a thief; the rogue, the tippler, the smuggler, for a brother in iniquity, that he might enjoy greater latitude in his vices and frauds."

It was a falsehood that magistrates had been appointed contrary to law and without the consent of the people. "The magistrates of New Amsterdam are proposed to the commonalty in front of the City Hall, by their names and surnames, each in his quality, before they are admitted or sworn into office. The question is then put, does any one object? The same rule is observed when officers of the militia are nominated. Their names are submitted to the Company; those of sergeants, or other inferior officers, to their section."

Each Lord and Patroon in Fatherland, has the right to

appoint, within his seignory, his own sheriff, secretary
 clerks and delegates. Rensselaerswyck, Staten Island,
 "yea, even the village of Gravesend," exercise that right.
 It is strange, indeed, that these remonstrants dare, now, to
 deny to the Directors, absolute Lords and Patroons, the
 same privilege. The petitioners were bound to obey
 whatever orders or proclamations emanated from the
 Director and Council. They had been warned not to
 purchase any lands from the Indians, nor to enter on pos-
 session thereof, without a deed from the Director-general.
 If there be any who have not such a title, he is bound to
 obtain one within six months; otherwise his right becomes
 forfeit. The lands in the villages of Middleburgh and Mid-
 wout had been granted to individuals, who may obtain
 their deeds whenever they choose to demand them. "But
 these shall never be carried to their homes."

The large tracts of land already granted in colonie, to
 Baron Van Nederhorst, Van Rensselaer, Van der Capellen,
 Van Werckhoven, De Hulter, and Melyn, have been con-
 ceded by orders from the Directors, who are not respon-
 sible to their subjects for their acts. If these are not
 settled conformably to the provisions of the charter, the
 Directors may act as they deem proper; but the remon-
 strants, in discussing this subject, should not forget to look
 to themselves. Heemstede, Vlissingen, and Gravesend
 claim a much larger territory, a considerable part of which
 is neither settled nor improved. Now that the time draws
 nigh for the collection of the Company's debts, they art-
 fully throw, as the proverb says, "a cat in the thread," and
 pretend that they owe nothing; "and because, forsooth, the
 Company cannot, or will not protect them," they propose a
 union "with a few malignants," for the purpose of estab-
 lishing "a new form of government." "It is passing strange
 that the Burgomasters and Schepens should seize this dan-
 gerous opportunity to conspire with a nation so much sus-
 pected by them; in whom they lately said no confidence
 could be placed; who were ever brooding mischief, but
 never performing their promises, and who might, to-mor-
 row, ally themselves with the North; with other villain-

BOOK V.
 1653.  our insinuations, which we now pass by, concluding, for brevity's sake, with the remark—"Quid magis mutabile vulgo?"

This lecture, lengthy though it was, and disposed in all its parts with all the art by which sophistry could excite prejudice, dazzle the understanding, and confound the judgment, had not the effect of silencing the convention, or imposing on the common sense of its members. In terms
 Dec. 13. equally strong, they vindicated the legality of their proceedings by appealing to "the law of Nature," which authorizes all men to associate and convene together to protect their liberties and property. They again called on the Executive to reply to the several points of their remonstrance, and threatened, "in case of refusal," to protest, and appeal to their superiors, the High and Mighty, the States General, and the Privileged West India Company.

This missive roused the anger of the Director-general
 Dec. 14. to the point of culmination. He denied absolutely that the laws of Nature authorized public meetings for the protection of public liberty. Magistrates, and "not all men," were authorized so to assemble. "We derive our authority from God and the Company, not from a few ignorant subjects, and we alone can call the inhabitants together." "But such manners and forms of meetings—such insults, unprovoked affronts, and contempt of the supreme authority, the Director and Council were bound to resist, yea, to punish;" and the parties were ordered forthwith to disperse, "on pain of an arbitrary correction."

Dec. 16. A letter was next sent to the villages of Breukelen, Amersfoort, and Midwout, commanding them not to permit their delegates to appear again at any meeting at New Amsterdam, at this conjuncture, as it can cause nothing but mischief.¹

The leaders of the convention were not, however, willing to lie down in silence under the censures which the Director-general had heaped upon them, and which, they were aware, would find their way to Holland. The

¹ Alb. Rec. ix., 5, 15, 17-24, 26, 28-46, 47-56; Hol. Doc. xv., 168-175; New Amsterdam Rec. Anno 1653.

magistrates of Gravesend wrote at some length to the department at Amsterdam, to acquaint them of what had passed; to testify their fidelity and allegiance to their High Mightinesses and the Company, "under whose protection they had placed themselves without any intention to revolt, though perhaps representations to the contrary might be made." They would not allude to the ill-treatment they had received, though it might be considered unmerited by their town, "one of the oldest on Long Island under the Dutch jurisdiction, and which has been ever faithful, as well to the Directors as to their present Governor." They endeavored, by all means in their power, to strengthen the country, by increasing the number of its colonists, under expectation of an increased grant of land, "which, though solemnly promised, was never obtained, but to their sorrow indefinitely postponed." A considerable tract had been granted to the Honorable Mr. Van Werckhoven, within the limits of their patent; this included various plantations belonging to Englishmen, who cultivated them "long before the Indian war," but who now, "reduced to poverty and filled with fear, dare not again settle on their former residences." The spot on which this new Patroon had erected his dwelling, was really the property of Ambrose Loudon, who, on seeking for redress, was threatened with imprisonment, "and was afterwards actually imprisoned, we know not on what pretence." The grant of such immense tracts to private persons, under color of colonization, can never promote the population of the country, nor contribute, in any way, to the prosperity of the province, "and we hope we may be permitted to say, without offence, that so long as you shall see through the eyes of two or three persons, who, perhaps, have their own profit only in view, and are prompted by ambition, without regard to the interests of the commonalty or that of the Company, so long ye cannot obtain a true statement of the real condition of this province, nor of your own private concerns." "Having, as born freemen, been blessed by a beneficent God with a sufficient understanding to be sensible of our dutiful obedience to our superiors, so, on the

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III.1653.
Dec. 27.

BOOK V. other hand, we appreciate the high value of a lawful liberty, which we claim, and which, if granted, and if it please
 1653. God in his mercy to reconcile the differences between the two commonwealths, we shall not only be gratified but thankful." "For if your Honors lose this country, though we sincerely wish to be long favored with your protection, it will be through the means of those who are entrusted with the chief command." The Dutch at the Manhattans followed with a letter to the Burgomasters of the city of Amsterdam, couched in terms equally respectful.¹

These, unfortunately, were not the only troubles of this year. The public treasury was in an utter state of dilapidation; the duties received from exported furs amounted annually to between eight and nine thousand dollars, a sum totally inadequate to meet the demands on the government. By means of a loan—the first public debt ever contracted in this province—the city had been partially enclosed, but the fort was still unrepaired. The Burgomasters and Schepens were, therefore, called on to fulfil their promises, and furnish those supplies which by their signatures they had promised. The court replied that it had redeemed its promises, as the accounts would prove, and, therefore, prayed to be excused from burthening the citizens any further, just then, as they were "altogether in the back-ground." The magistrates followed up this refusal by calling the burghers together at the City Hall, to whom they submitted the demands of the government. It was unanimously resolved, "not to contribute anything until the Director-general should surrender the whole of the wine and beer excise: means would then be provided to meet whatever expenses might occur." Stuyvesant refused to submit to these terms, and the citizens, thereupon, determined "by no means to contribute anything, unless he acceded to their terms and paid the excise into the city treasury."

¹ The Gravesend address was signed by George Baxter, N. Hubbard, W. Wilkins, John Morris, Schout; certified to have been signed by order of the town; John Tilton, town clerk. Alb. Rec. viii., 53-53. Part of the above letter is in Hol.Doc. ix., 256-260; xv., 165-167.

The obstinacy of the burghers; the insecure state of the fort; the low state of the public funds, and the war between England and Holland, at length forced Stuyvesant, never very pliant, to yield to the popular demands, and the principal burghers and citizens were again called together to receive communication of the fact. But the proceeds of the excise were withal inadequate to the public wants. The citizens were therefore asked if they were prepared to submit to the imposition of new duties for the support of the city. They unanimously replied in the affirmative, and declared, under their signatures, their willingness "to obey the Burgomasters and Schepens in all things, as good subjects are in duty bound."¹

Notwithstanding the announcement of the magistrates, Stuyvesant, it seems, did not give up the whole produce of the revenue. Considerable excitement was the consequence, and the Burgomasters and Schepens determined to go "collectively" to the Director and Council, and demand the surrender of the entire excise, as then possessed by the Company, or permission to resign their offices, "since it is incompatible to continue thus any longer." But Stuyvesant would grant neither the one prayer nor the other. He had no power, he said, to accept their resignation, and he could not give up the whole excise. Thus forced to continue in office, the Burgomasters and Schepens again returned to the charge and reiterated their former demand. On condition that they should keep the public works in repair, maintain the civil and ecclesiastical servants, and lease the excise to the highest bidder, "after the manner of Fatherland," the Director-general consented at last to give up the excise on beer and wine "consumed within the city." An additional duty of eight florins (\$3.20) was at the same

¹ Johannes van Beeck, Pieter Cock, J. J. Schepmoes, J. J. Kuyper, Pieter Caespersen van Naarden, Claes Bordingh, Francois Fyn, J. J. de Jongh, Jacob van Dam, Coenraet Ten Eyck, Hans Rivers, Isaak de Foreest, Dirck Schelluyne, Hendrik Kip, Lambert Huybertzen Mol, Pieter Cornelissen van der Veen, Abraham La Noy, Jan Laurens Appel, Govert Lookermans, Johannes Pietersen van Brugge, Daniel Litschoe, Jacob van Couwenhoven, and Oloff Stevensen.

BOOK V.
 1653. time imposed on each hogshead of French wine, and four florins per anker of ten gallons on Spanish wine, brandy, and other distilled liquors, "which are used in this country in the greatest profusion." Still dissatisfied with their limited privileges, the Burgomasters and Schepens now

Dec. 24. determined to appeal to the Directors in Holland for power to administer the affairs of their municipality "according to the form of government of the beloved city of Amsterdam, as far as the same is practicable;" to choose a Burgher Schout, or at least nominate a double number from which the Director-general and Council might commission one. "Not having a sheriff of our own, we consider that we have not a complete bench of justice. The office of city Schout was, in their opinion, incompatible with that of the Company's Fiscaal, who "imprisons and releases citizens without the court's knowledge, and executes the court's judgments with contempt." They therefore requested these offices to be separated. They also demanded the whole of the excise without limitation; and as that did not amount to more than a third of the salaries for which they were to provide, and only sufficed to keep the public works in repair, they asked for power to levy new imposts and taxes, and to lease the ferry between their city and Breukelen. They called also for authority to ascertain what had been borrowed on bonds signed by the Director-general for the public defence, amounting, it was said, to 9000 guilders; to execute transfers, deeds of conveyance, and mortgages on property within their jurisdiction; to have a city seal separate from that of the province, and a goodly quantity of munitions of war, without which the country would decrease "and at length fall to the ground."

These documents, together with the remonstrance of the convention and all the papers connected therewith, were taken to Holland by François de Bleue, advocate, who was, at the same time, authorized to support the same by all the legitimate means in his power.

¹ New Amsterdam Rec. Anno 1653; Alb. Rec. viii., 96, 97; ix., 6, 7, 9.

CHAPTER IV.

The Burgomasters and Schepens demand again the privilege of nominating their successors—Refused—Piracies on the Sound—Measures to prevent these—Libellous pamphlet published in London against New Netherland—The Protector sends a fleet against the province—Hostile preparations in New England—Connecticut seizes Fort Good Hope—Stuyvesant receives information of the preparations at Boston—Summons the Council—Places New Amsterdam in a state of defence—The English on Long Island plot against their adopted country—Providence favors the Dutch—Peace between Holland and England—Action of the Amsterdam Directors on the remonstrance of 1653—Stuyvesant proceeds against the disaffected of Gravesend—Baxter and Hubbard dismissed from office—Reply of the Directors to the petition of the Burgomasters and Schepens for increased privilege—A sheriff for the city commissioned—Declines to act—Renewal of the difficulties between Stuyvesant and the city authorities—Reassumes the excise, and pays the salaries of the city officers—The views of the Burgomasters declared to be visionary—Expulsion of the Dutch by the Swedes from the South River—Stuyvesant retaliates—Proceedings in Europe regarding the boundary question—Plan of the Directors—Is forwarded to London—The Dutch Ambassadors' remarks—Further representations on the part of the Directors—Cromwell refuses to decide without hearing New England.

THE period for which the first set of Burgomasters and Schepens had been appointed being now about to expire, the acting magistrates applied to the Director and Council for leave to make a double nomination from which their successors for the ensuing year should be selected, and also requested that some compensation might be allowed them for their official services. The first part of this petition was refused; "for the sake of peace and harmony, and for the welfare of the city," the actual magistrates were continued in office, and the Director-general contented himself with filling two vacancies in the board of Schepens. As the city magistrates were "for the most part such persons as must maintain their houses and families by trade, farming or mechanical labor," the Burgomasters were each allowed three hundred and fifty guilders, the Schepens two hundred and fifty a year.¹

In the mean time, the piracies on the Sound, and the

¹ New Amst. Rec.; Alb. Rec. viii., 279, 288; ix., 70, 71.

BOOK V.
 1654. Feb. 10. robberies on Long Island continuing, the magistrates of New Amsterdam proposed to the Director and Council, that a force of forty men be raised from the several districts in the following proportions:—

| | | | |
|---------------------------|---|-------------------------|---|
| From the Manhattans, | 8 | Middleburgh and Mespath | |
| Breukelen, the Ferry, and | | Kill, | 3 |
| the Walloon quarter, | 4 | Gravesend, | 3 |
| Heemstede, | 4 | Vlissingen, | 3 |
| Rensselaerswyck, | 4 | Amersfoort, | 2 |
| Beverwyck, | 4 | Middelwout, | 2 |
| Staten Island, | 2 | Paulus Hook, | 1 |

Mar. 23. Letters were next addressed to Breukelen, Amersfoort and Middelwout, requesting them “to lend their aid at this critical conjuncture to further whatever may advance the

April 7. public defence.” This invitation was cordially responded to. These villages resolved on a levy en masse in case of invasion, and detailed every third man, in the mean time, to act as minute men, who were pledged to proceed at a moment’s notice, wherever warned.

April 8. The Director and Council determined now to dispatch an expedition against the privateers, and put into commission accordingly a number of yachts. But as these preparations might, if unexplained, excite jealousy and misunderstanding among the neighboring colonies, Burgomaster Krygier and Attorney-general Van Tienhoven

April 14. were deputed to inform Gov. Eaton, that their sole object was to protect commerce, and to punish public depredators. A proclamation was issued at the same time, forbidding all persons, under penalty of confiscation of their property and banishment, to harbor any pirates, for the arrest of each of whom a reward of one hundred thalers was offered; and every stranger travelling without a passport, was ordered to be arrested and detained, until he gave a satisfactory account of himself.¹ But a danger more imminent than had ever yet threatened New Netherland, impended now over that province, which, whilst it absorbed the attention and demanded the undi-

¹ Alb. Rec. vii., 264-266; ix., 80, 81, 107-113, 115-117, 120; N. A. Rec.

vided energies of the authorities, diffused the most profound alarm throughout the whole community.

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IV.

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The agents of New Haven and Connecticut found the public mind in England already strongly poisoned against the colonists of New Netherland, by a "most infamous lying libel at which the devil in hell would have been startled." This pamphlet, though published in London, was evidently of American manufacture, and was entitled "The second part of the Amboyna Tragedy; or a Faithful Account of a bloody, treacherous and cruel Plot of the Dutch in America, purporting the Total Ruin and Murder of all the English Colonists in New England." It charged the Dutch with having "stirred by presents and promises four principal heathen sagamores, great princes in the countries of the Manhattans, Narraganses, Pequots, and Massachusetts," "to make an assault on the English on a Sunday, when they would be altogether in their meeting-houses, and murder and burn all which they could effect."¹ By means of these and similar representations, those interested succeeded in obtaining an armament from the Protector, consisting of four ships, the *Raven*, the *Church*, the *Augustine*, and the *Hope*, for the reduction of the Manhattans and other places belonging to the Dutch. This expedition was placed under the command of Major Robert Sedgwick and Captain John Leverett, who were instructed to proceed, with the least delay possible, to some port in New England, and communicate the Lord Protector's letter, with which they were provided, to the several Governors of Connecticut, New Haven, Plymouth and Massachusetts, who were warmly urged to lend their co-operation and aid, in raising such land forces as were necessary to ensure success. On the country being conquered, all cruelty to the inhabitants was to be strictly avoided, and those so disposed, were to be encouraged to remain under the English government.²

Feb. 27.

¹ For this pamphlet, see App. G.

² Cromwell's letter, and the other papers relating to this expedition, will be found in Thurloe, i., 721, 722; ii., 259, 418, 419, 425. Smith, in his History of New York, i., 6, gives Richard Cromwell the credit of having authorized this expedition against the Manhattans. This is altogether erroneous. And it is

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Owing to adverse winds and other unfavorable circumstances, the flag ship of this fleet did not arrive in Boston until the beginning of June, though the Hope had cast anchor in that harbor five weeks before. The General Court at Hartford, impatient of delay, had already commenced hostilities. Paying no regard to Underhill's proceedings of the previous year, which they now virtually annulled, they passed the following act sequestering Fort Good Hope :—

“ This Court, considering the Order sent over from the Council of State, by authority of the Parliament of England, that as wee expect all due encouragement, aid and assistance from the said commonwealth of England as the state and condition of affairs will admit, so it is expected that wee should in all cases so demean ourselves against the Dutch as against those that have declared themselves enemies to the commonwealth of England ; Do therefore order and declare that the Dutch House, the Hope, with the lands, buildings and fences thereunto belonging, be hereby sequestered and reserved, all particular claims, or pretended right thereunto notwithstanding, in the behalf of the commonwealth of England, till a true trial may be had of the premises ; and in the mean time this Court prohibits all persons whatsoever from improving of the premises by virtue of any former title had, made, or given to them, or any of them, by any of the Dutch nation, or any other, without the approbation of this Court, or except it be by virtue of power and order received from them for their so doing ; and whatever rent for any part of the premises, in any of their hands, it shall not be disposed of but according to what order they shall receive from this court or the magistrates thereof.”¹

difficult to understand how Smith could have committed the error, inasmuch as he refers to Thurloe as his authority. Whoever will take the pains to turn to these “ Collections,” will find it asserted, (vol. ii., 419,) that Sedgwick and Leverett were “ commissioned by his Highness, Oliver, Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland.” Indeed, the date of the expedition is enough to show that it could not have been authorized by Richard Cromwell, who did not succeed his father until 1658.

¹ I am indebted to the Honorable J. W. Stuart, of Hartford, for a copy of the above Doc. Trumbull dates the act erroneously, March 15th, 1654. Under-

This was followed by the appointment of commissioners to meet the English commanders at Boston, a proceeding already adopted by New Haven and Plymouth. But Massachusetts, not willing to recede from the position which she had already taken, contented herself with granting permission to raise five hundred volunteers within her jurisdiction. In a few days the fleet was victualled, and by the end of the month, a force of nine hundred foot and a troop of horse was ready to march. Three hundred of these troops were from Massachusetts, two hundred from Connecticut, one hundred and thirty-three from New Haven, and two hundred from the fleet. New Plymouth failed in her promise altogether.²

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1654.
June 23.

However vigorously these arrangements were made, New Netherland was not unadvised of her danger. Sedgwick and Leverett had not yet arrived at Boston when Stuyvesant was informed by Isaac Allerton of their design. May 29 A meeting of the Council was immediately summoned. Were the citizens in a position to defend the province? would the country people "of our own nation" aid in such a work? were the questions which presented themselves at this crisis. An apprehension, "which he could May 30.

hill having given Gibbons and Lord a warranty deed of the premises, found himself in a disagreeable predicament, by the move of the Court at Hartford. He petitioned that body, 15th May, 1655, setting forth that their action "occasioned his utter undoing," and praying for leave to perfect the title he had given, he "having been a true and loyall subject according to his best ability." He incurred, he states, "threescore and odd pounds debt for ye souldiers," which must be paid, and for which "he expects his goods to be sold." Chalmers, alluding to Kieft's expulsion of the English from Oyster Bay, in 1642, says: "And as they were not a people patient of injury, they instantly seized the Dutch garrison of Fort Hope, on the river Connecticut, in the vicinity of Hartford, obliging them to recede within ten miles of the Hudson, which was afterwards confirmed by treaty." (Annals, 571.) It is difficult to find a sentence containing so many statements opposed to fact. There was an interval of thirteen or fourteen years between the expulsion of the English from Oyster Bay, (which occurred in 1640, not 1642,) and the confiscation of Fort Good Hope. The treaty of Hartford preceded that seizure by nearly three years, and consequently could not confirm that act. And yet he gives Smith and the N. E. historians as his authorities! It is singular that there is not the least reference or allusion to the seizure of the Dutch fort on the Connecticut, in all the records of Stuyvesant's administration, (and they are most abundant,) nor in any of the complaints of the West India Company against the English.

² Thurloe, i., 721, 722; ii., 259, 418, 419, 425; Rec. of New Haven General Court, 70.

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 1654. not overcome," forced itself on the Director-general, that "it was vain to expect any assistance from the people residing in the country—not even from the Dutch—in case of an unexpected attack from a powerful enemy." "They would contribute scarcely anything to our defence, nor move a single step from the spot on which they stood." "The English, although they have sworn allegiance, would take up arms against us and join the enemy." "To invite them to assist us would be to bring the Trojan horse within our walls." . . . "It is the unanimous opinion to pass them by." What then was to be done? Shall Fort Casimir be abandoned, and the freemen drawn from the South River? Would they come, if asked? Would not this be an abandonment and surrender of that "handsome country?" Shall the Solomon be allowed to sail? The magistrates, in that case, dread "the turmoil and clamors of the populace, for we have no gunners, no musketeers, no sailors, and scarcely sixteen hundred pounds of powder. Add to this, a number of people will attempt to depart in that ship!" Such was the forlorn condition of the capital, such the distracted state of its councils, at a moment when a powerful foe was on the eve of thundering at its gates. The affections of the Dutch were weakened; the enmity of the English assured. It was a truthful commentary on the system of misgovernment and oppression which had prevailed for so many years.

As something must be done, the Director-general proposed a loan to repair the fort and man the walls. The magistrates of Breukelen, Midwout and Amersfoort met the Council and Burgomasters and Schepens at the fort, June 2. when the resolution was taken to enlist, "in silence and without beat of drum," a force of between sixty and seventy men, and to borrow sufficient money to defray these expenses, as well as to furnish supplies to the city, "in case

¹ Bancroft, (Hist. U. S. ii., 312,) places these details under June, 1664, an error of ten years. Stuyvesant could not well have thought of inviting the English into New Amsterdam in June, 1664, since he had acknowledged the independence of those towns in March of that year, in a treaty which he made on Long Island, with Capt. John Scott.

it be besieged." To repay this loan an annual tax of twenty stivers per morgen on tillage land was to be levied, with the hundredth penny on each house and lot in New Amsterdam and Beverwyck; a guilder on each head of horned cattle over three years old, and the tenth of all merchandise to be exported this season. Stuyvesant had now thoroughly infused his own zeal into the hearts of all around him. Funds were provided. Every citizen wielded the pickaxe and mattock, and the public defences were put in decent repair.

But whilst the Dutch were thus engaged preparing against the public enemy, the English on Long Island were busy plotting against their adopted country. Gravesend, "where a gang of robbers, pirates, and other miscreants had been skulking for a long time," was the head-quarters of the malcontents, and of these George Baxter and Sergeant Hubbard were now the leading spirits. The disorders in this town were already of several years' standing. In the beginning of 1651, a party had succeeded in introducing certain changes in the mode of electing the magistrates, in evident contradiction to the provisions of their charter. Instead of openly and collectively nominating and electing "three of the ablest, approved honest men," it was enacted that "one leading man" should be chosen to nominate a second, "whom in his discretion he should think meet;" these two were then to select a third; the three a fourth, and these four a fifth and sixth. Of these six so chosen, three were to be magistrates for the first year, and the other three assistants when required, to succeed to the magistracy, if the townsmen did not object, and to be presented to the Director "in the place of the ould." This order was to be in force for two years "without alteration, the one sett the other alternately succeeding." In case any of these six should die or leave the town, those that remained in office were to propose others to fill the vacancy, this being, it was alleged, "the custom and manner of the moste wisest corporations soe to go on."

¹ Gravesend Rec., entry 9th Jan. 1651.

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1654.

The situation of affairs, at the time, was such as to induce the Director and Council to connive at these irregularities. Baxter, it is but right to add, objected to them, and called on the Director to veto the nomination, "for after this rate the most undeserving man may be chosen, to the trouble and undoing of honest men of good estates." When the nomination was sent in for the following year, its ratification was postponed, and finally allowed only on the magistrates taking an oath of fidelity to the authorities both in Holland and New Netherland.¹ But the occurrences of 1653 had seriously weaned men's affections from the government, and oaths of allegiance were no longer considered binding. Rumors of the intended massacre of the inhabitants of the English towns by Frenchmen and savages in the pay of the Dutch were industriously bruited abroad, and when the news came of the intended invasion from New England, Middleburgh proposed that the English should "open the ball," whilst Gravesend issued letters of marque; entered into a direct correspondence with Boston, and proposed to cut out the Company's ship, the Solomon, then lying before New Amsterdam, and carry her to Virginia.² In further prosecution of their disaffec-

¹ The engagement that you doe take is to bee true and faithfull in all loyaltie and fidelitie unto ye High and Mightie Lords ye States Generall of ye United Belgick Prouinces, and ye Lords Bewinthebbers of ye West India Companie and ye gouvernement heare established by their authoritie soe long as you shall continue in this their jurisdiction; you shall likewise doe your best endeavor for ye maintaining and upholding ye lawfull power and authoritie of this p'sent gouvernour ye Honourable Peeter Stuiuesant, Esq., and his lawfull successors, deputie or deputies, and all other lawfull power and authoritie subordinate under him and graunted to this towne; you shall doe your best indeauour for the suppression of all mutinous insurrections and rebellions and to maintaine ye peace and tranquillitie of ys province, and towne of Grauesande; you shall according to ye best of your knowledge and wisdom, doe equall right and justice to all p'ties, and in all actions and matters yt shall bee brought before you and depending before you without partialitie, fauour or affection, hatred or malice." Gravesend Rec., 19th March, 1652.

² On the trial of one Capt. John Manning, (April, 1654,) at New Haven, for having given aid and comfort to the Dutch during the preceding winter, he pleaded that he was acting as a spy, and produced in his defence a certificate "under the hands of Sir Henry Moody, Knight, and some others from Gravesend, directed to all Admiralls, Vice Admiralls, Captainnes, &c., that he had tendered himself and vessel to serve the commonwealth of England." This defence, however, did not save him. His vessel was sold "by inch of candle." Rec. of New Haven General Court, 46-49.

tion, the management of the affairs of the town was vested in a board of twelve men, who were empowered to choose magistrates and appoint all local officers, and the right of the Director and Council to pass on such nominations was altogether discarded.¹

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1654.

In New Amsterdam the English residents were equally active in correspondence with the enemy; spreading alarm everywhere; removing their goods and furniture; "stirring to mutiny the otherwise well-disposed" within, and communicating to privateers, without, the situation of the city. Proclamations were issued to stay these disorders. Persons found removing their property became subject to the confiscation of their effects and banishment; circulators of false reports were to be severely punished, and every means was adopted to arrest the progress of the general disorganization.

But at a moment when society was resolving itself into its primary elements, it pleased Providence to save the country from the dangers with which it was threatened. The English fleet was on the eve of sailing from Boston, when a London merchant ship entered that port with a copy of the proclamation of Peace "between Judah and Benjamin—England and Holland—to the exulting joy of those who delight in the glory of God and who love their Fatherland." A day of general thanksgiving was immediately proclaimed. "Praise the Lord, O England's Jerusalem; and Netherland's Sion, praise ye the Lord! He hath secured your gates, and blessed your possessions with peace, even here, where the threatened torch of war was lighted; where the waves reached our lips, and subsided only through the power of the Almighty"—were the

¹ Alb. Rec. x., 71; xi., 12. It was not until March, 1661, that these irregularities were formally rescinded. At a general meeting of the inhabitants, on the 22d of that month, for the election of officers according to the patent, "it was then and their ordered and agreed upon and unto, that whatsoever formerlie hath beene any practice or costome amongst us, contrary unto ye pattent in ye choice of officers as above said, and alsoe contrary to ye orders of ye towne established heare amongst us, thatt all such costoms, manners, and practices, shall for ye future bee null and voide, and not for any president or example for further practice." Grav. Rec. entry 1661, 22d March.

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grateful terms in which Director Stuyvesant announced the good news to the anxious burghers.¹

1654. The vessel which brought the proclamation of peace to the Manhattans, brought also the conclusions of the Chamber at Amsterdam on the remonstrances of the past year.

Mar. 18. De Bleue, the popular agent, was at once forbidden to return to New Netherland, "as such commissions were not to the taste of the Directors," who avowed that they were "unable to discover in the whole remonstrance one single point to justify complaint." "The ground-work of the whole was a frivolous pretext to palliate rising faction and sedition." "You," said they, addressing the Director-general, "ought to have acted with more vigor against the ringleaders of the gang, nor have condescended to answer protests by protests, and then to have passed all by without further notice. For as it is the height of presumption in the people to protest against the government, so the rulers prostitute their authority when they use only protests against their subjects, and dare not punish them as they deserve." "It is, therefore, our express command that you punish what has occurred as it deserves, that others may be deterred in future from following such examples." "Arms and ammunition" were sent out to bring "the seditious" of Gravesend to a sense of their duty, and to punish them "in an exemplary manner;" whilst a special lecture was conveyed to the Burgomasters and Schepens, "three of whom, instigated by other disaffected persons, dared, not only to call a meeting, but to present remonstrances, which at this period must be considered highly injurious, all pretexts to the contrary notwithstanding." "You are, therefore, recommended, yea, commanded to conduct yourselves quietly and peaceably; subjecting yourselves to the government under which you have been placed, and carefully avoiding to assist at English or other conventicles, either for deliberating on affairs of state, which is not your province, or what is yet worse, for the contemplation of a

¹ Alb. Rec. ix., 71, 132-160, 166-171, 179-183; xi., 12; N. A. Rec. News of the peace reached the Manhattans 16th July, 1654.

reform in the state and its government, for which we have been pleased to give you this warning, before we be compelled to other measures.¹ The chalice of retribution was now to be tasted by those who, in 1649-50, had, through the desire of pleasing those in power, separated themselves from their fellow-colonists. Baxter and Hubbard were at once summarily superseded in their office as magistrates. But whilst exercising this prerogative, Stuyvesant deemed it wise to allay any ill-feeling that it might occasion. With this prudent intent, he paid a visit to Gravesend, called the people together, and expressed to them his willingness that they should nominate new magistrates, or if they were not so disposed, they might remain, until next election, under the actual board, or add a fourth member to the court then composed of one magistrate, the sheriff and town clerk. The people, however, were unanimously satisfied with things as they were, and matters remained undisturbed for the remainder of the winter.²

In expressing their displeasure at the magistracy of New Amsterdam, for having joined the English settlers in complaints against the local government, the Directors in Holland thought it best to treat in a different manner the petition of the Burgomasters and Schepens for an enlargement of their charter. They consented to the separation of the offices of Sheriff and Attorney-general, but insisted that the appointment to the former office should remain in the hands of the Director and Council. The excise on beer and wine was granted them on condition that they pay the public salaries, and if they were inclined to impose further taxes "without offending the commonalty," such was permitted, with the consent of the local authorities. They were likewise invested with power to execute transfers, mortgages and other conveyances of property within the city's limits, and were granted a city seal and a city hall. But the arms and ammunition which they required could only be had from the Director-general and Council.

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1654.

Nov. 23.

May 18.

¹ Alb. Rec. iv., 135-137, 143.

² Ibid. ix., 75, 106, 287.

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1654.

With these instructions came a commission for Jochem Pietersen Kuyter as city sheriff, but that gentleman did not live to enjoy this merited vindication of his character from the aspersions which had been cast on it at the commencement of this administration. He had been unfortunately murdered in the course of this year by the Indians.¹

July 21. Jacques Cortelyou, tutor to the Honorable Mr. Van Werckhoven's sons, was therefore nominated to that office. This person, however, declined the appointment. He had scruples on some points in his instructions, and the separation of the shrievalty and attorney-generalship was, in consequence, indefinitely postponed, though the Burgomasters had urged the appointment of another person.²

The dispute between the Director-general and the city magistrates, on the management and control of the excise, revived soon after the return of peace. The latter were Aug. 2. called on to provide for the maintenance of the civil and

¹ Alb. Rec. iv., 136.

² Jacques Cortelyou died in 1693, leaving five children—Jacques, Peter, Cornelius, Helena, and Maria. He was a surveyor by profession, and subsequently became one of the leaders in New Utrecht, where he obtained from Stuyvesant a transfer of Van Werckhoven's tract called the Nyack patent. JACQUES (the 2d) married Annetje 1690, and died 1726. He had nine children, viz.: Meeltie, Geertie, Helena, Jacques, (who died an infant,) Hendrik, (died 1705,) Neeltie, Marya, Jacques, (3d,) and Hendrik. JACQUES (3d) married in 1730, and died in 1747, at the age of forty years, leaving Jacques, (4th,) Antie, Altie, and Isaac, who married, June 28th, 1767, Altie, widow of Johannes Loot, (or Lott,) by whom he had Martha. (still living at Flatbush,) Jacques, (5th,) Altie, (who married O'Blennis,) still living, Angeltie, Johannes, (still living,) Hendrik, Isaac, and Daniel. Isaac Cortelyou, the father of these children, was one of the minute men for Kings county in the Revolutionary war; when the English landed at the Narrows, some of his property was burned, and to save the remainder, he was forced to accept one of Lord Howe's protections and become one of the "King's friends." He enjoyed, however, the confidence of his neighbors, and held office after the peace. PETER Cortelyou, like his father, followed surveying; his children were Peter, Cornelis, Helena, Willem, Maria, Debora, and Neeltie, the first of whom was born in 1699—the last in 1712. His son Peter died in 1764, at the age of 65 years, leaving Jacques and Simon. Jacques, (son of Peter,) had Jacques, Timothy Townsend Cortelyou, the former of whom still resides at the old Cortelyou mansion, which was built at Gowanus, in 1697. Timothy T. died leaving Sarah, Johannes, Anne Maria, Timothy T., Trulove Jane, Ida, William Couwenhoven, and Mary, several of whom still live on the Nyack patent. Simon (son of Peter) had property in New Jersey, in the neighborhood of Middletown Point. He left several children, some of whom still reside in New Jersey, others in Flatbush, Kings co., L. I. Perhaps there is not a family in this State, the members of which are less scattered than this.

ecclesiastical servants, as well as for the support of the military who had already arrived and were still expected in greater numbers; and they were further ordered to send in an account of the receipts and expenditures of the city revenue. The magistrates replied by expressing their willingness to furnish their quota to the amount of three thousand guilders, or one-fifth of the whole sum necessary to pay the debt incurred for the repairs of the public works, provided they were authorized to levy a tax on all real estate within their jurisdiction. They sent in, at the same time, the accounts which had been called for. On the examination of these papers, it turned out that they had not paid the clergymen their salaries, as they had promised. "What was worse," they had credited themselves with many items which could not be allowed—among others, with "a certain sum paid to François de Bleue," to defray his expenses as their agent to Amsterdam. The Director and Council thereupon resolved to re-assume the excise which they had already surrendered, and farm the same on the Company's account. Matters being brought to this pass, the Burgomasters and Schepens thought it most prudent to propose, on receipt of the excise, to provide, at the city's expense, for the salary of one clergyman; one chorister to act as beadle and schoolmaster; one sheriff; two burgomasters; five schepens; one secretary, and one court messenger. As to the military, they considered that the citizens, who were already overtaxed for the fortifications, and were obliged to go on expeditions, being in the front of danger, were not able to meet this burthen, as that force was not intended for the city alone, but for the country in general. They had already pledged themselves to raise three thousand guilders on certain conditions, and this they still were willing to do.

These propositions did not satisfy the Director-general. The promise to complete the fort, after the city had been secured, was not redeemed. The monies already borrowed were expended in defending the city, and not in repairing the fort. Those who advanced that loan were urgent for its repayment. The Burgomasters and Schepens had re-

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1654.

Aug. 10.

Aug. 31.

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- ceived the excise, but had not furnished the subsidies which they had so solemnly promised, and now presumed to fix their quota at three thousand guilders, when it was notorious that they had collected more than that sum. They had not contributed a farthing towards repairing the public works, yet they pretended, "very abusively," to give a good example. As they had now failed in their duty, and had not paid the clergymen, schoolmaster nor beadle, the Director and Council reclaimed the excise, and farmed it out. "Both the gospel ministers" were paid, and the whole subject was again referred to the Lords Patroons in Holland for their decision. The Amsterdam Directors were not in the best of humor on receiving intelligence of the obstinacy of the city fathers. They immediately instructed Stuyvesant to use his authority to enforce the orders he had already received, "so that these men may no longer indulge in the visionary dream that contributions cannot be levied without their consent!"
- Sep. 16.
- Nov. 23.

The misunderstandings which prevailed through the past year between the government and the colonists, were beneficial, at least, in one respect. They led to the concession of enlarged political privileges to the hitherto neglected Dutch settlements on Long Island. In 1653, the claim of Breukelen, Midwout and Amersfoort to a representation in the convention, was absolutely denied by the Director-general, as they had "no right of jurisdiction." With a view, however, to destroy the political preponderance of the English towns, the government then announced its intention "to grant a court of justice to the villages of Amersfoort, Breukelen and Midwout," in the course of the ensuing spring,² in order to entitle them to such a representation; for under the feudal law it was the fief, whether manor or town, that was entitled to be represented, and not the people, and no delegation could exist without a local court from which it could emanate.

Breukelen had already her own court of schepens,

¹ Alb. Rec. iv., 137, 168; viii., 126; ix., 144, 148, 149, 174, 182, 189, 211-216, 218-224.

² Alb. Rec. ix., 16, 35, 47.

dependent, however, on the court at Fort Amsterdam. Her magistrates were now increased from two to four. Midwout obtained the right to nominate three, and Amersfoort two Schepens.¹ The latter two towns formed, however, but one inferior district until 1661, when they were separated.²

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~
1654.
April.

These courts had separate local jurisdiction in all matters relating to the police, peace and security of their town, which extended in criminal matters over cases of fighting, threatening, &c.; offences of a graver character being reserved to the Director and Council. In civil matters they could take cognizance of suits to the amount of 50 gl. Over this sum, to a further definite amount, an appeal lay to a superior "district court," which was composed of certain of the magistrates delegated from each town court, and a sheriff, who acted also as clerk. To this district court was committed the superintendence of such affairs as were of common interest, viz.: laying out roads, the observance of the Sabbath, erection of churches, schools and other public buildings, with power to enact orders necessary for the regulation of such matters, subject to the approval of the provincial authorities. It was also a court of record of limited extent.

David Provoost, former commissary of Fort Good Hope, was the first sheriff of this district. He was succeeded in January, 1656, by Pieter Tonneman, who acted until August, 1660, when Adriaen Hegeman was appointed. The salary of this officer was 200 gl. a year, with half the "civil" fines imposed by the court, and one-third of the "criminal" fines levied by each town, together with certain fees, as clerk, for entries and transcripts. Bushwyck and New Utrecht were annexed to this jurisdiction in 1661, when it was called the district of the "Five Dutch Towns." It became afterwards, with New Town and Staten Island, the west riding of Yorkshire; and in 1673, on the reconquest of the country, Gravesend and the "five" Dutch towns were erected into a separate district under a charter

¹ Alb. Rec. x., 36, 342.

² Ibid. xix., 91.

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V.

of incorporation from Governor Colve,¹ and now constitute the county of Kings.

1654.

Hitherto, however, the Dutch towns had neither clergyman nor church, and the inhabitants, of necessity, attended divine worship at New Amsterdam. The Reverend Johannes Theodorus Polhemus, who had been previously minister at Itamarca in Brazil, having now arrived in the province, received a call from Midwout, where a small cruciform church, some sixty feet by twenty-eight, was soon after erected by general subscription. It was the first Dutch church on Long Island: the congregation was composed of the adjoining towns, and here divine service was performed every Sunday morning; the afternoon sermon being preached alternately at Breukelen and Amersfoort.²

Affairs on the South River were, meanwhile, approaching

¹ Alb. Rec. ix., 118, 226; x., 16, 47, 79, 115, 240, 302; xi., 187; Flatbush Rec. Strong, Hist. Flatbush, (New York, 1842,) p. 26, copying, we presume, Wood, refers the establishment of the "Five Dutch Towns" to a period subsequent to the surrender of this colony to the English. This is an error. It existed in 1661.

² N. A. Rec.; Alb. Rec. iv., 179; ix., 238, 302; x., 332. Dominie Polhemus was joined by his wife, Catharine, in 1656. He had two children, Theodorus and Daniel, from whom have descended all those of the name in this country. By the arrival of the Rev. Mr. Selyns, in 1660, Breukelen was separated from the church of Flatbush. In 1665, the congregation of Amersfoort demanded to be put on an equal footing with that of Flatbush, in respect to church service, and that Mr. P. should preach each alternate Sunday forenoon to them, for which they would pay him 400 gl. a year, "light money," being the same as he got from Flatbush. The latter congregation objected to this arrangement, and persisted in retaining the Dominie at 400 gl. per annum, "wampum currency." This caused his reverence to appeal to Gov. Nicolls, who decided that each church should have equal attendance, that is, morning and evening service on alternate Sabbaths, for which Amersfoort (now Flatlands) should pay a sum equal to what it agreed to give the Company for tenths, and Midwout fl. 400 a year, until her tenths would be due, when these were to be appropriated as those of Flatlands. Midwout (or Flatbush) would not agree to this, and a sharp letter (June 1st) came in consequence from the Governor's secretary. This was submitted to the congregation on the 18th, who resolved unanimously to content themselves with a Precentor, (voorleezer,) as the congregation was still weak. On the following day a resolution to the same effect was passed at a meeting of the constables, magistrates and consistory of the villages of Amersfoort and Midwout, and Dom. Polhemus was dismissed. [Flatbush Rec.] He died 9th June, 1676, "the worthy and beloved pastor" of the church of Brooklyn, whereby (the Records of that church say) the congregation was "deprived of his pious instructions, godly example, and edifying preaching, especially in the administration of the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper."

a crisis. Governor Printz having returned to Europe, his son-in-law, John Pappegoia, succeeded him in the government over the Swedes.¹ Being unprovided with supplies, these people experienced much suffering, and in despair of receiving any succor, applied to the Dutch to be received as their subjects. Though the Directors in Holland had no objection to accord the right of citizenship to all such as were willing to submit to their laws, Stuyvesant did not encourage the Swedish colonists to abandon their legitimate protectors;² and in the fall of this year the Swedish Company made a new effort to improve the condition of their transatlantic settlement, which now numbered only sixteen persons.³ The proposals they offered were, in most respects, similar to those contained in the Dutch charters. All persons establishing on the Company's lands as many settlers as possible at their own expense, were permitted to cultivate the soil free of any charges for a certain number of years, and whoever should purchase land might hold the same forever, "with all the allodial franchises customary" to Sweden. Those who resorted thither in their own vessels were to enjoy freedom of trade on the South River and in the interior, "as well with the savages as Christians and the Company; and ascend and descend the river free of all duties, except two per cent. ad valorem." Imports into Sweden were to be exempt from all duties and charges. Foreigners, however, were not to be permitted to trade on the South River with the natives—only with the Swedish Company.

CHAP.
IV.

1654.

Oct. 11.

John Claude Rysingh, Secretary to the Chamber of

¹ John Pappegoia came, for the second time, to New Sweden in November, 1643, with a letter of recommendation from the Queen, to Printz, whose daughter he afterwards married. Printz returned to Europe in or about October, 1653, when Pappegoia succeeded him.

² Alb. Rec. iv., 121; Hol. Doc. viii., 84.

³ Van Beuningen, the Dutch Ambassador to the Court of Sweden, writing from Stockholm to the States General, 11th October, 1653, says: "They are making ready here a ship which is yet to go before winter to New Sweden, with two hundred persons, to plant and benefit the colony which the American Company here hath there. Those that came from thence lately, say they left but sixteen persons there, wherewith three forts were possest." Thurloe's State Papers, i., 524.

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1654.
Dec. 12.
- Commerce, was commissioned as Vice Director of New Sweden, at a salary of twelve hundred silver dollars, with an outfit of one thousand more. He was instructed to fortify the colony and to extend the Swedish possessions, "but without interrupting the friendship existing with the English or Dutch." "With respect to the fortress (Casimir) which the Dutch had erected on our coast, if he cannot induce them to abandon it by arguments and serious remonstrances, and without resorting to hostilities," he was to content himself with protests, "and permit the Dutch to occupy this fort, rather than it should fall into the hands of the English, who are the more powerful, and, of course, the most dangerous in that country." But he was ordered, notwithstanding, to construct a fort lower down towards the mouth of the river, "below that of the Dutch, in order to defend the passage and render theirs useless." The mildest measures were to be resorted to, as hostilities would not increase the strength of the Swedes; on the contrary, they would only result to the advantage of the English, "the very dangerous neighbors to our possessions in the said country." John Amundson Besh, captain in the navy, accompanied Rysingh as military commander. On the return of Printz to Europe, Rysingh was to succeed him as Governor, and establish "a council of the best instructed and most noble officers in the country," of which he was to be president, "in such a manner, however, that neither he, in his charge, nor Amundson in his, shall decide or approve anything, without reciprocally consulting each other." Thus instructed and commissioned, he sailed in the Swedish ship, the *Aren*, for the South River.
- May 31. On the evening of the last of May, 1654, Gerrit Bikker, commandant of Fort Casimir, espied a strange sail. Not knowing whence it came, he hoisted the Prince's flag and dispatched Adriaen van Tienhoven to enquire her business, who returned in a short time, with intelligence that it was a Swedish vessel having a new Governor and a number of people on board, who had expressed their de-

termination to reduce the place.¹ Van Tienhoven and the other freemen thereupon called on the commander to defend the fort, but the latter demurred. "What can I do? there is no powder." The Swedes gave them not much time to consider. Swen Schute entered the fort, sword in hand, at the head of from twenty to thirty men. Bikker instead of offering any resistance, "welcomed them as friends," and struck his flag without firing a shot. The Swedish soldiers then disarmed the garrison, "Bikker remaining silent all the time." Van Tienhoven, however, obtained permission to return on board the Swedish ship, with a view to obtain some explanation of this violence. Rysingh stated that he was acting in pursuance to orders received from the crown of Sweden, whose ambassadors at the Hague had been told, by the States General and the West India Company, that they had not authorized the erection of this Dutch fort on Swedish soil; the Directors adding, "if our people are in your Excellency's way, drive them off." "Thereupon the Swedish Governor slapped Van Tienhoven on the breast, and said, 'Go! tell your Governor that.'" On Van Tienhoven's return, he found the fort surrounded by Swedish sentinels, by whose permission only he was allowed to enter. The Dutch freemen were permitted to remove, or to remain in the vicinity, as they pleased, but in the latter case they were obliged to swear allegiance to the Swedish crown. Through respect of the day on which this feat was achieved, the name of the fortress was changed to Fort Trinity.² The news of this aggression, committed in time of profound peace and in direct opposition to instructions, caused considerable

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May 31.

July 27.

¹ Bozman, who has a peculiar aptitude for confounding dates, states that this transaction occurred in 1652. He was led astray apparently by Chalmers, whom he quotes as his authority.

² Hol. Doc. viii., 45, 46, 85, 90, 106. "On the capture of this fort by the Swedes," (writes Bozman, op. cit. ii., 490,) "the name of it was changed from Niewer Amstel to Fort Casimir, probably in honor of John Casimir, then King of Poland, for whose election Christina had become a zealous advocate." Here is mistake on mistake. It was not called Niewer Amstel until 1656, when it was transferred to the city of Amsterdam. On obtaining possession, the Swedes called it (not Fort Casimir, for that was the name it already had, but) Fort Trinity, from the fact of their acquiring it on Trinity Sunday.

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 1654. sensation in New Amsterdam. Chance soon furnished Stuyvesant with an opportunity to retaliate. Unprovided with a pilot and unacquainted with the coast, the Golden Shark, belonging to Sweden, ran in behind Staten Island. Sep. 22. Captain Van Elswyck, finding his mistake, dispatched a boat to the Mannhattans for a pilot. The crew on landing were taken to the guard-house; eight soldiers were sent on board the vessel, which was seized, and the factor brought a prisoner to New Amsterdam.

The Director-general thought that he could now induce Rysingh to restore Fort Casimir, and with that view authorized Van Elswyck to visit him, and to request that he should either come in person, or send a qualified agent to the Mannhattans, to settle the difficulties between them. Letters of safe conduct were furnished for such person as he should depute. But Rysingh would not accept the invitation. Oct. 9. Nothing remained but to detain the ship and remove her cargo to the public store. The factor, previous to repairing to the South River, protested against all this; Stuyvesant retorted, and there the matter dropped.¹ Oct. 27.

The affairs of the province being now in a position not to require the personal superintendence of the Director-general, that officer determined to visit the West Indies with a view to establish a trade between Barbadoes, the Spanish plantations thereabout, and New Netherland. He sailed on Christmas eve, in the *Abraham's Sacrifice*, having Dec. 15. received, previous to his departure, a sumptuous entertainment at the City Hall, from the Burgomasters and Schepens, and delivered to Martin Krygier, the presiding Burgomaster, the painted coat of arms, the seal, and the silver signet belonging to the city.² The Burgomasters and Schepens endeavored to obtain, before he sailed, the right to nominate a list of persons from which the new magistrates for the ensuing year should be selected. But this effort, like

¹ Alb. Rec. ix., 236, 241, 242, 245, 246, 263-271.

² Alb. Rec. ix., 297, 298, 306; x., 26, 70. The Chamber at Amsterdam, alluding subsequently to Stuyvesant's West India voyage, say: "It has astonished us and given us but small contentment, because it is undertaken without our knowledge or approbation." Alb. Rec. iv., 180.

all those which preceded it, was unsuccessful. The Council continued to fill all vacancies in the board.¹

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The recent demonstration against New Netherland must have convinced the Directors in Holland that unless the question of boundaries was settled, their North American possessions were by no means secure. They brought the subject, therefore, a third time, before their High Mightinesses, calling their attention particularly to the dangers to which those were exposed from the encroaching disposition and superior numbers of the English, who had already usurped, and were still attempting to encroach on, the territory rightfully belonging to the Dutch. With this application was submitted a statement on the boundary question, in which the settlement of the country, from the incorporation of the West India Company to the present time, was reviewed at considerable length. From data therein laid down, it was assumed that the province extended from Cape Henlopen, on the south, to Cape Cod, on the north, Long Island included, "as these have been considered the limits of old." "But, since circumstances prevented the Company occupying, of late, this territory, and as the English have, against all law of nations, come within the limits of Fort Hope on the Fresh River, in opposition to repeated protests, even unto Greenwich, about eight (Dutch) miles from New Amsterdam; planted on these usurped lands divers towns, villages and hamlets; retained these by force of arms, and established several settlements on the east end of Long Island, the whole of which belongs of right to the Netherlands; and inasmuch as the subjects of their High Mightinesses cannot maintain the limits, which they originally assumed, the line might, with a view "to peace and good neighborhood in North America," run now from Cape Henlopen to Montauk Point, embracing all the adjoining islands, and thence to the Pequod, or Thames River, or at least to the Connecticut, as the eastern limit; to include Hartford, New Haven, and the other towns as far as Greenwich, who might be

¹ Alb. Rec. ix., 101, 102, 175, 298; New Amst. Rec., Anno 1654.

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allowed their own government, on acknowledging the sovereignty of the States General and the Company, on payment to the latter of such rents, either in tenths or other royalties, as may be agreed on. Foreseeing, however, that it would, after the Hartford treaty, be impossible to obtain such favorable terms as these, it was proposed finally to start from the mouth of the Delaware, and run thence north along the coast so as to include the whole of Long Island, and terminate at Stamford, "which would be divided by a stream from Greenwich," "in which case the little villages of South Hampton and Southold might be conveyed to this state." Fort Good Hope and the lands on Fresh River might, then, be held by agreement as a manor, "together with the plain which lies eastward from the hill to the river." As the Connecticut, by this arrangement, would fall to the English, it was further advised that the navigation of that stream should be free to both nations. "But it may, at the same time, be understood that no vessels from Fatherland should have free access to that river, except those having a permit from the Directors, or commissioned by the authorities of New Netherland."

Nov. 27. These papers were forwarded to the Dutch ambassadors at London, with instructions to negotiate a boundary line. But this they found impracticable. They were unprovided with any argument or facts, so necessary in negotiations "with this nation." First occupation and possession, with sometimes the purchase of the land, were merely assumed, but no proofs, either of one or the other, were placed in their hands. That the Dutch had neither patent nor evidence of purchase had, they remarked, been already objected by the English, who now, as far as they could learn, denied that they had any title, either by acquisition or prior possession. Reference had been made by Stuyvesant in his letters to a provisional treaty concluded at Hartford in 1650, but to prove its existence they had no document, nor authentic paper, the production of which would, in a matter of such importance, be of absolute ne-

¹ Hol. Doc. viii. 63-96; Verbael van Beverninck, (4to. Hague, 1725,) 606.

cessity. In the discussion on the Thirty-six Articles, the English had already pretended total ignorance of their High Mightinesses having any colonies in America, and had refused to consider in any way this boundary question. And as nothing would be concluded on the subject in Britain, without the consent of the people of New England, the ambassadors gave it as their opinion, that it would be better to treat for a joint commission empowering the authorities in America to settle the matter on the spot. With this view they prepared a draft of certain propositions to that effect, which, with the approbation of the States General, they would submit, at a proper season, to the British Court.¹ The Company considered that arrangements could best be made in England, on the basis of the *uti possidetis*; yet they would not object to the reference of the question back to America. As they had not in their possession the papers demanded by the ambassadors, nor, indeed, any copy of the Hartford treaty, they were unable to proceed further in the negotiation.² They, therefore, were forced to content themselves with sending in another long statement, compiled from various sources, re-urging priority of discovery and occupancy of the territories in question, and reiterating "the violent and unexampled usurpations of the English on lands within the Company's jurisdiction." This document was transmitted to London, but no satisfaction could be obtained. New England had not communicated any information on the subject, and the Lord Protector, having no knowledge of these matters, could not be expected to decide thereon positively, on the mere allegations of one party.³

¹ Hol. Doc. vii., 122-125.

² Alb. Rec. iv., 177.

³ Hol. Doc. vii., 105, 114-126, 129-150, 169, 170, 177; Verbael van Beverninck, 612, 688, 693, 694; Thurloe, iii., 477.

CHAPTER V.

Baxter proceeds to New England—Returns to Gravesend and proclaims Cromwell—Is arrested with Hubbard—Progress of affairs at Gravesend—Further encroachments on Long Island—Pell's settlement at Westchester—Steps taken by the Directors to recover the South River—Result of Stuyvesant's visit to Barbadoes—The Dutch expedition to the South River—Expulsion of the Swedes—Agreement with Governor Rysingh—The Indians unexpectedly invade New Amsterdam—Collision between them and the Dutch—Massacre at Pavonia and Staten Island—Stuyvesant returns from the South River—Negotiates with the Indians—Rysingh arrives at New Amsterdam—Protests against Stuyvesant—The latter's reply—Rysingh's rejoinder—Memorial sent by the Dutch to Holland—Deliberations of the Council—Excise increased—Treaty with the Long Island Indians.

BOOK V.
 1655. Jan. SMARTING under his personal grievances, Baxter, on being dismissed the magistracy, repaired to New England, whence, crossing the East River on the ice, he proceeded to Long Island, and circulated, everywhere, the report that the English fleet had returned victorious from Acadia, and that the Protector had given orders to the Governors of the English colonies to take Long Island from the Dutch, willingly or unwillingly, before the ensuing month of May. The Council at Fort Amsterdam sent Burgomaster Anthony and Van Tienhoven to the English villages, at the opening of the navigation, to allay the threatened ferment. They
 Mar. 9. arrived at Gravesend to witness the hoisting of the British ensign by Baxter, Hubbard, and James Grover, the last of whom accompanied the act by reading, three times in succession, the following declaration:—

“WE, individuals of the English nation here present, do, for divers reasons and motives, as free-born British subjects, claim and assume to ourselves the laws of our nation and Republic of England over this place, as to our persons and property, in love and harmony, according to the general peace between the two states in Europe and this country. God Almighty preserve the Republic of Eng-

land and His Highness the Lord Protector, and also the continuance of peace between the two countries. Amen." CHAP.
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This act of sedition was too flagrant to be passed over in silence. Baxter and Hubbard were immediately arrested and transferred to the keep at Fort Amsterdam, and their property seized. The public mind was now in too agitated a state to permit a calm election. "The loyal inhabitants" of the village petitioned that it may be further postponed, "until it shall please God Almighty to bless our Governor, the Director-general, with a safe return." It was not until the summer that circumstances justified the holding of this election. The sheriff, and Lady Moody, "as the oldest and first patentee," were then ordered to nominate, with the other inhabitants, proper persons to act as magistrates of their town. This nomination was accordingly sent in, but it was accompanied by a strong protest on the part of the Dutch settlers, who demanded that the new officers be not confirmed, on the grounds, 1st, that the order for the election was never communicated to them; 2d, that persons were admitted to vote who had conspired against the state, or had fled the country, "tortured by their consciences," or had been imprisoned for high crimes; 3d, that no hired Dutchman was allowed to vote in the absence of his master; 4th, that several persons had publicly stated that no Dutchman should be chosen a magistrate, or if this happened, they would quit the country; and lastly, because it is required that the orders of the patentees, "who were continually the magistrates, though many of them had been actually exiled or imprisoned for their malversations," shall be punctually obeyed, which the Dutch settlers averred they could promise no further than it comported with the welfare of the state in which they lived. Public policy and the ends of justice overruled these objections, and the magistrates, having been chosen "by a majority of the inhabitants," were duly confirmed.¹

¹ Alb. Rec. ix., 287; x., 8, 9, 29, 31, 67, 68, 71-74, 76; xi., 6, 12-17, 21; Hol. Doc. ix., 165, 232, 233. The Hon. Silas Wood, in noticing the case of Baxter and Hubbard, (Sketch of the Settlement of the Several Towns on Long Island,

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1655. Meanwhile a party of Englishmen from Sandwich, taking advantage of the troubles which distracted the country, purchased in 1653 a tract of land adjoining Oyster Bay on Long Island from the Indians, whereon they commenced a settlement, and applied for incorporation into the colony of New Haven.¹ Complaints of this infraction of the treaty of Hartford were transmitted to the authorities of New England in the fall of 1654, but without being productive of any result. A protest was then served on the leaders of the settlement, who were threatened with prosecution should they persist in their trespass. Oyster Bay was a disputed territory. The Dutch maintained that it was within their lines; the English pretended the contrary; and as the point was not worth fighting about, the newcomers were left almost entirely to themselves.²

Mar. 23.

It was not on Long Island alone that the Dutch territory was invaded. Regardless of the title already acquired by purchase both by Kieft and Stuyvesant, Thomas Pell, of Fairfield, laid claim to the Vreelandt tract in Westchester,

40, 41,) has committed a number of mistakes. He first represents that "the Governor refused to confirm their election." This was not so. He removed them from office for a violation of the patent. He next states that he conceded to Lady Moody at his visit to Gravesend, 23d Nov. 1654, "the nomination of the magistrates that year, and her popularity reconciled the people to the measure, and produced submission to the arbitrary act of the Governor." This may be a very gallant version of the matter, but it is not a true one. Stuyvesant proposed then that the people should elect new magistrates, but this was declined, and we have shown that the election was again postponed in the spring of 1655, at the request of the settlers themselves, out of respect to Stuyvesant's absence in the West Indies. The Director-general did not concede "the nomination of the magistrates" to her ladyship at any time. By the charter, such nomination was vested in the inhabitants, and he would have been acting illegally, had he conceded that nomination to any individual. She was called on as one of "the patentees," "with the other inhabitants," to send in a nomination, as was always done. All this was according to law, and not for the purpose which Mr. Wood represents. Mr. Thompson has been led into error also by Mr. Wood.


¹ Rec. Gen. Court of New Hav. 63, 96. The consideration paid for this tract was six coats, six kettles, six fathoms of wampum, six hoes, six hatchets, three pairs of stockings, thirty awl-blades, twenty knives, three shirts, "and as much peague as will amount to £4 stg." The purchasers were Samuel Mayo, Peter Wright, William Leveridge, — Washborne, Charles Armitage, Daniel Whitehead, Anthony Wright, Robert Williams, John Washborne, Richard Holbrooke. Oyster Bay Rec.

² Alb. Rec. ix., 256; x., 9, 10, 32; Hol. Doc. ix., 261.

under the color of a conveyance from the Indians, and commenced selling land there to several persons from Connecticut.¹ The marshal was immediately dispatched with a protest against this trespass also. But the Dutch title was not recognized by the English squatters. Under the arms of England, which they had carved on a tree, four armed men met the court messenger as he entered the creek in front of their settlement, and demanded his business. On being informed that he wished to land, he was told that he could not do so. "But I'm cold," he replied; "let me warm myself;" and hereupon he sprang ashore. Here he was forthwith surrounded, and detained, "without being able to advance a foot," until the commandant of the place arrived. He made his appearance pistol in hand, the muzzle thrust right before him. He was accompanied by eight or ten armed followers, and to these Van Elslandt read the paper with which he was charged, and which, having concluded, he offered to their leader. But the latter refused to receive it, on the ground that he did not understand Dutch. Had it been in English he would have replied to it. "When the decision of the authorities in Europe would be received on the boundary question, then he should understand whether

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¹ Rec. of the General Court of New Haven, 135. Thomas Pell, of Norfolk, Gentleman of the Bedchamber to Charles I., emigrated to New England about 1642, in which year he appears by the Records to have been a resident of New Haven. He traded to the Delaware and Virginia in 1647. In 1648, he was called on to take the oath of allegiance to New Haven, but he declined compliance to this order, on the ground that he had taken the oath in England, "and should not take it here." Whether this refusal was prompted by his attachment to the royal cause does not appear, but he was pronounced guilty of contempt and fined. He would not pay the fine, however, and as "his carriage had been full of high contempt," he was again summoned before the authorities and again amerced. He removed to Fairfield, twenty-four miles west of New Haven, and purchased from the Indians nearly the whole of the south-eastern portion of Westchester co., a part of which was erected by Gov. Nicolls, in 1666, into the manor of Pelham. He married Lucy, widow of Francis Brewster, and died without issue in September, 1669, leaving his lands to his nephew John, "living in ould England," the only son of John Pell, D.D., who was employed by Cromwell as diplomatic agent to the Protestant Cantons of Switzerland, and was afterwards chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury. [Biog. Dict., also Biog. Univer.] John, the second lord of the manor of Pelham, represented the county of Westchester in 1691. He had two sons, John and Thomas, from whom are descended all the members of the family in this country.

BOOK V.  Until then they chose to remain under the Commonwealth of England."¹

The news of "the infamous surrender" of Fort Casimir had, long ere this, reached Holland, and if any evidence were required to prove the falsehood of which Rysingh had been guilty when he represented that the Dutch West India Company had authorized that aggression, the latter now promptly furnished it. They ordered (Nov. 16th) the Director-general "to exert every nerve to avenge the insult, by not only replacing matters on the Delaware in their former position, but by driving the Swedes from every side of that river."² The interest of the Company and New Netherland demanded it. Two armed ships were forthwith commissioned; "the drum was beaten daily for volunteers" in the streets of Amsterdam; authority was sent out to arm and equip, and if necessary to press into the Company's service, a sufficient number of ships for the expedition; and lest those who had been guilty of treachery and dishonor in the late "shameful transaction," should escape punishment, Commissary Bikker, whose "cowardly surrender" of the fort was declared "insufferable," was ordered to be immediately placed under arrest. The winter passed away, however, without anything being done. In the spring, the Directors engaged a thirty-six gun brig, belonging to the Burgomasters of Amsterdam, in which they sent out an additional force of two hundred men. The fleet now in commission consisted of the *Bal-lance*, the *Vigilance*, the *Solomon*, the French privateer *L'Esperance*, and the *Love*, whilst the provincial government had a *carte blanche* to charter any other vessels that

May 25. might be required. No delay was to be allowed, and all diligence was to be used, "even though Director Stuyvesant should not have returned" from the West Indies, as

¹ Hol. Doc. ix., 261-267.

² This order was subsequently modified by a dispatch, dated 26th May, 1655, in which Stuyvesant was directed, "after his exploit shall have been successful," to permit the Swedes to hold the land on which Fort Christina is built, with a garden to cultivate tobacco, "because it appears they made the purchase with the previous knowledge of the Company." Alb. Rec. iv., 186.

immense preparations were making in Sweden to assist their colony on the South River.¹

Cromwell's policy had in the mean time rendered Stuyvesant's voyage utterly abortive. Having issued orders, towards the close of the last year, for the management and government of the West Indies, the commissioners on their arrival laid an embargo on all the Dutch ships in these islands, eight of which were seized at Barbadoes alone. Three of these were under the command of the Director-general, of whom the English were "in more fear than all the world besides."² His plans having been thus deranged, Stuyvesant, after suffering a long detention, finally succeeded in returning to New Netherland, where he was soon overtaken by the Directors' orders to subdue the Swedes. A day of prayer and thanksgiving was immediately appointed, to beseech Almighty God, with humble hearts, not only to continue his blessings, but to crown the intended expedition with success. As ill health, from an epidemic prevailing at the time, prevented him superintending, in person, all the details of preparation, Vice Director de Sille, Attorney-general Tienhoven, and "the valiant Frederick de Koninck," captain of the *Bal-lance*, were authorized to attend to these. "If any lovers of the prosperity and security of the province of New Netherland were inclined to volunteer, or to serve for reasonable wages, they were invited to come forward; and whoever should lose a limb, or be maimed, was

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1655.

Aug. 16.

Aug. 19.

¹ Alb. Rec. iv., 157-159, 166, 180.

² Journal of the Proceedings of the English Army in the West Indies, 4to. 1655; Thurloe, iii., 142, 251; iv., 634. Mr. Edward Winslow, one of the commissioners, writing to Thurloe, from Barbadoes, March 16th, 1654-5, says: "We have mett the Dutch Governor of New Netherlands, with three ships under his command. He is commander in cheife of all parts in America under the States' command. This man's business was to settle a faire trade betweene the Netherlands and this place; but we spoiled the sport. He hath bin under the embargo ever since we came; and the rather because he told us he had business with the Spanish plantations, and we are in more feare of him for the discovering our raw and defective forces, than all the world besides. . . . This Dutch Governor undertook to plead the cause of his countrymen, and hath our answer in writing." Stuyvesant sailed from the Manhattans Dec. 24th, 1654, and returned July 11th, 1655. On his return he laid before the Council a report of his voyage, but it, unfortunately, is not among the Records.

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 1655. assured of a decent compensation." Each of the merchantmen were ordered to furnish two of their crew, and a proportionate share of provisions, and those "who make a living by sailing up and down the river," were to be impressed and distributed among the several companies. Aug. 28. In the midst of all the bustle which now animated the Mannhattans, a question arose of serious importance: "Should the Jews be enlisted?" The citizens had an invincible repugnance to admit them into the guard-house. The difficulty was solved without much ado by Stuyvesant. "In this celebrated emporium of New Amsterdam," Jews are not called upon to participate in such duties. Though willing to serve, they were declared exempt. Each of them, however, between the age of sixteen and sixty, was taxed sixty-five stivers a head per month, "which is to be levied by execution in case of refusal."

Every preparation that foresight could suggest having now been made, the fleet, consisting of seven vessels, large and small, set sail on Sunday, the 5th September, "after the sermon," with a force of between six and seven hundred men, and were next afternoon, at three o'clock, in the bay of the South River. The Hon. Nicasius de Sille and the Rev. Mr. Megapolensis accompanied the expedition. A dead calm and unfavorable tide prevented the ships proceeding with as much dispatch as Stuyvesant desired, and it was not until the following day that they anchored before Fort Elsinburgh, which was found deserted. On the morning of Friday, wind and tide serving, they weighed again, and between eight and nine o'clock the expedition landed about a gunshot above Fort Trinity. The Director-general immediately dispatched Captain Smith, with a drummer, to summon the place, and detailed a party of fifty men to cut off all communication with Fort Christina. Meanwhile Swen Schute, the Swedish commandant, demanded permission to communicate with Rysingh; but this was denied, and he was again called on to prevent bloodshed. An interview now took place "in the valley mid-way between the fort and the Dutch batteries," between him and Stuyvesant, and he

Sep. 10.

a second time asked leave to send an open letter to his superior. This was denied, and Schute departed "dissatisfied." Breastworks were now thrown up, and the Dutch troops ordered to advance, and "for the third time" the fort was summoned. A delay until next morning was asked, to prepare an answer. This was granted, "because we could not be ready that evening or following night with batteries near enough to allow our guns to bear." On the following morning the commander went on board the Ballance and capitulated. By the terms then agreed to, he obtained leave to send to Sweden, by the first opportunity, the cannons, nine in number, belonging to the crown; to march out of the fort with twelve men, as his body guard, fully accoutred, and colors flying, but the other soldiers were to wear only their side arms. The muskets belonging to the crown were to remain until sent for; the commandant and other officers were to retain their private property, or leave it until a future opportunity offered for its removal; and, finally, the fort was to be surrendered, with all the cannon, ammunition, materials, and other goods belonging to the West India Company. The Dutch troops entered Fort Casimir at noon, and Dominie Megapolensis preached a sermon of thanksgiving on the following Sunday, to the "army of occupation." About thirty Swedes submitted and asked leave to move to the Manhattans.

Rysingh, in the mean time, ignorant that Fort Casimir had fallen into the enemy's hands, had dispatched nine or ten of his best men to reinforce the garrison. On their way thither these fell in with an advanced post of some fifty or sixty Dutch, by whom, after a skirmish, they were taken prisoners, except two, who made good their escape. Factor Ellswyck was now sent with a flag, and enquired of Stuyvesant the cause of his coming hither. "To recover and retain our property," was the reply. The hope was then expressed that the Director-general would remain satisfied, and not advance nearer Fort Christina. He answered evasively, the Dutch "preparing, in the meanwhile, to march thither on the following day."

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BOOK V. Rysingh, on learning that he was to be attacked, spent the night, with what force he could command, strengthening his defences. On the following morning the Dutch showed themselves on the opposite bank of Christina creek, where they threw up a battery and entrenched themselves. Their ships went up to the Third Hook and landed additional forces, who immediately invested the fort on all sides. The vessels were then brought into the mouth of the creek, their cannon planted west of the fort, and also on Timber Island; and Stuyvesant summoned the garrison to surrender. The latter held a council of war, and resolved to stand on the defensive, "and leave the consequences to be redressed by our gracious superiors." But the place could not hold out long. The supply of powder scarcely sufficed for a single round, and their force, consisting of only thirty men, was quite inadequate to its defence. The enemy's troops were in the mean time appropriating to themselves the property of those Swedes who lived without the fort, killing the cattle, and pillaging whatever was movable. At length the Swedish garrison itself showed symptoms of mutiny. The men were harassed from constant watching, provisions began to fail, many were sick, several had deserted, and Stuyvesant threatened, if they held out much longer, to give no quarter. A parley was at last called. Rysingh and Van Ellswyck met Stuyvesant and De Sille. But this eventuated only in renewed discussions, and the Swedes returned exhibiting more determination than their hopeless condition warranted. On the 24th the Dutch commander sent in his ultimatum, and gave the besieged twenty-four hours to consider whether they should capitulate or take the consequences of their continued obstinacy. The following day they capitulated, on honorable terms, after a siege of fourteen days, during which, very fortunately, there was a great deal more talking than cannonading, and no blood shed, except those of the goats, poultry and swine which the Dutch troops laid their hands on. The twenty or thirty Swedes then marched out "with their arms, colors flying, matches lighted, drums beating and fifes playing,

and the Dutch took possession of the fort, hauled down the Swedish flag, and hoisted their own."¹

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Such of the Swedes as wished to remain in the country were to be secured in their rights as well of property as of conscience, and Governor Rysingh and all others who intended to proceed to Europe were to be provided with means of repairing thither. By a secret article it was permitted to the former, and to the factor, to land either in England or France; and a sum of three hundred pounds Flemish was advanced to Rysingh, to be repaid within six months, in Amsterdam, he leaving, as a guarantee, the property of the Crown and Company, which were to be sold should the money not be forthcoming at the stipulated time.²

Immediately after the surrender of Fort Christina, Stuyvesant offered, in compliance with his instructions, to restore the place to Rysingh, on honorable and fair conditions, and made him, accordingly, a tender of the keys, but these the Swede refused. The matter was no longer within his province, and he preferred to abide by the capitulation.³ A proclamation was, thereupon, issued, ordering all who wished to remain in the country to take the oath of allegiance. Twenty persons gave in their adhesion. Two out of three of the Swedish clergymen, then on the river, were summarily expelled the country; the third was saved from similar ill treatment solely by intelligence that the Manhattans and adjoining settlements were a prey to all the horrors of an Indian foray.⁴

¹ Campanius' New Sweden.

² "Both parties retained what they got; the one the money, the other the goods." Acrelius.

³ The Instructions to Stuyvesant are in Alb. Rec. iv., 186. The result is stated in x., 134, and more fully in Hol. Doc. viii., 49. "On the same day [of the surrender, the Company] caused a written offer to be made to restore again the surrendered Fort Christina into the hands of the aforesaid Johan Rysingh on honorable and fair conditions, to be sworn to and faithfully observed by him and his officers as commissioners of her Royal Majesty, on the one side, and by the said Director-general and Council as commissioners for this State and Company on the other; but the aforesaid proposition was declined by the said Johan Rysingh, on the pretext that the matter was no longer in his hands, [in zyn geheel,] and that he should rather adhere to the concluded capitulations."

⁴ "Our people retook Fort Casimir again in the year 1655. It was provided with a right strong garrison of our nation, and contained divers freemen there

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A party of savages, Mohegans, Pachamis, with others from Esopus, Hackingsack, Tappaan, Stamford and Onke-
 way, as far east as Connecticut, estimated by some to amount to nineteen hundred in number, from five to eighteen hundred of whom were armed, landed suddenly before daybreak, in sixty-four canoes, at New Amsterdam, and whilst the greater part of the inhabitants were still buried in sleep, scattered themselves through the streets, and burst into several of the houses, on pretence of looking for "Indians from the North," but in reality to avenge the death of a squaw, whom Van Dyck, the late Attorney-general, had killed for stealing a few peaches from his garden. The Council, magistrates and principal citizens assembled in the fort, and calling the chief Sachems before them, enquired the cause of this irruption. They succeeded in prevailing on them to quit the place by sundown, and to retire to Nut Island. Instead, however, of observing their promise, when evening arrived they became bolder, shot Van Dyck in the breast with an arrow, and felled Captain Leendertsen to the ground with an axe. "The hue and cry of murder now rang through the streets." Urged on by Van Tienhoven, the military and burgher corps rushed from the fort, attacked the Indians, and forced them to take to their canoes, leaving three of their men dead on the shore. The Dutch lost Cornelis van Loon and Jan de Vischer. Three others were wounded. The savages

with dwellings. So one was appointed who should read every Sunday something from the Apostles, which has as yet been continued, and the Lutheran minister who was there was sent to Sweden. Two miles from Fort Casimir up the river stands another fort, which was also taken at the same time by our people, and the preacher, together with the Swedish garrison, was sent away. But as many Swedes and Finns, to the number at least of two hundred were dwelling two or three miles up the river, above Fort Christina, the Swedish Governor insisted in the capitulation, that one Lutheran minister should be retained to instruct the people in their own tongue. This their request was too easily granted: 1st, because trouble had broken out at Manhattan with the Indians, and men required quick dispatch and to hasten back to the Mannhattans to redress matters there; 2d, because we had no reformed preacher here to establish there, or who understood their language." Rev. Dom. Megapolensis to the Classis at Amsterdam. I am indebted to the politeness of the Rev. Dr. De Witt of New York for these and other MS. letters, as well as for many additional acts of kindness, which I take great pleasure in thus thankfully acknowledging.

now crossed over to the western side of the river. "In a moment a house at Hoboken was on fire, and the whole of Pavonia was wrapt in flames." With the exception of Michel Jansen's family, every man was killed, together with all the cattle. A large number of women and children were taken prisoners. Elated by success and maddened by an increased thirst for blood, the savages next passed over to Staten Island, the population of which now amounted to ninety souls, by whose industry eleven bouweries had been brought into a high state of cultivation. Of all these sixty-seven escaped.¹

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During the three days that this storm raged, the Dutch lost one hundred people, one hundred and fifty were taken into captivity, and more than three hundred persons, besides, were deprived of house, home, clothes and food. Twenty-eight bouweries and a number of plantations² were

¹ List of yeomanry, men, women and children, men and maid servants, sent by Baron Hendrik van de Capelle tot Ryssel to New Netherland, in the West Indies, on Staten Island, since May, 1650, and who survived that cruel and bloody destruction by the Indians, in September, 1655. 1. Capt. Adriaen Pos, with wife, five children, one servant, one girl; reside yet on the Island. 2. Hendrik Werrinck, with wife, two children, and one servant; reside on Manhattans. 3. Paul Derricks, wife, one child, and one servant; reside at Fort Orange. 4. Hendrik Marcellis, wife, two children, one servant; reside at Fort Orange. 5. Jan Aertsen van Heerde, with wife and eight children, reside at Manhattans. 6. Albert Gysbertsen van Heerde, wife, four children, one servant; reside at Fort Orange. 7. The wife of Arent van Hengel was married with one Severyn, now living at Manhattans. This woman hath a son. 8. The widow of John van Oldenseel, named Elken, married one Mandemaker, with three children; lives on Long Island. 9. The widow of Jan Wesselinck, married to an Englishman, being a carman living at the Manhattans, with three children. 10. Dylart, servant of the deceased farmer, resides at Mespresskill. 11. The wife of a wheelwright, who was engaged at Zutphen, named Herminken, resides at Fort Orange, and married a carpenter with two children. 12. Three children of Corporal Gerrit Janssen van Steenwyck, transported hither at the Baron's expense. 13. Wynold, servant of deceased Hans Barentsen van Osnabrugge, sent by Melyn towards the north, has left him again, and has become an apprentice to a ship carpenter. 14. A boy of Barent Driessen van Oosteveng, lives with a farmer on Long Island. 15. A child from Heenderen, called "the maimed child," resides at Breukelen, opposite Manhattans. In all 67 living souls. Recorded in this manner at Zutphen, on the 14th November, 1657, by the wife of Capt. Pos, and by the farmer Jan Aertsen van Heerde. Alb. Rec. viii., 158.

² Relation de ce qui c'est passé en la N. France, 1655, 1656., 11. By bouweries are meant those farms on which the family resided; by plantations those which were partly cultivated, but on which no settlers dwelt.

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1655. burned, twelve to fifteen thousand schepels of grain destroyed, and from five to six hundred head of cattle killed or driven off. The damages inflicted on the colonists were estimated at two hundred thousand florins, or eighty thousand dollars.¹

A visitation so dreadful, it may easily be conceived, spread the greatest consternation abroad. All the country people, except those of Amersfoort, Breukelen and Midwout, and the negro hamlets, "took wing" and fled to the Manhattans. A body-guard of ten Frenchmen was engaged to protect the residence and family of the Director-general, "as the citizens were reluctant to go to a great distance from the fort." The settlers at the Esopus abandoned their farms en masse. Gravesend and the English villages partook also of the panic, and dispatched messengers to New Amsterdam with intelligence that the Indians intended to destroy the Dutch in these places, as they had warned them to separate from the Swannekins, "lest in killing these they may injure the English." The colonists of Rensselaerswyck likewise felt the alarm, and fearing that the wild contagion might spread among the Mohawks, prudently renewed, by opportune presents, their ancient friendship with this fierce tribe.²

"Considering it wiser to secure one's own house than to aim at the possession of one at a distance, especially as the loss of the first might be caused thereby," the Council at Fort Amsterdam dispatched an express to the South River recalling the Director-general, for bodies of savages continued prowling over the island, firing and burning whatever came in their way. Whilst this terror still prevailed, Stuyvesant returned to the Manhattans, and by his

¹ The savages of Ahasimus, Aackinkeshacky, Tappaan, and others, were present in this conflict, and were guilty of shocking cruelties, murdering seven men and one woman in cold blood, against their solemn promise, confirmed by an oath, *which they never took before*, viz.: "May God, who resides above, take vengeance on us if we do not keep our engagements and promises." Alb. Rec. x., 165.

² Vorders hebbe verstaen den onverwachte oorlogh die costly tusschen de Duytschen en Wilden is gewesen. . . . Wy hebben hierboven met de Maquaasen weder nieue aliantie gemaekt." John B. van Rensselaer's letter, dated 11th October, 1655.

energy and zeal aided much in re-assuring the colonists. He sent soldiers to the out-settlements, laid an embargo on the vessels then about to sail, and ordered such of the passengers as were able to bear arms not to depart "until it should please God to change the aspect of affairs."¹ A plank curtain was thrown up, to prevent the Indians scaling the city walls, to meet the expense of which six thousand three hundred guilders were raised "from the merchants, traders, skippers, factors, passengers and citizens generally."² No persons, on any account, were to go into the country without permission, nor unless in a number sufficient to ensure their safety.

The savages having now spent their fury, found that the number of their prisoners was rather an incumbrance than a gain. They were desirous of being disembarassed of them, for their stock of provision was limited and the winter was approaching. Captain Pos, the superintendent of the colonie on Staten Island, being among the captured and considered a man of influence, was sent in with a proposal for a ransom. He did not return as soon as was expected, and another messenger followed, with word that all the prisoners should be brought to Paulus Hook in two days. "Come and see!" was the invitation to treat for their release.³ In a few days Pos brought from the chief

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Oct. 17

¹ Fourteen days after, a number of the principal merchants and citizens protested against Stuyvesant, for preventing their departure for Europe. For this disrespect each of them was fined \$10, "in behalf of the poor," and the secretary was ordered not to furnish passports to any of them, until the fine was paid. It was further ordered that none should be allowed to embark, except such as had resided at least twelve months in the country. "The others may possess their souls in patience till a more fitting opportunity." Alb. Rec. x., 133.

² A list of the contributors to this levy is in the N. Amst. Records, Oct. 1655.

³ The 15th of the present September, O. S., the commissioners, by the return of the messengers whom they had sent forth for inquiry, received certain intelligence of a great massacre perpetrated by the Wampeage and other Indians upon the Dutch at the Monhatoes, and that they had carried away and kept prisoners about seventy captives. The commissioners did forthwith agree to send two or three meet messengers to endeavour their redemption, but while the messengers were preparing, Mr. Allerton's catch coming into New Haven harbour from the Monhatoes brought letters from himself with intelligence from others reporting that they hoped the worst was passed, and that the Indians had sent to offer peace, and that a treaty was begun betwixt the Dutch and them for redeeming and returning the captives, whence the commissioners conceived that

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1655. of the Hackingsacks fourteen of the Dutch prisoners, "men, women and children, as a token of his good will," in return for which he requested some powder and ball. The
Oct. 18. Director-general sent him a Wappinger and an Esopus Indian in exchange with some ammunition, and promised a fresh supply when other Christians should be brought in. He at the same time warned him and the other chiefs against receiving any message from the fort, unless the bearer exhibited a signet with which he was furnished. No ambassador, unless a sachem or chief in whom the Director could place confidence—"none of the rabble nor any insignificant fellow"—was to be sent.

Claes Jansen de Ruyter and Peter Wolfersten van Couwenhoven accompanied Adriaen Pos to the Indians with
Oct. 19. the above presents, and returned with twenty-eight Christians, and another message that from twenty to twenty-four others would be restored on receipt of a proper quantity of friezes, guns, wampum and ammunition. It was vain to expect that any Dutch prisoners would be exchanged for Indians. Such a rule was foreign to the practice of the red man.¹ The Director-general wished now to know how much they would be willing to take "for all the prisoners en masse, or for each individually." They answered,
Oct. 26. seventy-eight pounds of powder and forty staves of lead, for twenty-eight persons. This offer was accepted, and as a further mark of his good will, thirty-five pounds of powder and ten staves of lead additional were sent, but no more prisoners were returned.

Oct. 24. The late Governor of Fort Trinity now arrived from the South River, in very bad humor. He at once protested against Stuyvesant for a violation of the articles of the late treaty: the public property belonging to his sovereign and superiors was left unprotected and exposed to loss; proper accommodation had not been provided for him and his suite, and his expenses were not defrayed. Stuyvesant
Oct. 26. replied by reminding him that he had offered to place Fort

the matter might be by themselves and some beaver, &c., effected; and ceased any further prosecution. Hazard's State Papers, ii., 336.

¹ Alb. Rec. x., 154.

Christina in Rysingh's possession, but that the latter had refused to accept it; he denied being responsible for any property for which he had not given a receipt. As for the complaint that he had not been satisfactorily lodged, the Director-general said: "On account of your high station, I offered more than once to accommodate and entertain you in my own house; but as this did not satisfy you, we succeeded in persuading you, by others, to reside in one of the principal houses of the city. Here you indulged in unmannerly threats that you would return and destroy this place, and so scared the decent people of the house that, for peace sake, they abandoned the lodgings. The rumors of these threats came to the ears of the skippers and passengers with whom you were to embark, so that they did not consider it safe to take you with your suite and such a large number of your dependents, except they previously obtained security for their ship and cargoes. They fear to land you in England or France, in conformity to the secret article in the capitulation, except they should chance to meet some French or English vessel in the Channel. Of this we deemed it right to give you timely notice." "We were not bound to defray your expenses, or those of your unusual suite."

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Rysingh rejoined in a few words. He held the Director-general responsible for every article within and without the fort. He accused the Dutch with having broken open the church and taken away all the cordage and sails of a new vessel; with having plundered Tinnakong, Upland, Finland, Printzдорп, and several other places. "In Christina the women were violently torn from their houses; whole buildings were destroyed; yea, oxen, cows, hogs and other creatures were butchered day after day; even the horses were not spared, but wantonly shot; the plantations destroyed, and the whole country so desolated that scarce any means were left for the subsistence of the inhabitants." "Your men carried off even my own property, with that of my family, although the greatest part of

¹ The Dutch were not charged with having offered any violence to their chastity, but with having committed pillage. Note to the translation of Acrelius.

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 1655. it had already been placed on ship board, and we were left like sheep doomed to the knife, without means of defence against the wild barbarians." "The few Swedes whose fidelity could not be shaken, were distributed here and there, against the terms of the treaty, into different ships, without being permitted to recover the few bundles of goods they had saved." He concluded by demanding that they should be embarked in the same ship with himself, and that each and every article of the capitulation should be observed inviolate, pledging himself that no injury shall be done by either him, or any of his followers, during the voyage.

Nov. 3. Two vessels, the Spotted Cow and the Bear, sailed shortly after from the Manhattans, having on board Gov. Rysingh and the Swedish soldiers. Arrived off the coast

Dec. 26. of England, they were forced by stress of weather to put into Plymouth. Rysingh hastened to London to report to the Swedish ambassador the disasters that had befallen the crown on the South River. On his arrival in that city he received, on Stuyvesant's order, from a London merchant, the three hundred pounds guaranteed to him by the treaty.¹

These vessels took, also, to the States General, the West India Company and the Burgomasters of Amsterdam, a memorial detailing, at considerable length, the particulars of the late troubles with the Indians, representing the defenceless condition of the country, and imploring assistance to enable the colonists to avenge the aggression which had been so wantonly committed on them.² As this relief could not arrive before the spring, and as the public mind

Nov. 10. continued uneasy, the Director-general called on his Council to say whether, under existing circumstances, war

¹ Alb. Rec. x., 82-95, 134-137; xiii., 345-361, 364-367; Hol. Doc. viii., 1, 16, 108-117; Rysingh's report, N. Y. Hist. Coll. 2d ser. i., 443. From General Stuyvesant, Rysingh received two bills of exchange; one for 800 fl. on the Hon. Cornelis Jacobsen Steenwyck, and another for 1000 fl. on Thimotheus de Cruso, merchant in London.

² Simple and True Narrative of the Cruelties of the Barbarous Savages against the Dutch nation in our days, presented in the form of a Petition to their High Mightinesses the States General of the United Netherlands. Oct. 1655. Alb. Rec. x., 139-142.

with the Indians were lawful; if so, was it advisable, and when? if advisable would it be successful? if it should be neither lawful nor prudent, what course ought to be adopted towards the Indians, and for the recovery of the prisoners in the hands of the Weckquaesqueecks and Highland savages? and lastly, what steps should be taken to obtain ways and means, as the revenue had decreased one-third, whilst the expedition to the South River and the ransom of the Christians had exhausted the treasury, and rendered it doubtful whether the garrison could be maintained during the winter.

The Council was divided in opinion. The only person decidedly in favor of war was the Schout-fiscaal. The Director-general considered the last outrage to have been caused by want of vigilance on the part of the citizens, and precipitate rashness "of a few hot-headed individuals," whereby the Indians had been diverted from their original design, which was, in his opinion, to attack the tribes on the east end of Long Island. He considered war, under existing circumstances, both unwise and indefensible. The colonists should begin the work of reform rather with themselves; abate drunkenness, sabbath-breaking, public swearing, meetings of sectaries, and other irregularities, and promote the formation of villages, each of which should be provided with a block-house to serve, in case of danger, as a place of retreat. One of these ought to be erected at Hackinsack, another at Weckquaesqueeck, and all Indians should be rigidly excluded from European settlements at night, and not admitted, at any time, with arms in their hands. Every effort should be used to redeem the Christians still in the hands of the savages, and to accomplish this purpose, he proposed increased taxes on land, houses and liquors, "as the sumptuous dress, the profuse consumption of strong drink, with the consequent laziness, rendering it difficult to procure laborers for reasonable wages, do not suppose inability to contribute to the public burthens; rather a malevolent unwillingness, arising from an imaginary liberty in a new, and, as some pretend, a free country." The condition of the province, however, opposed

BOOK any direct taxation. The Council, therefore, contented
 V. itself in augmenting the excise. That of New Amsterdam
 1655. was farmed for the ensuing year for five thousand and
 thirty florins, or \$2,012; that of Beverwyck and the neigh-
 boring settlements of Esopus, Katskill and Rensselaers-
 wyck, for two thousand and thirteen guilders.¹

The Long Island Indians, aware of the enmity enter-
 tained against them by the other savage tribes, hastened
 now to secure the good will of the Dutch. A delegation
 Nov. 27. from Tackpushaau, chief of the Marsapeagues, presented
 themselves accordingly at Fort Amsterdam to conclude a
 treaty of peace. They declared that since the last general
 war, they had not done the Dutch the least harm—"no,
 not even to the value of a dog." "Our chief," proceeded
 the orator, addressing the Director-general, "has been
 twelve years at war with those who have injured you;
 and though you may consider him no bigger than your
 fist, he would yet prove himself strong enough. He has
 hitherto sat, his head drooping on his breast, yet he still
 hoped he should be able to show what he could achieve."
 With these words the Indian ambassador deposited his
 present—a bundle of wampum—in token of the friendship
 of Tackpushaau and the chiefs of the east end of Long Island,
 and as a proof that when these sachems or their warriors
 were required, "they were ready." The presents were
 accepted, and the sachems received every assurance of
 good will. The northern savages, however, stood out,
 and detained a number of the Christians as hostages, under
 the impression that so long as they kept them, the Dutch
 would remain at peace. No measures were taken to
 punish the perpetrators of the massacre. Stuyvesant sent
 delegates to New England, to endeavor to engage these
 colonies in a league offensive and defensive against the
 Indians, but without any result.

¹ Alb. Rec. x., 150-170. The excise now was 8 fl. on every hogshead of wine; 4 fl. on every tun of home-brewed, and 6 fl. on every tun of European beer.

² Alb. Rec. x., 172, 173; Heemstede Rec. i., 25.

CHAPTER VI.

Further labors of the Jesuits in the Mohawk country—Death of Father Jogues—Ill treatment of Father Poncet—Kindness exhibited towards him by the Dutch—Father Le Moyne accompanies the Onondagoes to their country—The Kayingehagas or Mohawks displeased—Their speech—Discovery of the Salt Springs—Renewal of difficulties at Fort Orange—Stuyvesant extends the Company's jurisdiction—Claims the excise and the tenths of the colonie—Commissary Dyckman superseded—De Decker appointed Vice Director—Father Le Moyne visits Fort Orange—A new church erected in Beverwyck—The authorities of the colonie remonstrate against paying excise or tenths—Sequence of that misunderstanding—De Decker resigns—Councillor La Montagne appointed in his place—The Burgomasters and Schepens of New Amsterdam renew their demand to nominate their successors—Proceedings in consequence—Expedition against Pell's settlement at Westchester—Result thereof—Population of that town—Religious persecution breaks forth in New Netherland—Proclamation against dissenters—State of religion throughout the province—Effort to convert the Indians—Proceedings against the Lutherans and Baptists—Cornelis and Adriaen van Tienhoven disgraced—Burgomasters and Schepens demand a Burger Schout—Nicasius de Sille succeeds C. van Tienhoven—The jurisdiction of the court of the Burgomasters and Schepens enlarged.

THE wars so long waged between the Iroquois and the French Indians, had been prolific of misfortune to the Jesuits, whose efforts to christianize the heathen generally terminated in their own destruction. Though ten of the twelve missionaries sent from France had already laid down their lives for the Gospel, fresh laborers were not wanting to supply the places of those who had fallen.

Father Jogues remained but a few months in his native country. On his return to Canada, he was commissioned by the Governor of that province to proceed to the Mohawks, to congratulate that tribe on the conclusion of a recently negotiated treaty. He set out with some Indians for the scene of his former sufferings in company with Sieur Bourdon, royal engineer, and arrived on the festival of Corpus Christi, at Lake Andiatorocté, to which, in honor of the day, he gave the name of the Lake of the

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 1646. June 4. Blessed Sacrament.¹ Embarking, soon after, on the waters of Oïogué, ("called by the Dutch the River Mauritius,") they at length arrived at Fort Orange, where they were most hospitably received, and after a short sojourn proceeded to Oneugioure, the first castle of the Mohawks.² Presents were here exchanged in ratification of the peace; the French received every assurance of future welcome, and took their leave much gratified at the friendly manner in which they had been treated.

June 16. Encouraged now by the hope that a way was at length open for the light of Christianity, Jogues again returned to the Mohawk country. Superstition, the handmaid of ignorance, was busy in the mean time arousing the prejudices of the savages against him. At his departure in June he left with his hosts, as a guarantee of his return, a small box containing some necessities for which he should have occasion. Sickness unfortunately broke out during his absence among the tribe, and the worm destroyed their harvest. They became now convinced that he had left the Evil One in that box, and on his re-appearance among them, they stripped him of his clothing, beat him with heavy clubs, and, as he was entering a wigwam to supper, he was treacherously felled with an axe, his head cut off and stuck on the palisades, and his sainted body flung into the river. The Mohawk country is known since in Catholic annals as "the Mission of the Martyrs."³

Oct. 17. 1653. War now interrupted all peaceful relations between the French and the Iroquois, and persecution ceased in the Mohawk country solely through lack of fuel, when the savages of that quarter made another incursion into the heart of Canada, and captured Father Joseph Poncet, who

¹ Lac du Saint Sacrament, now Lake George. The signification of the Indian name is, "the place where the lake contracts." *Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la N. F., 1645-6., 50.*

² Le lendemain au soir ils arriverent en leur première bourgade, appelée Oneugioure, jadis Osserrion. *Relation*, 52. The French called this place, The Holy Trinity; the Dutch, Caughnawagah, (see post, p. 390.)

³ *Relation*, 1645-6., 59; lb. 1647., 6, 7, 125, 127, 128; Creuxius, 457. Father Jogues' Missal, Ritual, and a few of his clothes, were afterwards presented by the savages to the Rev. Mr. Megapolensis.

happened to be abroad "endeavoring to get some persons to cut the harvest of a poor widow." Hurrying the missionary away, with other unfortunate persons who fell into their hands, they stripped the captives and forced them to run the gauntlet through half a hundred armed savages, then mounted them on a lofty scaffold and obliged them to sing. Yet uncertain of his fate, a woman asked that her child be permitted to cut off one of the Father's fingers. The favor was granted, and whilst the young barbarian was practicing this early lesson in cruelty, Poncet manifested his resignation by chanting sacred songs. For two days and three nights was he doomed to additional tortures, whilst one of his companions was roasted alive before his eyes. But Providence abandoned not its servant. He was adopted by an old crone belonging to one of the castles, and a messenger arrived a few days after with intelligence that their warriors were on the eve of concluding a peace with the Governor of Canada, who insisted as a preliminary that "the black gown" should be restored. Father Poncet now found his situation wonderfully improved. He was immediately conveyed to Fort Orange to be supplied with clothing and proper surgical attendance. Here he was presented to Commissary Dyckman, who, notwithstanding M. de Lauzon, the French Governor, had written recommending the Father to that officer's attention, received him coldly; and he was about to lie down supperless on the bare boards, having no bed, when "a worthy old Walloon" invited him into his house and treated him with the kindest hospitality. Other settlers furnished him with clothes, whilst a Scotch matron, "who was always kind to the French," sent a surgeon to dress his wounds. During his sojourn, Poncet was still alive to the duties of his calling. Having discovered two Catholics among the settlers—one a Brussels merchant, the other a young Frenchman who acted as interpreter to the settlement—he administered to them the consolations of religion, and then prepared for his return. On the day of his departure, his generous Dutch friends crowded around him with presents, and expressed the warmest regrets at his

CHAP.
VI.
~
1653.

Sep. 8.

Sep. 20.

BOOK V. leaving them. He cheered them with the promise that he
 1653. should return again in the course of the ensuing summer, and
 consented to accept only an overcoat, a pair of moccasins,
 and a pair of shoes, with a blanket "to serve him as a bed on
 the road." A few fish were all his stock of provisions, and with
 Oct. 3. these he set out for home, where he arrived in the course of
 the following month. His journey to the Mohawk country
 had been by the Richelieu River and Lake Champlain. On
 his return he was conducted by way of the Oswego to
 Lake Ontario, and thence down the St. Lawrence to Que-
 bec.¹ It is more than probable he was the first white
 man that traversed that region. A peace was now solemnly
 concluded between the Mohawks and the French, the
 latter leaving two of their countrymen hostages for its
 faithful observance.²

The friendship exhibited at this period by the savages
 covered, however, a deeper policy than the mere desire for
 peace. Their continual wars had thinned their ranks, and
 they were desirous to obtain the removal of the Hurons to
 their country to supply the places of those they had lost.
 This motive alone had induced them to restore Poncet.³
 But this policy was not confined to the Mohawks. The
 Onondagoes had suffered also from their contests with the
 Chats or Cat Indians, and wished to embody the Hurons
 among their tribe. They were likewise anxious to be
 independent of the Mohawks, at whose hands they experi-
 enced considerable ill treatment in their passage through
 the lower country to the Dutch. They calculated that
 they could secure this by uniting themselves more closely
 with the French, whom they wished to build them a fort,
 where their wives and children might retire in time of
 Feb. 5. danger. To accomplish all these purposes, they now visit-
 ed Canada, and solicited the Governor of that country to
 send, as a preliminary, a Jesuit Father among them.
 Simon Le Moyne, a missionary of much experience, who
 had already passed eighteen years among the Indians, was

¹ Relation des Années 1652, 1653., 46-77; Creuxius, 679, 680; Charlevoix, i., 314-316.

² Relation, 1653, 1654., 51.

³ Relation, 1653, 1654., 13, 14.

accordingly allowed to accompany them. He had not been gone many days, when a deputation of the Kayingehagas, or Mohawks, strengthened with letters from the Dutch of Beverwyck, arrived to make a similar request. They were exceedingly disappointed when they learned that the Onondagoes had forestalled them. "We of the Five Nations have but one cabin," said their orator; "we make but one fire, and have always dwelt under the same roof." Is it not then by the door that the house should be entered, and not by the chimney and roof, unless you be a thief and desire to surprise the inmates? You do not enter by the door, which is on the first floor. We, Mohawks, are that door. You enter by the roof and chimney, for you begin with the Onondagoes. Are you not afraid that the smoke will blind you, as our fire is still burning? Do you not fear to fall from the top to the bottom, having nothing solid to rest your feet on?" Means were taken to pacify them, and they retired for a season to their homes.

CHAP.
VI.
1654.
July 4.

Father Le Moyne was, meanwhile, far on his journey to the country of the Onondagoes. He sojourned among that tribe some ten days, and crowned his mission, on the 16th of August, by the discovery of the rich and exhaustless Salt Springs for which that district has been so long and so justly celebrated.¹

The limits between Fort Orange and the colonie were all this time undetermined. Some confusion as to jurisdiction necessarily ensued, to remove which the Director-

¹ From all time these Five Iroquois Nations called themselves in their own language, Hotinnonchiendi—that is, the complete cabin, (*la cabane achevée*,) as if they were but one family. Rel. 1653-4, 54. Kayingehaga (says Megapolensis) is the name the Mohawks give themselves. Letter to Classis of Amsterdam.

² This discovery is thus noted in his Journal: "Le 16. Nous arriuons à l'entrée d'un petit lac, dans un grand bassin à demy séché; nous goustons de l'eau d'une source, qu'ils n'osent boire, disants qu'il y a dedans un demon qui la rend puante; en ayant gousté, ie trouvoy que c'estoit une fontaine d'eau salée, et en effet nous en fismes du sel aussi naturel que celui de la mer; dont nous portons une monstre à Quebec. Ce lac est très poissonneux en truites saulmonnées et autres poissons." Relation 1653, 1654., 91. Four years after this, Père Le Moyne communicated his discovery to Dominie Megapolensis at New Amsterdam. But "whether this [information] be true, or whether it be a Jesuit lie, I do not determine," adds the Dominie in his letter to the Classis at Amsterdam.

- BOOK
V.
1654.
April 16. general called again on the Patroon's agents to fix on their point of departure, as he was willing to allow them, agreeably to the charter, four miles on one side, or two on each bank of the river, "without the limits of Fort Orange." The magistrates of the colonie being unprovided with instructions from their superiors, requested delay, and Stuyvesant seized an opportunity which offered, shortly after, to enlarge his jurisdiction. The court of Rensselaerswyck was about to farm the excise, and demanded how far they
- May 13. could collect this impost. The answer was an order to the court of Fort Orange to collect the duties on all wines, beers and spirituous liquors sold by retail "within a circuit of one thousand rods of the fort." The colonie was hereby deprived of a very important source of revenue, and fresh fuel was heaped on the old fires of litigation and trouble. As if the elements of strife were not sufficiently numerous, a claim for tenths was also put in. Counter orders were given by the Patroon's officers to their vintners, to refuse the payment of the excise, on the ground that the general government defrayed none of the local charges; and as for the tenths, "neither the inhabitants of the colonie nor those of Beverwyck could be induced either by monitions or persuasions to pay them."¹
1655. Commissary Dyckman, whose violent demeanor might, long ere this, have justified doubts of the soundness of his mind, became now so unquestionably insane that the magistrates were forced to represent his condition to the
- June 21. Supreme Council, who thereupon appointed Johannes de Decker Vice-Director,² "to preside in Fort Orange and

¹ Alb. Rec. iv., 213; ix., 121-125, 128, 129.

² Alb. Rec. x., 68. Jan de Decker, for several years a notary public at Schiedam, having connections in the Amsterdam Chamber, and being a young man of sound judgment and high character, was sent out by the Company to New Netherland, in November, 1654; he arrived April, 1655, as supercargo of the ship Black Eagle, with instructions to receive the first vacant office. These recommendations having been renewed in the spring, he was accordingly commissioned Vice Director of Fort Orange. In the following May, orders were sent to appoint him Receiver-general and member of the Council, but his private affairs calling him home, he returned to Holland, December, 1656, where he married the daughter of Jacob van Belcamp. With her he returned to New Netherland, May, 1657, as Receiver-general and member of the Council, at a salary of 78 gl. per month, and 200 gl. for board. In April, 1662, his father-in-law applied, at his

the village of Beverwyck, in the court of justice of the commissaries aforesaid, to administer all the affairs of police and justice, as circumstances may require, in conformity to the instructions given by the Director-general and Council, and to promote these for the best service of the country and the prosperity of the inhabitants."

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VI.
1655.

daughter's request, for Mr. De Decker's discharge from the Company's service. This caused his employers much regret, who expressed a hope that he would be prevailed on to remain in this country. He was afterwards employed, in 1663, in visiting the Esopus as member of the Council, and attending to the interests of that settlement; after which, he was sent to Virginia to reclaim the Company's ship, "The Arms of Amsterdam," which an English privateer had captured on her voyage from Guinea with a cargo of slaves, and carried into the Chesapeake. He remained there half a year, but returned to New Netherland without accomplishing the object of his mission, having quarrelled, it is said, with the authorities of that place. Some misunderstanding occurred between him and Stuyvesant, to whom he wrote, in July, what the latter considered an "ignominious and insufferably harsh letter, filled with false accusations and calumnies." The approach of the English left no time to the parties to follow up the quarrel. The country surrendered to Nicolls. Mr. De Decker, being one of the Dutch commissioners, signed the treaty of capitulation, 7th September, 1664, at the close of which month he was banished, for reasons set forth in the following order: "Whereas the Heer John de Decker, late of the Council for the Dutch West India Company in New Yorke, did (contrary to the 14th Art. of Surrender) actually travaille from hence and trafficke with powder and negroes unto ffort Albany and other places upon Hudson River, without requesting or having a certificate from mee, or liberty so to doe; and being fully informed that then and there he did endeavor by discourses to alienate the mindes of H. M. Dutch subjects from that happy reconciliation without bloodshed, upon articles so lately made, and that he did commit these misdemeanors before that ffort Albany was surrendered unto his Majesty's obedience, the consequences whereof are contrary to the peace of this government; I have, therefore, thought fitt to order and appoint, and doe by these presents order and appoint that the said John de Decker shall within the space of ten days transport himselfe out of this government. Given under my hand and seale the 30th day of September, 1664, at ffort James, &c. R. NICOLLS." On the 8th of October he received permission to sail with eight negroes for any of the French plantations of Martinico, Guadeloupe, or St. Christopher's, and from thence to Holland. There was due to him at this period 7350 gl. from the West India Company, and he had besides some land on Staten Island. He complained to the Duke of York, and obtained a reference on his petition to Gov. Lovelace, with which he arrived in New York in January, 1671. He succeeded in obtaining a grant for 120 acres of land on Staten Island, "though according to the strictness of the laws and customs of the country his right thereunto is lapsed." He was bound to settle this land within a year. For the arrears of salary which he claimed, he was referred to the West India Company. It is presumed that he remained in this country, where many of his descendants are still to be found, who have given the name of Deckerville to a settlement in northern New Jersey. The whole of his official correspondence whilst Vice Director of Fort Orange, is still among the Dutch Records in the County Clerk's Office, Albany. The reference of the Duke of York is in the Register of Wills, Surrogate's Office, New York.

BOOK
V.1655.
Sep.

Shortly after the installation of the new Vice Director, Father Le Moynes took occasion to pay his respects to the Dutch at Beverwyck. He was received with much respect by the Hollanders; and the Mohawks whom he visited for the purpose of concluding a treaty, on the part of the French, evinced more than ordinary gratification at seeing him.¹ But the Father had not well left the country

Nov. 18. when a body of one hundred of these Indians presented themselves at Fort Orange. They were on the eve of setting forth on a war excursion against the Canada Indians, and fearing "that the French had poisoned the ears of their Dutch brothers against them," now asked the latter to remain neuter. They complained, at the same time, that when they visited the fort, they did not experience as much hospitality and feasting as the Dutch did when they came to their castles; they could not have the smallest repairs done to their guns unless they had wampum to pay in return, which treatment was not such as a brother should receive from a brother. The authorities assured them that they should observe a perfect neutrality, as they had no concern with their quarrels with other Indians. When they visited the Mohawk country they went few in number, and should their brothers observe the same rule, they should be lodged and entertained in a manner becoming their rank. In regard to the other subject of complaint, they could not interfere. Every Dutchman was obliged to earn his bread, and no man could be obliged to serve another for nothing. This being the rule among Christians, their brothers could not justly complain if they were treated as their other brethren. Presents were duly exchanged. The Indians laid their wampum belts at the feet of the white men, and the latter furnished powder and lead in return; "all which they accepted with their customary barbarous applaudings," and departed.²

¹ Relation, 1655, 1656., 7-16.

² Present on this occasion, Commissary De Decker and the magistrates of both the courts, viz.: Rutger Jacobsen, Andries Herperts, Volckert Jansen, J. B. van Rensselaer, A. van Curler, J. van Twiller, J. Hap, H. Jochemsen, and Philip Pietersen Schuyler, &c. Fort Orange Rec.

The church erected in 1643 had long since become inadequate to the accommodation of the community, and it had been determined in the course of the preceding year to erect a new building. To assist this good work, the Patroon and co-directors subscribed one thousand guilders, or four hundred dollars,¹ and fifteen hundred guilders were appropriated from the fines imposed by the court at Fort Orange. A site, at the junction of what is now State street and Broadway, was selected, and in the early part of the summer, Rutger Jacobsen, one of the magistrates, laid the corner-stone of the sacred edifice, in presence of the authorities, both of the town and colonie, and of the assembled inhabitants. A temporary pulpit was, at first, erected for the use of the minister, but the settlers subscribed twenty-five beavers to purchase a more splendid one in Holland. The Chamber at Amsterdam added seventy-five guilders to this sum, for "the beavers were greatly damaged;" and "with a view to inspire the congregation with more ardent zeal," presented them in the course of the next year with a bell "to adorn their newly constructed little church."

The difficulties about the excise in the colonie remaining still unsettled, orders were sent up by the Director Council to arrest and convey the contumacious tapsters to New Amsterdam. De Decker accordingly invited one of them to his house, where, on his arrival, he made him prisoner. The sloop in which he was to be conveyed down the river not being ready to sail until the next day, De Decker, for greater security, lodged his prisoner through the night in the same bed with himself. Through the connivance of the soldiers on guard, the tapster contrived to escape from the fort on the morrow, and repaired forthwith to the Patroon's house. Hither De Decker followed and ordered him to return to the fort, but he refused. The other tapsters now made common cause with the fugitive, and arming themselves, remained together to protect each

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1656.

Feb. 18.

June 2.

May 13.

May 24.

¹ Rensselaerswyck MSS.

² Alb. Rec. iv., 233. A fragment of this little bell is still in possession of one of the Dutch Reformed churches at Albany. It bears the inscription "Anno 1601."

BOOK other from the emissaries of the law. The Vice Director, V. esteeming it an absurdity to suffer an asylum for fugitives 1856. from justice to exist in the very centre of his jurisdiction, was preparing to execute his orders by force, when John May 26. B. van Rensselaer pledged himself to repair to the Manhattans and arrange the matter with the supreme authorities. To avoid bloodshed, De Decker acquiesced in this proposal; but another order arrived a few days afterwards, directing him to send down the tavern-keepers forthwith. In obedience to these instructions, he proceeded with an armed posse to the houses of the parties, where he again met Van Rensselaer and "his associates." May 31. He summoned them, in the name of the Director and Council, to surrender and accompany him to the fort. "Whereupon they each answered, 'There sits the Lord he will answer for me.'" Van Rensselaer acquiesced herein, and again bound himself to produce the tapsters when required. De Decker, finding it useless to continue the discussion, protested, and Mr. Van Rensselaer proceeded June 20 to New Amsterdam. Here, on his arrival, he presented a strong remonstrance against the course which the government was pursuing. Their exactions, he insisted, were contrary to the sixth article of the charter. Instead of the Directors having any claim on the Patroon, the contrary was the fact. The Company had guarantied to defend the colonists against all violence, yet the latter had thrice come forward, at great expense, to assist Fort Orange: first, during the war with the French savages; secondly, in the troubles with the English; and lately during the unhappy misunderstanding with the Indians around the Manhattans. Whenever there was any prospect of trouble, they were the first to appease the savages by presents. The losses which the latter inflicted on the colonie, by the killing of cows, horses, and other cattle, amounted annually to several thousand guilders; and, in addition, the Patroon and co-directors maintained, at their own expense, all the ministers and officers of the colonie. In the face of these facts, it was manifestly unjust to seize now on the excise, and to insist on the payment, also, of tenths. How-

ever, to prevent all further disturbance, he was willing to permit the payment of the former, under protest, if the Director and Council pledged themselves to refund the money, should a final decision be given against them by impartial judges, either here or in Holland.

This remonstrance was, at once, pronounced "frivolous" by the Director-general and Council, whose "high office and quality permit them not to stoop so low as to enter the lists with their subjects and vassals, much less to answer their frivolous and unfounded protests with a pusillanimous diffidence." Their duty was rather "to correct such absurd assertions, and to punish the offenders." Wherefore, as a public example, the protestor was fined twenty guilders.

Having thus, as they considered, vindicated their dignity, Van Rensselaer was informed that his colonists were bound equally with other settlers in the province to contribute to the public burthens, not only by the very nature of civilized government, but by Art. xviii. of the charter of 1629; and this they ought to do, without suspecting any infraction on their privileges or jurisdiction. The excise due from this colonie, which amounted, by estimate, to fifteen hundred guilders, must therefore be paid, together with all damages which may have accrued by the delay. The tavern-keepers must, moreover, submit to the guaging of their stock as often as the same may be required; and as John Baptist van Rensselaer was, himself, the original cause that the excise is resisted, he was called on to give a bond of three thousand guilders, for the personal appearance of the "contumacious tavern-keepers;" otherwise he was to remain at the Mannhattans under civil arrest.

The Director and Council also insisted that the colonie was obliged to pay the tithes. If Mr. Van Rensselaer would agree with some of his colonists on a round sum, in lieu of these, it would be accepted until instructions should be received from Holland; if the Directors or arbitrators should decide afterwards that the colonie was not subject to tenths, the amount paid should be reimbursed. The assertions that the colonists assisted the Company

CHAP.
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1656.

June 27.

BOOK V.
 1656. in its difficulties "were made, but not proved." It is true they promised to assist in putting Fort Orange in a state of repair, at the time of the troubles with the English; but it was not less true, that after having given three or four days' labor, "they left us to shift for ourselves." The Director and Council were entirely ignorant of being under any obligations to them "during the late troubles."

July 6. This rejoinder was followed by a proclamation, ordering all the towns and colonies in the province not to remove their crops before they settled with the Company's commissaries for the tenths. A copy of this placard was sent for publication to the authorities of Rensselaerswyck, but they refused to publish it.

It was during this misunderstanding that the "contumacious tapsters," having been guarantied by the Director and court of the colonie against damage, arrived at the Manhattans to answer for their conduct. The plea of residence in the colonie and of acting according to superior orders availed them nothing. One was fined two hundred pounds, failing payment of which he was to be banished; the other was mulcted eight hundred guilders. The Patroon subsequently made good both these fines. The difficulties about the tenths were not settled until July, 1658, when the colonie compounded for them by the yearly payment of three hundred schepels of wheat. Commissary De Decker being now about to return to Holland, resigned his office, and Johannes La Montagne, hitherto one of the

Aug. 7. Council, was commissioned Vice Director of Fort Orange. Sep. 28. Johannes Provoost became Secretary, and Ludovicus Cobbes court messenger.¹ The Vice Director's house at this period was an old building within the fort twenty-six feet nine inches long, Rhineland measure; two stories high, constructed of boards one inch thick, with a roof "in the form of a pavilion," covered with old shingles. Under this house was a cellar "as long as the house was

¹ Alb. Rec. x., 68, xi., 409, 410, 415-420, 445-447, 466-470, 488-499; xiii., 72; 221-223; xviii., 83; Rensselaerswyck MSS.; Fort Orange Rec. The number of furs exported this year from Fort Orange and vicinity, amounted to 34,840 beaver, and 300 otter skins.

broad." The first floor was divided into two compartments. At the north end was a chamber, sixteen or seventeen feet broad; at the south end an entry ten feet wide. The space on the second floor was one undivided room, directly under the roof, without a chimney, to which access was had by a straight ladder, through a trap-door. Here the magistrates administered justice: this was the first court-house of the present city of Albany.

CHAP.
VI.
1656.

The tenacity with which the authorities persisted in withholding from the city of New Amsterdam its municipal privileges, continued still a serious eye-sore. In the country from which the colonists derived their birth, and towards which their affections constantly centred, the magistracy, time out of mind, were invested with the right to nominate their successors. The same privilege had already been granted to the village of Beverwyck, and almost all the towns on Long Island had possessed it from their first foundation. Under these circumstances it was felt to be a grievance, as well as an infraction of the instructions of 1652, still to refuse the same freedom to the metropolis of the province. Under this impression, the Burgomasters and Schepens again renewed, with the commencement of the year, their demand to be allowed to send in a double nomination. Perseverance seemed at length about to be crowned with success, and Stuyvesant found it necessary to yield somewhat to the public will. The double nomination was granted on condition, 1st, that the acting magistrates should be always considered as nominated to be retained in office, if the authorities thought proper; 2d, that they should uniformly nominate for their successors well qualified persons, favorable to the Director-general and Council, and not opposed to them; and 3d, that the latter should have the right to appoint one of their body to assist at the nomination. These conditions were accepted. Martin Krygier and Peter van Couwenhoven were proposed for Burgomasters; P. L. van der Grist, Willem Beekman, Jacob Bakker, P. Cornelis van der Veen, Isaac de Foreest, Hendrick Kip, Govert Loockermans and Adriaen Bloomaert, for Schepens. But Stuyvesant

Jan. 18.

Jan. 31.

BOOK V. found an excuse for not ratifying his promise. Some of the persons named were obnoxious "on account of former disputes, and should any new misunderstanding arise, it might be said that he was the cause, were he to sanction this nomination." On this shallow pretext he broke his word, and the old officers, after a considerable discussion in the Council, were continued for another year. Willem Beekman and Hendrick Kip were, however, appointed from the list to fill vacancies in the board of Schepens.¹

The Directors having received, by this time, information of the encroachments of the English at Oyster Bay and Westchester, sent out orders to erect a fort at the former place, and to repel, even by force, all attempts to settle on the Company's lands in violation of the treaty of 1650, which the States General formally approved this spring.²

Pursuant to these instructions the Director-general took the necessary steps to vindicate the Company's rights to Vreedlant. The English of that settlement ("which they called Westchester,") were not only in the habit of entertaining fugitives from justice, but had kept up, during the recent Indian excesses, a constant correspondence with the savages. To put an end to these irregularities, Captains De Koninck, Newton, and the Attorney-general were sent secretly to that quarter with a suitable force to arrest the leaders and destroy all the buildings, except three or four, permitting the other settlers to remove their furniture within three days. Those of the expedition who should be guilty of plunder were to be most vigorously punished. This party set out immediately, and on reaching the place, were met by Lieut. Wheeler and other settlers, prepared for resistance, "as the land was their own." They were forthwith disarmed, and removed, twenty-three in number, to the Manhattans, where they were placed on board the Ballance. Those among them who were runaways were

afterwards sent to prison. The others, who had been inno-

¹ Alb. Rec. ix., 163, 164, 213, 215-217; x., 220-222, 259, 260, 261. New Amsterdam Rec. Anno 1656.

² Hol. Doc. viii., 122, 124; Alb. Rec. iv., 207; De Witt, iii., 192; Thurloe, iv., 526; Hazard's State Papers, ii 549.

cently lured to settle on the Company's lands, were placed under civil arrest and lodged in the City Hall. "On the remonstrance of their wives," and in consideration of the inclement season of the year, the Director and Council ordered that they should be set at liberty, on promising, under oath, to depart with their goods and chattels within six weeks from the district, not to return again without permission. On the following day the arrested parties addressed a petition to the Director-general and Council, expressing their willingness to submit to their government "so long as we continue within your jurisdiction," provided they should be allowed the liberty of choosing their officers for the administration of such laws as may be enacted for the good of the township, and have their arms restored. They likewise asked the privilege to make laws for the regulation of their town affairs not repugnant to the general laws of the province; and to divide the lands among the townsmen, none being admitted except according to the agreement which had been made among themselves, on commencing the settlement.¹ They were told, in reply, that they should be allowed the same privileges "as the freemen of the villages of Middleborough, Breukelen, Midwout, and Amersfoort were enjoying." They should be permitted to nominate a double number of persons to fill the offices of magistrates, from which the Executive would make a proper selection. Capt. Raith. Paxton, William Elliott, Black Marchand, John Gray, Roger Wheeler, "all Englishmen," who had taken up arms against the authorities, were discharged and ordered to quit the province, unless some of the other towns were willing to receive them and remain security for their good behavior. Westchester sent in its first nomination of magistrates shortly after the date of the above agreement.² The settlers

CHAP.
VI.
1656.

Mar. 15.

Mar. 16.

Mar. 25.

Mar. 23.

¹ Signed, Thomas Newman, Thomas Wheeler, Robert Bassett, Isaiah Gilbert, John Rose, Robert Rose, Therwod Caniff, [in another entry, Davis,] Uncles Bill, William Benfall, John Jenner, Robert Meaker, [Bartholomew Meares,] Obadiah Gilbert, Roderick Osbert, John Broundith, [Landish,] Edward Waters, Samuel Morris, Samuel Hart, William Ward.

² These persons were Lieut. Thomas Wheeler, Thomas Newman, John Lord, Josiah Gilbert, William Ward, and Nicholas Bayley. The application

BOOK
V.
1656. petitioned at the same time that no farms nor villages should be granted or established within two Dutch miles of the centre of their settlement; that such as had land granted them may select it where they considered most convenient; that they may have power to admit or reject new settlers for just cause; that such lands as were not entered on within six months should be forfeit; that actual settlers be obliged to contribute to the common expenses in proportion to the extent of their farms; that they be permitted to choose, within themselves, officers to execute justice according to law, and to maintain peace and manage town affairs; also officers to discipline the settlers "in a military way." They requested a copy of the laws of the country "drawn out in English," that they may know how to conduct themselves, when they transgress the same, and how to punish evil-doers, with power to make orders for town matters "not repugnant to the fundamentals of your laws." They finally craved arms and ammunition for self-defence, on paying therefor, and that whatever writings may pass between themselves and the government be in English, so that they "may fully and perfectly understand them." Thomas Wheeler, Thomas Newman, and John Lord were
Mar. 28. selected as magistrates, but the conclusions on the other demands were postponed until the Director and Council should have an opportunity to consult the petitioners. Thus happily terminated a misunderstanding which threatened, at first, a different issue. This settlement was henceforward called "Oostdorp" by the Dutch, and East-town by the English.¹

was signed Richard Bassett, Robert Rose, John Jenner, William Benfall, John Smith, Joseph Laughton, and John Richardson.

¹ Alb. Rec. iv., 187; x., 38, 39, 250, 315, 316, 321, 322, 328-331, 335-337, 340, 343-346; xi., 283-285, 291, 300-303, 308-313, 318-321; xvi., 303. When the English appeared before New Amsterdam, (August, 1664,) the inhabitants of Westchester addressed a petition "to his Majesty's Commissioners for the affairs of New England," in which, after setting forth the purchase of this tract by Pell, they refer to the arrest of the twenty-three settlers by Capt. De Koninck, who they say "were committed prisoners to the hold of a vessel, where they continued in restraint from all friends, for the space of thirteen days, fed with rotten provision, creeping with worms, whereby some of them remained diseased to this day, after which they were carried away in chains and laid in their dungeons at Manhatoes; that they had perished with famine in the said impris-

At the close of the year, another nomination, in conformity to their patent, was sent in, and Messrs. Newman, Lord, and John Smith were appointed magistrates. Capt. Brian Newton, Secretary Van Ruyven, and Commissary Van Brugge, were sent thither to administer the oath of office to these men, and that of allegiance to the other inhabitants. The latter, however, objected to taking the oath in the absolute sense in which it was drawn, and would promise obedience only to the law provided it was conformable to that of God; their allegiance was to continue only "so long as they remained in the province." This form having been agreed to, was signed by fifteen of the settlers. The whole population at this time amounted to twenty-five men, and ten to twelve women. Six of the former were absent when the commissioners visited the place, and Anthony Gill refused to sign the declaration.¹

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onment but for the relief obtained at other hands," and "that when the said pretended powers had freed the said prisoners and introduced their own government over the said plantation, they drove away such as would not submit to their pretended authority, to their great endamage, and the enslaving of such as remained." Book of General Entries, i., 11. This statement has been copied by some English writers, without, however, any reference to the real statement of the facts. By comparison with the text, it will now be seen how blinded these men have been by their own passions. Capt. De Koninck set out from New Amsterdam on the 7th, and returned about the 10th or 11th of March. The prisoners were landed on the 14th, and conveyed, those who had been fugitives from justice, to prison; the others to the City Hall. They were, therefore, only about three or four (instead of thirteen) days aboard the Ballance. The story of "the rotten provision," &c., is, it is to be presumed, of the same character as this representation. On the 15th, the day after they landed, all were liberated except five, who, having taken up arms against the authorities, were allowed to settle in the other towns of the province, on giving security for keeping the peace. The privileges granted to the town, show that the settlers were placed on a par with the other settlements in New Netherland, and do not in any way substantiate the representations made to his Majesty's commissioners.

¹ This first day of January, Anno 1657: In East towne in the New Netherlands: Wee hose hands are onder writen do promise to owne the Gouvernor of the Manatas as our Gouvernor and obey all his magistrates and lawes that are made accordin to God so long as we liue in his jurisdiction. (Signed) Robbert Bassett, George x Reith, John Finch, John Wilson, Richard x Horton, Thomas x Taylor, Hendrick x Cornelysen, Thomas x Marsin, Nick Loobey, John Quimbée, Josiah Cibber, Obadiah Cibbord, Jonathan Llockwood, Robert x Meacker, Jeffery x Fferris. The meeting to sign the above paper was called by beat of drum. The commissioners were desirous, for dispatch sake, to have the people assembled on Sunday, but they would not consent: "It was their

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The people complained seriously of annoyance they experienced from the Indians, who, having guarantied the quiet possession of the land to Mr. Pell, were now displeased that the settlers had submitted to the Dutch, especially as Mr. Pell insisted on having either his money returned, or the conditions of the sale honestly fulfilled. On this account they insisted on the restoration of their arms, which, they said, were not all returned according to promise. In their present condition they were exposed to great danger, should the Indians attack them, and therefore they demanded means to protect themselves.¹ The Jan. 3. Council thereupon sent them twelve muskets; a dozen pounds of powder; the same quantity of lead; two bundles of matches, and one writing book for the magistrates.²

1656. Throughout the various vicissitudes New Netherland had hitherto experienced, there was one blessing it possessed, from the contemplation of which the benevolent mind derives some consolation. There, at least, conscience seems to have enjoyed comparative repose, and those who bled in New England for its sake, could retire here, and for once find in the wilds of America liberty to commune with their Creator according to the dictates of their own hearts. Of this high honor New Netherland was now to be bereft. Poor human nature was again to be driven forth, to find, like the dove of the ark, no place on which to rest the sole of its foot; for Stuyvesant, forgetful of that wise and tolerant policy which enriched his native country,

Sabbath." Of their mode of worship the commissioners give in the journal of their expedition, the following account: "31 Dec. After dinner Cornelis van Ruyven went to the house where they held their Sunday meeting, to see their mode of worship, as they had, as yet, no preacher. There I found a gathering of about fifteen men, and ten or twelve women. Mr. Baly said the prayer, after which one Robbert Bassett read from a printed book a sermon, composed by an English clergyman in England. After the reading, Mr. Baly gave out another prayer and sung a psalm, and they all separated."

¹ "Honored Sir, wee humbly desire and request that you would be pleased to send us a count book and those twelve muskets which you spak of, with the rest of the ammunition for the use and safeguard of our plantations with the orders and lawes which we are to walk by that wee may know how to act. From Este towne the 1st of January, 1657, Thomas Newman."

² Alb. Rec. xv., 8.

by making it an asylum for the persecuted of all climes,¹ and which was more essential in a new country, was persuaded to follow the odious example of his eastern neighbors.

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This open assault on the rights of conscience was instigated by two ministers of the gospel, who should have learned, from the teachings of their Divine Master, a different lesson. The Rev. Messrs. Megapolensis and Drisius formally complained, at the beginning of this year, to the Director and Council, that some unqualified persons were, of late, in the habit of holding conventicles and acting as ministers at Middleburgh on Long Island, "from which nothing could be expected but discord, confusion, and disorder in church and state." A proclamation was, thereupon, issued, condemning, in unmeasured terms, those who Feb. 1. presumed to preach without having been appointed so to do by ecclesiastical authority. As "numberless heresies and schisms" were to be expected from such conventicles, these were most emphatically forbidden, differing, as they did, from the established religion as propounded by the Synod of Dort, "which was not only lawful, but commanded by the Word of God." A fine of one hundred pounds Flemish was, by this ordinance, imposed on all unlicensed preachers; and all persons, "male or female, married or single," who should attend their meetings and listen to their exhortations, subjected themselves, each, to a penalty of twenty-five pounds. This penal law, the first against freedom of conscience that disgraced the statute book of this colony, was passed "to promote the glory of God, the increase of the Reformed religion, and the peace and harmony of the country."²

At the period of its enactment the jurisdiction of the Dutch extended over the whole of the Delaware; on the

¹ The "public" exercises of religion were not allowed to any sects in Holland except the Calvinists. But all others were permitted to exercise their worship in private houses, which were in fact as if public, the places of preaching being spacious and of sufficient size for any assembly. See Bentivoglio, *Relazione de Fiandra*, p. ii., c. 2. Under this construction of the law, every religion was, in fact, tolerated.

² Alb. Rec. vii., 355-357,

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North River they had two settlements, besides the city of Amsterdam on the Mannhattans; Oostdorp in Westchester, and eight villages on Long Island. Previous to the expulsion of the Swedes, three ministers had been maintained on the South River by the Swedish Company. The Dutch had expelled two of these, leaving a third, "a man of godless and scandalous life," to furnish religious instruction to the Finns and Swedes who remained in the country. Forts Christina and Casimir were unprovided with any clergy. Throughout the remainder of the province there were but four clergymen of the "Established Church:" one at Beverwyck; two at the Mannhattans. The fourth, the Rev. Mr. Polhemus, ministered to the congregation furnished by the villages of Breukelen, Midwout and Amersfoort. The other towns got along as best they could. Those of Gravesend were Mennonists. They rejected infant baptism, the institution of the Sabbath, and the office of preacher altogether, "saying that through these entered all sorts of contention into the world." Flushing had originally supported a Presbyterian minister, but the inhabitants changed their religious opinions, absented themselves from his preaching, and refused to pay him his salary. The minister was consequently obliged to quit the place, and "he repaired to the English Virginias." The settlers at Middleburgh or Newtown were partly Independents and partly Presbyterians. The Rev. John Moore preached to the former, but administered no sacraments. The latter were too poor, or too few, to support a minister. In Heemstede, the people enjoyed the ministry of the Rev. Richard Denton, "an honest, pious and learned man," of the Presbyterian persuasion. Though there were many Puritans in the town, they objected not to listen to him; "but when he began to baptize the children of such as were not members, they burst out of the church." The inhabitants of Oostdorp were Puritans also, but neither they nor the newly commenced settlement at the Esopus had any preacher. "They hold Sunday meetings, and then one among them reads something out from a sermon book." Bad as it was with churches, it was worse as regards schools.

"Not one of all these places, whether Dutch or English, hath a schoolmaster, except the Manhattans, Beverwyck and Fort Casimir." CHAP.
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As for the conversion of the heathen, it can hardly be said to have entered into the calculations of the Dutch West India Company, or, if it did, it was soon abandoned. One young savage had been under instruction at the Manhattans two years, and the clergy there succeeded in teaching him the prayers, so that he could answer publicly in the church, and "read and write good Dutch." He was then furnished with a Bible, and sent to evangelize the other savages. But, instead of doing so, he "fell to drinking brandy, pawned the Bible, and became a real beast, doing more harm than good to the Indians."¹ The example which the Christians gave the heathens was ill adapted to promote the conversion of the latter. "When we visit Fort Orange," said an Onondago chief, "they never talk to us of prayer, and we do not know even if they pray there."²

It was under such circumstances, and in such a country, that the government resolved to build up an established church and enforce conformity—not, however, by introducing an additional number of orthodox clergymen into the province, to explain to the people the principles "pounded by the Synod of Dort," but by bills of pains and penalties; by fines, confiscations and banishment, and all the other abominations so familiar to the ages of religious persecution.

The first denomination of Christians who were troubled

¹ Rev. Mr. Megapolensis' letter to the Classis at Amsterdam, 5th Aug. 1657.

² "A Orange on ne nous parle jamais de la prière, et nous ne savons pas même si on y prie." Charlevoix, *Hist. de la N. F. i.*, 334. An Iroquois was noticed, one day, attending divine service in Canada among a congregation of Algonquin Christians. The officiating clergyman wished him to leave the church. He answered he believed in God, and had a rosary as well as the others. He was asked if he had been baptized? What is that? he enquired. It is, said a savage near him, to receive a precious water which removes all stains and impurities from the soul. He, who thought that this efficacious water was eau de vie, (brandy,) exclaimed, "Oh! the Dutch have often given me some of that powerful water, and I have sometimes drank so much of it, as to be so drunk that they were obliged to bind me hand and foot, lest I should commit mischief." *Relation*, 1645-6., 124.

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 1656. were Lutherans. Application had been made, at an early date, to the Directors in Holland, to allow professors of this creed liberty to elect a pastor, and the free exercise of their religion in New Netherland. But this had been refused, and orders were given "to employ all moderate exertions to lure them to our churches, and to matriculate them in the public Reformed religion."¹ Moderation is of little avail where conscience interposes scruples. Fathers were compelled, contrary to their principles, to assist at the baptism of their children in the Dutch church, and, as well as the sponsors, to declare their belief in the truth of the doctrine promulgated by the Synod of Dort. To this they objected. Many among them were, in consequence, imprisoned, and complaints to Holland followed. Stuyvesant was censured, and the aggrieved were then
 June 14. allowed to exercise their religion "in their own houses."
 Oct. 24. This was not enough. They demanded freedom from interruption in their worship. The Director-general avowed his determination to enforce the law against conventicles.² In Beverwyck, similar harsh measures were adopted against the same sect.³

¹ Alb. Rec. iv., 130.

² Ib. iv., 212; viii., 170; xiii., 240. The following is a copy of the petition of the Lutherans on this occasion: "1656, 24th Oct. We the united members of the unaltered Augsburg Confession here in New Netherland, show with all due reverence how that we have been obedient to your Honor's prohibitions and published placards, unwilling to collect together in any place to worship our God with reading and singing, although we solicited our friends in our Fatherland to obtain this privilege, who as our solicitors exerted themselves in our behalf by the noble Directors of the West India Company our Patroons, when after their letters to us, containing their entreaties, they obtained that they resolved unanimously and concluded that the doctrine of the unaltered Augsburg Confession, might be tolerated in the West Indies and New Netherland, being under their direction, as is the practice in our Fatherland under its excellent government; wherefore we address ourselves to your Honor, willing to acknowledge your Honor, as dutiful and obedient servants, with prayer, that you will not any longer interrupt our religious exercises, which we, under God's blessing, are wishing to make with reading and singing, till as we hope and expect, under God's aid, next spring, a qualified person shall arrive from our Fatherland to instruct us and take care of our souls."

³ Herewith goes a copy of a certain placard, drawn up and published by us against the congregation of some Lutherans, which has also been executed against the contraveners and disobedient. De Decker's letter to the Director-general, March 10th, 1656. Fort Orange Rec.

The Baptists at Flushing were the next to feel the wrath of the law. William Hallett, sheriff of that place, "had dared to collect conventicles in his house, and to permit one William Wickendam to explain and comment on God's holy Word, and to administer sacraments, though not called thereto by any civil or clerical authority." He had, moreover, assisted at such meeting, and afterwards "accepted from the said Wickendam's hands the bread in the form and manner the Lord's Supper is usually celebrated." For this violation of the statute, Hallett was removed from office, and fined fifty pounds, failing to pay which he was to be banished. Wickendam, "who maintained that he was commissioned by Christ, and dipped the people in the river," was fined one hundred pounds and ordered to be sent out of the country. But as he was "a poor cobbler from Rhode Island," burthened with a wife and family, from whom nothing could be recovered, the fine was remitted, but the remainder of the sentence was rigidly executed.¹

On receipt in Holland of the intelligence of the massacre on Staten Island, the Directors expressed much sympathy for their suffering colonists, yet counselled prudence and peace. They embraced the opportunity, however, to rid themselves and the province of Cornelis van Tienhoven and his brother Adriaen. The former, "by his deep intoxication and imprudence, was the prominent cause of that doleful massacre;" the latter, in his capacity of collector of customs, was discovered in the perpetration of gross frauds on the revenue, by which not only the Company, but divers private merchants, suffered great loss. "Upon the iterated complaints" of the citizens they were dismissed from office, and notwithstanding Stuyvesant undertook to palliate the misconduct of the Attorney-general, positive orders were sent out not to employ either him or his brother, in any capacity whatsoever, in the Company's service.² The Burgomasters and Schepens now hoped that they might obtain, at last, the separation

¹ Alb. Rec. xiii., 274-277.

² Ib. iv., 170, 206, 217, 218.

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 1656. Attorney-general, pursuant to the assent expressed by the
 June 26. Directors in 1654. They, therefore, requested the Director
 and Council to appoint from the citizens "an intelligent and
 expert" person as Sheriff of the city. But Stuyvesant re-
 fused compliance with their wishes, and Nicasius de Sille
 succeeded Van Tienhoven. The criminal jurisdiction of
 the magistrates was, however, enlarged, and they were
 now allowed to punish by branding and whipping, unless
 the prisoner appealed within twenty-four hours.¹

The judgment Van Tienhoven had so long merited at
 length overtook him. Profligate in principle, a debauchee
 in morals, addicted to every vice that a corrupt heart
 could delight in, he ran his career of guilt so triumphantly
 that he fancied there was no day of retribution for him.
 When at length he was called to account, he had recourse
 to the common stratagem of every defaulter. He vamped
 up offsets against his employers. These, however, would
 not be allowed until he furnished his accounts as Receiver-
 Nov. 7. general and Schout-fiscaal. A prosecution was entered
 against him for fraud. He now deemed it convenient to
 Nov. 18. abscond. His hat and cane were found floating in the
 river, thrown in, it is stated, to deceive his superiors.
 Orders were immediately issued to seize his papers and to
 take an inventory of his property. His unfortunate wife
 Dec 27. prayed delay; "she dreaded the throes of labor, for she
 was many months pregnant." Execution was stayed, but
 Van Tienhoven's character was blasted. His brother
 Adriaen absconded about the same time, and subsequently
 entered the English service at Barbadoes as a cook.

¹ Alb. Rec. xi., 386, 387, 403; xiii., 17, 18, 301.

² Ib. xi., 424, 425; xiii., 268, 302-305, 319; xv., 166. Guleyn Vigne married
 Adriana Cuvilje, and had by her (as far as I can ascertain) one son, John,
 (several years magistrate of New Amsterdam, who died in 1691,) and three
 daughters—Maria, (married Abram Verplanck,) Christiana, (married Dirck
 Volckers, of Bushwick,) and RACHEL, the wife of Cornelis van Tienhoven
 above alluded to. She died 18th February, 1663, leaving three minor chil-
 dren—Lucas, Joannes, and Janneken. Lucas practised surgery in New York
 until 1714, when he died. He married Katharine Man, by whom he had
 six children. The name seems now extinct in this State. There was a street in
 the city of New York, outside the Wall, called "Tienhoven's street," but
 this also has disappeared.

A new town was set off, in the spring of this year, at Conarisse, west of Heemstede, in compliance with the request of some of the inhabitants of the latter settlement, who were desirous of "a place to improve their labors." It was granted the usual municipal privileges, with election of magistrates, "the same as the villages of Middleburgh, Breukelen, Midwout and Amersfoort." In legal transactions this place was known by the Dutch name Rustdorp; by the settlers it was called Gemeco. Daniel Denton, the earliest English writer on this province, was chosen clerk of this town at the first meeting of the patentees, an office to which he was annually elected down to 1664.¹

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Mar. 21.

¹ Alb. Rec. x., 339; xiv., 12; Jamaica Rec.; Thompson, Hist. L. I., ii., 96. Daniel Denton, above mentioned, was oldest son of the Rev. Richard Denton, already referred to in a preceding part of the text. He accompanied his father from Stamford, in 1644. After the surrender of the country to the English, he engaged in the purchase of some lands at Elizabethtown, New Jersey, but he sold his share to Capt. John Baker, of New York, and John Ogden, of Northampton. He represented with Thomas Benedict the town of Jamaica in the Assembly of Deputies at Hempstead, in 1665. He proceeded to England some time after, where he published a pamphlet entitled "A Brief Description of New York, formerly called New Netherlands, with the places thereunto adjoining. London, 1670." After his return he resided at Jamaica, where his name is found on the Records, in 1684-5. His description of New York was republished by Gowans in 1845, with notes by the Hon. Gabriel Furman.

CHAPTER VII.

Affairs at the South River—Jean Paul Jacquet appointed Vice Director of that district—His instructions—Treats with the Indians—A Swedish ship arrives in the river—Proceedings against her—Intelligence of the expulsion of the Swedes received in Holland—Protest of the Swedish resident—Stuyvesant's conduct approved—Fort Casimir ceded to the city of Amsterdam—Erected into the colonie of New Amstel—Conditions for the encouragement of settlers—Emigrants sent out—Incidents of the voyage—The Prince Maurice wrecked—Suffering of those on board—Director Alrichs arrives at New Amstel, and supersedes Jacquet—Fort Christina called Altona—Government of the city and colonie—The first Dutch clergyman there—Condition of New Amstel at the end of the first year.

BOOK
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1655. DIRECTOR STUYVESANT, on obtaining possession of the South River, lost no time in organizing a government for the administration of justice and the superintendence of public interests in that quarter. Jean Paul Jacquet, who had faithfully served the Company many years in Brazil, and had arrived with his family in New Netherland in the beginning of this year, was appointed Vice Director, and Andries Hudde Secretary and Schout-fiscaal. These, with Elmerhuysen Klein, commissary, and "two of the most expert freemen," formed a court for the settlement of differences between citizen and citizen. For the management of military affairs and trial of military offenders, two sergeants took the place of the two freemen. The head quarters of this government were at Fort Casimir, in front of which all vessels trading to the river brought to and anchored until they received a permit to proceed on their voyages. In the settlement of the country, the colonists were to concentrate themselves in families of sixteen to twenty in number, and were to pay annually for their lands twelve stivers a morgen in lieu of tenths. The town lots were forty feet by fifty, and the streets from four to five rods in breadth. A strict watch was to be kept over the Swedes, who, "to prevent mischief,"

Nov. 29.

were to be persuaded to leave that district and move to the Manhattans. The natives were to be treated with civility, yet with vigilance; were not to be allowed to enter the fort with arms in their hands, and were to be lodged, when they visited the place, in a hut without the fort. Having been duly sworn to be loyal to his superiors; to administer justice and maintain the laws; to protect and uphold the Reformed religion as taught in Holland, and to defend the fort to the utmost of his power, Jacquet entered on the execution of his duties. The whole number of inhabitants consisted, at the time, of about a dozen families.

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1655.

Dec. 3.

Dec. 18.

One of the first duties of the new court was to receive a deputation of sachems, who came to form a commercial treaty. "Using a vast volubility of words," they asked to receive, for the future, one cloth dress for a deer, and so in proportion. Jacquet stood out for free trade. "Every one was at liberty to act his own pleasure, and to go where his purse prompted." This was agreed to, and the savages, as was their wont, required that the treaty should be ratified by "some proofs of friendship." The inhabitants were called together for that purpose. "With the exception of two persons," they "cheerfully subscribed" a subsidy for the Indians. Trade proceeded; the court occupied itself making municipal regulations, deciding suits between traders, and keeping order. As there was no clergyman attached to the place, Laurentius Lorkenius, the Swedish minister at Christina, occasionally officiated at Fort Casimir.¹

Dec. 28.

Nothing occurred to break the monotony of this retired hamlet until the ensuing spring, when, to the surprise of the inhabitants, a Swedish ship, the Mercury, arrived before the fort, with one hundred and thirty souls sent out by the Swedish Company as a reinforcement to their colony. The immigrants learnt, to their disappointment, that the country had passed into the hands of the Dutch. In this dilemma, without instructions, the commander of

1656.
March.

¹ Alb. Rec. x., 173, 186-191, 399, 404-407; xi., 127-133. The record of this administration terminates 7th March, 1657.

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 1656. the vessel applied to Jacquet for permission to land his cargo and passengers. He could be allowed only to proceed, overland, to the Manhattans, to lay his case before the Director-general. Here he applied for permission for the newly arrived settlers to locate on some of the vacant lands among their own countrymen, until orders should be received from Europe. The Director and Council could not allow this. The vessel was ordered to depart forthwith, with her passengers, or to come to the Manhattans, where a permit would be granted to sell the cargo. Whilst this was pending, rumors of fresh troubles were received, in consequence whereof a force of twelve or sixteen soldiers, under the command of Ensign Dirck Smith, was dispatched to the South River; but before these reached their destination—having to proceed across the country by the land route—letters were received from Secretary Hudde, stating that Pappegoia, with a number of Swedes and Indians, had, against the will of Jacquet, boarded the Mercury and taken her to Martinnehoeck, some distance above Fort Casimir, and landed the passengers.¹ The ship of war, the Balance, was immediately sent with two members of the Council, to bring the Swedish vessel to the North River, and to quiet the savages. These orders were executed without much trouble. The Mercury arrived safely at the Manhattans with her cargo, valued at 9,079 gl., equal to \$3,631, which was duly disposed of, after which the vessel returned to Europe.²

Meanwhile information reached the States General, through their ambassador at the court of London, of the fall of Fort Christina, and of the expulsion of the Swedes from the Delaware. Their High Mightinesses, anticipating remonstrances from the Swedish government, called

¹ "The Dutch might have sunk the Swedes' ship, but that they were afraid of killing the Indians then on board in that manner; for both the nations, as well Swedes as Dutch, did strive on both sides to please and not to disoblige the Indians, in consideration of the trade upon which they wholly depended. The Swedes' ship sailed up as high as Tinnicum." Lond. Doc. iv., 172.

² Alb. Rec. x., 351, 352, 353, 362-366, 383, 384; xi., 326-328, 338-344, 366, 369, 373, 374, 433.

on the Directors at Amsterdam to explain the circumstances attending those proceedings, who accordingly submitted a lengthy report on the state of affairs at the South River and "the unheard-of behavior of the Swedes in that quarter." In making this communication, the Directors excused themselves for the harsh manner in which they spoke of the Swedes, and requested that assistance might be afforded them to secure the rich and important country they had recovered.

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1656.
Jan. 24.

These papers were referred to a committee for examination, with an injunction of the most profound secrecy. Shortly after the Swedish government protested against the violence committed by the Dutch West India Company, and claimed from the States General the restitution of the territory which, it was maintained, the Swedes held "optimo titulo juris." This protest was, however, of no avail. The Swedes could not follow it up, for "they had their hands full" of the war they were then waging against Poland. Four days after, the Directors communicated to Stuyvesant their approbation of his conduct, "though they should not have been displeased had such a formal capitulation not taken place;" for "what is written is too long preserved and may be produced when not desired, whereas words not recorded are, in the lapse of time, forgotten, or may be explained away."

The expulsion of the Swedes soon became a source of embarrassment to the Company. The debts of this association had already accumulated to a serious amount, by their operations in Brazil and Guinea, and now their liabilities were only increased by the aid which the city of Amsterdam had afforded in recovering the South River. To liquidate this last debt, and to strengthen the southern boundaries of New Netherland, they proposed to cede Fort Casimir and a proportionate tract in its vicinity to

¹ Alb. Rec. iv., 204; De Witt, i., 276; iii., 201; v., 357; Aitzema, iii., 1260; Thurloe, iv., 599, 612; Hazard Reg. of Penn. i., 36; Hol. Doc. viii., 1, 16, 21, 24, 26, 30-49. The expulsion of the Swedes from the South River continued, for many years after this, to be a subject of complaint on the part of the Crown of Sweden to the States General. See App. H.

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the Burgomasters of that city. Conferences followed, the result of which was that the above fort, with all the country from the west side of the Minquaas, or Christina kill, to the mouth of the Delaware Bay, (named Boonties hoeck by the Dutch, and Canarisse by the Indians,) inclusive, and so far as the Minquaas land extended, became, with the Company's rights and privileges, the property of the city of Amsterdam, and was erected into a colonie of the first class, under the title of Nieuwer Amstel.¹ Settlers were encouraged to proceed thither by the following

CONDITIONS.

"I. The colonists who will emigrate shall be transported in suitable vessels, with their families, household furniture and other necessities.

"II. The city of Amsterdam shall make the best agreement they can with owners of vessels, for the transportation of persons or goods.

"III. The said city shall advance the freight money, provided that afterwards the said city be repaid in manner ereinafter mentioned.

"IV. To the end that the said colonists may live there freely, honestly and prosperously, the city aforesaid admits them with what follows:

V. First, the said city shall provide a fruitful soil in a dry and temperate climate, watered by, and situated near a fresh water river, to which large ships may sail; for which purpose an agreement is made with the West India Company for a place at their disposal, and to which no other persons have any claim.

"VI. There the city shall lay out a proper piece of land, by the river side, for the habitation and residence of

¹ Amsterdam obtained, from time to time, principally by purchase, divers manors situate, for the most part, around and adjoining that city. The principal of these was "Nieuw Amstel," or Amsterveen as it is otherwise called, lying immediately south of Amsterdam, whose existence has been traced back as far as the early part of the fourteenth century. The settlement on the South River derives its name from this ancient manor. See Wagenaar's *Beschrijving der Stad Amsterdam*, iii. 52, as well for the history as for a map and engravings of these lordships.

the colonists, and fortify the same with a trench without and a wall within; and divide the enclosed land into streets, a market, and lots suitable for the service as well of traders and mechanics, as of farmers; and all this at the expense of the city.

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“VII. The city of Amsterdam shall send there a proper person for schoolmaster, who shall also read the Holy Scriptures in public, and set the Psalms.

“VIII. The city of Amsterdam shall also provide, as soon as convenient, for the said schoolmaster.

“IX. And to the end that the colonists, going thither, may be provided with all proper necessities, the city of Amsterdam shall provide them, for one year, with clothing and provisions, and all kinds of seed-grain; and, moreover, shall build, in the place aforesaid, a large magazine or warehouse, wherein they shall keep all their goods both for the clothing and subsistence of the people. They shall also keep a factor there, who shall provide everything necessary for clothing, house-keeping and farming, and sell these at the same prices they are sold at here, the Company's toll excepted.

“X. Concerning the Company's toll, it shall be paid at the rate hereafter mentioned; and the city shall also take care in process of time that the toll, which shall be paid in New Netherland, shall be employed in building and supporting public works, by those who shall be authorized thereto by the West India Company and the city.

“XI. The said fortified place, allotted for the residence of the colonists, whether we call it a city or a town, shall be regulated in matters of police, or the administration of justice, and in descents, in the same manner as here in Amsterdam.

“XII. They shall first have one Schout or officer, as head of justice, appointed in the same manner as here.

“XIII. The Schout shall be appointed in the name of their High Mightinesses and the West India Company, by the deputies of Amsterdam, who, for this purpose, shall give the Director a power of attorney.

“XIV. They shall, moreover, have three Burgomasters,

BOOK who shall be appointed by the common burghers, from the
V. honestest, fittest and richest ;

1656. "XV. And five or seven Schepens, for which purpose the body of burghers shall nominate a double number, that the Director, by attorney, as is mentioned in Art. XIII., may make an election from them.

"XVI. On the increase of the city or town to two hundred families or upwards, these shall choose a Common Council of twenty-one persons, who shall meet with the Burgomasters and Schepens, and consult in like manner on matters relating to the government of the city : and this Common Council being once instituted, shall thereafter be able, in case of the death of one or more of their members, to fill vacancies by a new election, unanimously, or with plurality of votes ; in like manner the said Common Council shall annually choose the Burgomasters as aforesaid, and shall also have the nomination of a double number, from whence the Schepens shall be chosen.

"XVII. The Schepens shall determine causes for all sums under one hundred guilders, [\$40,] but in all exceeding one hundred guilders, the party aggrieved shall be allowed an appeal to the Director-general and Council of New Netherland.

"XVIII. The said Schepens shall also pronounce sentence in all criminal cases, but an appeal therefrom shall be allowed.

"XIX. The city of Amsterdam shall agree with a smith, a wheelwright, and a carpenter, to go and live there for the convenience and service of the colonists.

"XX. The city of Amsterdam aforesaid shall divide all the lands round about the aforesaid town or city, into suitable fields for plough-land, pasture and meadow-land, and make proper allowance for roads.

"XXI. Every farmer shall have in free, fast and durable property, as many morgens, as well of plough-land as of meadow, as he and his family can improve, and will require for grazing, if it be twenty, thirty or more morgens : provided that all such lands, which shall be given and conveyed in fee to the colonists, shall, by them, in two years

from the conveyance, be brought under cultivation, on penalty of the same being taken from them and given to others.

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“XXII. Each of the colonists shall settle and enjoy his land freely, without paying poundage, horn money, or salt money, for ten years, reckoning from the year in which the land is first sown or pastured; which ten years being expired, they shall not be taxed higher than those who are taxed lowest in any other district under the government of the West India Company in New Netherland. They shall, also, be free from the tenths for the term of twenty years, reckoning from the year in which the lands are first sown; and the said twenty years being expired, the tenths shall be given to the city of Amsterdam; always understanding that the half of the said tenths shall be applied to the support as well of the public works, as of persons employed in the public service there. In like manner, also, whenever any poundage or other charges shall be paid, the money shall be employed in making and supporting public works, and paying the salaries of persons in the service.

“XXIII. The city of Amsterdam shall give order, that during and after the sending ships from Holland to load and bring over corn, seed, wood, and all other kinds of merchandise, the most useful of the colonists shall, in like manner, be at liberty to charter private ships, provided they be consigned to the city of Amsterdam.

“XXIV. The city of Amsterdam shall, for this purpose, have proper storehouses here; store the grain and other goods of the colonists; sell them for the benefit of the colonists, and return their proceeds in such articles as the owners shall direct, deducting only two per cent. for commission, and one-tenth of the net proceeds in payment of the disbursements made by the said city for the freight and passage of the persons and goods of the colonists; and that until the aforesaid disbursements are refunded, and no longer.

“XXV. The colonists in New Netherland shall take out of the city's warehouse whatever they may require, at a

BOOK fixed price, provided the account thereof be transmitted
V. with the colonists' goods, to be deducted therefrom.

1656. "XXVI. The colonists may, for building houses and vessels and carrying on trade, cut as much wood as they think fit, without paying anything for it, not only in the nearest and most convenient forests, but also in any other place situate in the district, and under the jurisdiction of the Company in New Netherland, and not already granted to and owned by any private person; provided they submit to the regulations in that behalf made, or hereafter to be made, as in Art. XXVIII.

"XXVII. The Burgomasters of Amsterdam, as founders and patroons, and possessors of the jurisdiction, shall appoint the secretary, messenger, and other inferior persons.

"XXVIII. Hunting in the woods and fishing in all waters and rivers, not heretofore owned by other persons, shall be free to each of the colonists, under certain regulations to be made respecting them by the authority of the Company, or their High Mightinesses.

"XXIX. The city of Amsterdam shall see that all tools and implements necessary for farming shall be transported free and without paying recognition.

"XXX. Any of the colonists, who, by himself or his family, or any person in his service, shall discover any minerals, crystals, precious stones, marble, &c., of whatever nature the same may be, may possess and keep them as his own, without paying any imposition or duty for them, for the term of ten years; but after the expiration thereof, he shall be held to pay the Company one-tenth of their proceeds.

"XXXI. The city of Amsterdam shall cause a convenient warehouse to be prepared here, wherein shall be deposited all the goods which the said city intends to send to its colonie in New Netherland, where they may be visited by any person appointed by the Directors of the West India Company, under the inspection of a person appointed for that purpose by the city of Amsterdam, and marked with the marks of the city and Company, the

recognition thereof being paid to the Company according to the list ;

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“XXXII. Which goods then may be laden, with the knowledge of the Company, in any vessel or vessels the said Company shall be able to obtain.

“XXXIII. If the city of Amsterdam shall ship any goods on freight in any vessel to New Amsterdam, they shall submit to the same regulations as others.

“XXXIV. But if the city of Amsterdam shall send away its own, or any chartered ship, laden only with its own goods, it shall send that ship, or ships, directly to its own city, town, or colonie, provided that all the goods laden on board shall be advertised in the city’s warehouse there, under the inspection of any one of the Company appointed for that purpose, to whom also the letters and commission from the Company shall be delivered.

“XXXV. In like manner all wares, produce or merchandise, imported from the city’s colonie, must be brought here, and advertised in the city’s warehouse, under the inspection of a person appointed for that purpose by the Company, and the duties due to the country and the Company must be paid out of them according to the list.

“All materials and necessities for farming and the exercise of trades are free from recognition. All produce of New Netherland is free of duty on importation, as are all kinds of salted or dried fish, taken there. Peltry, as beavers, otters, &c., pay eight per centum. Besides the aforesaid duties here, there must be paid on all goods in New Netherland, four per cent. in light money, reckoning the rix-dollar at sixty-three stivers.”

These conditions were approved by the States General, Aug. 16. on condition that a preacher and consistory be appointed for the settlement, whenever the number of its inhabitants should amount to two hundred, or thereabouts. A recommendation was also made that the tariff of duties be so moderated as not to be too onerous to the colonists.¹

¹ Hol. Doc. viii., 133, 143, 149, 151-177 ; xv., 1-6, 184-187, 191, 192 ; N. Y. Hist. Coll. i., 291 ; Hazard’s State Papers, ii., 543.

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All preliminaries having been thus arranged, the city forthwith appointed a board of commissioners resident at Amsterdam to manage the affairs of the new colonie. Preparations were made for the removal of a large body of emigrants in the fall of the year; and for the defence of the settlement, a company of forty soldiers was engaged, and placed under the command of Capt. Martin Krygier, already a resident of New Netherland, and Lieutenant Alexander D'Hinoyossa, who had been in the Company's employ in the Brazils. The expense attendant on this expedition, and the support of the settlers for one year, was estimated at about thirty-six thousand guilders, or between fourteen and fifteen thousand dollars, to meet which a loan Nov. 11. was raised, and the proceeds placed at the disposal of the commissioners.

One hundred and fifty freemen and boors, principally Dec. 21. inhabitants of Gulick, were now embarked in three ships for the South River. Previous to their departure, however, they were obliged to swear allegiance to the States General, the Lords Burgomasters of the city of Amsterdam, the Director and Council of New Netherland, and to promise, also, faithful observance of the articles which had been drawn up for the regulation of their conduct in the country to which they were proceeding.¹ By these articles they were forbidden to take with them, under any pretext whatsoever, any munitions of war; to sell them, either by themselves or others, to the Indians; or to trade them away, under a penalty of four times their value. To enforce this the more stringently, they were to submit their chests, cases, or other packages, to such examination as might be deemed necessary. All such persons as emigrated at the expense of the city were to remain four years in the colonie, except for sufficient reasons, or unless they had reimbursed, within the prescribed time, all the expenses incurred and advances made in behalf of themselves and families.

This expedition, consisting of the ships the Prince Mau-

¹ Alb. Rec. xviii., 400. Montanus' *Nieuwe en Onbekende Wereld of Beschryving van America en 't Zuidland*, 4to., Amsterdam, 1671, p. 134.

rice, the Bear, and the Flower of Gelder, sailed from the Texel on Christmas day. They had been at sea only three days when they were separated by a violent storm, which caused the loss, to the first-named vessel, of six or seven of her crew. A southern course was now decided upon, in which the Prince Maurice continued for the next six weeks, until having reached the twenty-second degree of north latitude they bore up, and ten days afterwards descried land for the first time about Cape Romaine. All on board were now flattering themselves with the pleasing hope of soon reaching the Mannhattans, but in this they were doomed to be disappointed. None of the officers of the ship had ever been in these parts. Ignorant of the coast, and neglecting to "keep the lead going," they suddenly found themselves in shoal water, and the vessel, refusing to wear, struck, about eleven o'clock at night, on the south side of Long Island, at a place called Secoutague, about a gun-shot from the shore.¹ The night was dark and bitter cold; the surf broke wildly on the ill-fated ship, which was expected every moment to go to pieces. After passing a long and comfortless night in this dangerous position, some managed to make their way in the morning through the ice to the shore, in a leaky boat. They landed on a broken coast "without weeds, grass or timber of any sort to make a fire." Falling in, at length, with some Indians, Jacob Alrichs, who accompanied the expedition as Director of New Amstel, dispatched two of these to the Mannhattans, to announce their misfortune to Stuyvesant, and to request immediate succor.²

The Director-general, with most commendable promptness, sent down nine or ten yachts and lighters, and proceeded himself to the scene of the disaster, where the people were suffering the greatest distress. All the cargo, with the exception of the stores, tiles and smith's coal, was saved, and forwarded, with the settlers, to New

¹ This shipwreck took place in the neighborhood of the present town of Islip, in the great South Bay near Fire Island inlet. In another Record the place is called "Sichtewacky."

² Mr. Alrichs was uncle to the Hon. Mr. Beck, Vice Director at this time of Curaçoa.

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 1657. Amsterdam. The Gilded Beaver was chartered, and in her sailed Director Alrichs with his colonists, one hundred and twenty-five in number, seventy-six of whom were women and children. They arrived at the South River after a passage of five days. The other vessels belonging to this expedition arrived a few days afterwards, whilst Capt. Krygier and his soldiers, with a few of the settlers, proceeded overland to the Delaware.¹ Alrichs' arrival terminated the official career of Jacquet. Charges had been brought against this officer of refusing to administer justice, obstructing legal arrests, seizing by violence lands belonging to others, harassing the commonalty, and acting tyrannically towards the people. Notwithstanding that these, on investigation, were considered to arise "more from passion than reason," he was dismissed from office, and ordered to give up all public papers in his hands. April 20. Fort Christina, which was henceforward called "Altona," was placed in charge of Andries Hudde and a few soldiers, as well to defend it against the Swedes, as to "imbue the natives with proper awe."

The municipal government of New Amstel continued unchanged for four months longer, but the Balance Aug. 21. arriving with additional settlers, it was reconstructed. A "Vroedschap," or permanent council, of seven members, was elected by the burghers, and from this body three magistrates were chosen, who, with a Schout and Secretary, constituted a court for the administration of justice. The congregation, hitherto superintended by a "Ziecken trooster," or comforter of the sick, was now supplied by a clergyman, the Rev. Everardus Welius, who had been commissioned on the 9th of March preceding; and every preparation was made to render the settlement both orderly and secure. Lots were conceded to the colonists, a magazine erected, the fort repaired, a guard-house, bake-house

¹ Gerrit van Swerringen, who accompanied this expedition as supercargo of the Prince Maurice, writing in 1684, represents the soldiers to have been sixty in number, and the other passengers one hundred and eighty; and that they took possession of Fort Casimir, "now called New Castle," on the 25th April, 1657. (Lond. Doc. iv., 173.) The statement in the text is taken from Alrichs' letters and other Dutch papers which are considered more correct.

and forge built, together with residences for the clergyman and other public officers. A city hall "for the burghers" followed. This important building was a log-house, two stories high and twenty feet square. The whole of the public buildings were enclosed in a square, and New Amstel assumed, in consequence, quite a promising appearance, forming at the end of the first year "a goodly town of about one hundred houses."

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¹ Alb. Rec. iv., 237, 247; xii., 405-411, 419, 424-427, 448, 449; xv., 124; Hol. Doc. xv., 12, 213, 225, 227-231, 233-252; xvi., 196-200. As it cannot fail to be of interest to trace the rise of civil government in the wilderness, we append an extract from one of Alrichs' letters, to show more clearly the manner in which the municipality of New Amstel first came into existence. He says, "I found the government to consist of a military council over the soldiers who were here of old; the differences between the old settlers, who consisted of about twelve or thirteen families, were decided by the commander and two persons acting as Schepens, and a secretary appointed from among the inhabitants by the General on the part of the West India Company. These expressed a desire, now that the place had changed hands, that a burgher-like government should be continued according to the conditions, as it was under the Director-general and the West India Company. So it was, and they continued to decide all differences between burgher and burgher. All affairs appertaining to 'the city' and military matters, were disposed of by me and the Council, and differences between the city's servants, soldiers, trainsbands, and freemen, until the arrival of the Balance, [21st August, 1657,] when seven city councillors were elected, and from them three new Schepens were chosen, another secretary and Schout were also appointed, two elders, and two deacons," for the management of church affairs.

CHAPTER VIII.

Causes which led to the colonization of New Netherland—Consequences of opening the trade—Privilege of “Burgher recht” conferred on the citizens of New Amsterdam—Nature of that law—Benefits accruing therefrom—Causes which modified that law in New Netherland—Further intrigues of George Baxter and Hubbard—Another petition sent to Cromwell—Result of the mission—The Protector’s letter—Proceedings thereupon at Gravesend, Gemeco, &c.—Final disposition of the letter—Revival of religious persecutions—A Lutheran minister arrives—Is expelled the province, and forced to return to Holland—Controversy about the form of baptism—Arrival of Quakers at the Manhattans—Their reception—Conduct of a Heemstede magistrate towards one of the Friends—Inhuman treatment of Robert Hodshone—Richard Townsend prosecuted—The people of Flushing vindicate the rights of conscience—The magistrates of that town arrested and prosecuted—Quakers reappear at Rustdorp, (Gemeco,) also at Gravesend—Prosecutions against offenders in these towns—The charter of Flushing altered—Town taxed to support orthodoxy—A Catholic prosecuted—Proclamation against Quakers—Mary Scott and Mrs. Weeks fined—Reappearance of Friends at New Amsterdam—Banished—The Dutch clergy report the spread of sectarianism to the Classis at Amsterdam.

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AMONG the causes which gave birth to the province of New Netherland, and stimulated the industry of its citizens, none are so marked as the desire of gain. Religious persecution peopled New England and Virginia. Colonists were driven to the inhospitable coasts of the former by the prelates; to the fertile bottoms of the latter by the Roundheads. But neither religious nor political persecution stimulated in any way the settlement of America by the Dutch. Trade was their great aim, and edicts and ordinances for its regulation, especially with the Indians, enter largely into their early legislation. The opening of that trade in 1638 necessarily led to competition; this soon became offensive to the resident merchants, who, biassed by institutions with which they were conversant in their native country, and ill acquainted with sound rules of trade, with a view to its monopoly by themselves, prevailed on the Director-general in 1653 to order that no

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merchants should carry on any retail business with the interior, except such as were "in actual possession of a decent house and farm, and had resided in the country four years." CHAP.
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This law was, however, annulled in the following year by the home authorities. "The growth of a community yet in its infancy, must be rather promoted," they wisely observed, "by encouraging unlimited privileges, than restrained by prohibitions and restrictions. To compel individuals to settle and establish themselves in the country, and that, in many instances, against their inclinations and interests, is disgusting, indeed horrible; to compel them to remain stationary is servile—is slavery." They, therefore, contented themselves with ordering that traders in general should keep a store, by which means "interlopers and pedlars" would be checked, and merchants pay their share of the public burthens. On these conditions they were to be afterwards free to trade with the interior, or not, as suited their interests.¹

This regulation led to the introduction of the important Dutch law of "Burgher recht," or municipal freedom, which, "in consideration of the several faithful and voluntary services as well in expeditions as otherwise, and of the submission to burthens evinced by the citizens," was accorded this year, at the request of the Burgomasters Feb. 1. and Schepens, to the city of New Amsterdam.

The policy of conferring special privileges on the natives and residents of commercial cities may be said to be co-equal with the foundation of the Roman Empire. The exclusive right to trade in the city of Amsterdam was confined by law, almost from the commencement of its existence, to such of its inhabitants as were burghers, either by birth, purchase, intermarriage, or by a vote of the city, all of whom enjoyed the same privileges, with this difference only, that native citizens acquired them immediately on becoming of age and enregistering their names; the others, after the lapse of a year from the time of their enrolment. The "Burgher right" thus obtained, conveyed not

¹ Alb. Rec. iv., 129.

BOOK only commercial but important political and legal privileges. It conferred on the citizen freedom of trade and
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 1657. exemption from toll, and opened to him all offices under the city government. If wronged or injured when from home, it ensured him protection; secured him from suits of law by a fellow burgher beyond the city's jurisdiction, and if arrested in the public service, it guaranteed him redress at the city's expense. A Dutch burgher could not be arrested or imprisoned if he could procure bail, nor indicted, nor tried for any offence after the term of one year. He was saved from attain of blood and confiscation of property, if found guilty on a capital charge, for "he could not forfeit for any crime more than his life and one hundred guilders." Females, under this charter, could also share in burgher right, with this peculiarity, however: if acquired by purchase, they could enjoy it only while spinsters or widows; they lost it if married to those who were not themselves burghers, and their children, like those of Jewish burghers, did not inherit the parent's privilege.¹ On the decease of the husband, the mother became re-integrated in her municipal privileges.

This law continued unaltered until the year 1652. A false policy, fomented by feelings of pride and aristocracy, then took possession of men's minds, and under the pretence of replenishing the city's coffers, the Council was persuaded by the Burgomasters to divide the burghery into two classes—"Great and Small"—giving to the wealthy, for the sum of five hundred guilders, or two hundred dollars, the privilege of enrolling their names on the list of "the Great," who, alone, were to be invested with the monopoly of all offices, and the exemption from confiscation and attainder in case of conviction for capital offences. The lesser citizenship conveyed, under this new order of things, only freedom of trade, and the privilege of being received into the respective guilds.²

¹ Het Poorterschap gaat, niet dan door de mannen over op de kinderen, was the maxim of the law. The names of several females are to be found on the list of burghers of New Amsterdam.

² Wagenaar Beschryving, i., 142, 582, 583; iii., 141, et seq. To the credit

Unfortunately for New Amsterdam, it was after the establishment of those odious and unwise distinctions at home, that burgher right was conferred on her. Her citizens, among whom circumstances and birth created little or no difference—who removed to America with scarcely any other advantages than industrious habits and good health—and who, in their native land, could not put forth any exclusive pretensions on the score either of birth or riches, became at once, by Stuyvesant's short-sightedness, divided into two castes, the great and the small burghers. All members of the Council; all Burgomasters and Schepens; all ministers of the gospel and officers of the militia, "to the ensigns included," "past and present," "with their descendants in the male line," were enrolled among the first class; and all others who desired that rank "and wished to enjoy its privileges," could obtain the same, on payment to the city treasury of fifty guilders, Holland currency. All natives of the city; all who had resided there during a year and six weeks; all who married, or hereafter might espouse the daughters of burghers; all who kept a store, or exercised any business within the city; all salaried servants of the Company, were placed on the second list, on which, also, strangers and passengers could have their names inscribed on paying twenty-five guilders.¹

The government was now fated to experience considerable annoyance through the continued intrigues of Baxter. In the excitement attendant on the operations against the Swedes and the incursions of the savages, this individual and Hubbard lay almost forgotten in the keep of Fort

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of the Amsterdammers, this change was generally unpopular and unproductive of any of the expected benefits. "The separation into great and small burgher right," says Wagenaar, "it was hoped would allure numerous foreigners hither to purchase the great burgher right, inasmuch as it conferred the reception of high offices. But men lost their aim. The heavy fee attendant upon it, and the small hope, when procured, of attaining to eminent offices, frightened the greater portion of the foreigners away, so that it was presented only in a few instances, and purchased but once during a period of sixteen years. Therefore, the difference between great and small burghers being abolished by an edict, dated 25th March, 1668, the burgher right was fixed at fifty guilders, and every burgher was declared legally entitled to all burgher privileges.

¹ Alb. Rec. vii., 389-392; xv., 54; New Amsterdam Rec.

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 1656. Amsterdam. At length, in the beginning of 1656, through the intercession of Sir Henry Moody and the magistrates of Gravesend, the latter was set at liberty, and the former was transferred to the debtors' room in the court-house, to await the decision of the Directors in Amsterdam, bail having been given that he should not attempt an escape. But he took, a few weeks after, unexpected leave both of bail and prison, and, through the aid of an old man named Greedy, succeeded in removing, by night, his cattle which were under seizure at Gravesend. His creditors became now clamorous. He owed, among other debts, two hundred florins to the poor of his town. Execution was issued, and his farm and remaining effects were ordered to be sold to pay his liabilities.² Ruined in estate and branded as "a traitor," he returned to New England the irreconcilable foe of his former friends. Previous to his departure, however, he contrived to persuade several persons on Long Island to sign a petition to Cromwell to be emancipated from the Dutch yoke and to be taken under his protection. This petition he dispatched to London by James Grover, "the very man who hoisted the colors of the English Republic in the village of Gravesend."² The result of this mission was a letter from Thurloe, Secretary to the Lord Protector, "to the English well affected inhabitants on Long Island in America," in vindication of the right of the British to the northern part of this continent.³ The discoveries of the Cabots were declared to be the foundation of this title, which was afterwards fortified by the settlement of a colony under Sir Walter Raleigh in Virginia. These discoveries and plantations excluded, it was maintained, all right in the Dutch to colonize any part of North America, who were, thereupon, declared to be intruders, having, as it is commonly reported, obtained from King

¹ Alb. Rec. iv., 189; x., 180, 234, 235, 299, 300; xi., 119, 182, 183, 266-268; xii., 321.

² The first mention we find of this Grover is in 1650, when he was collector for the poor at Gravesend. He eventually removed to New Jersey, where (if we mistake not) he was proprietor of some iron works, which he sold to Col. Morris.

³ Thurloe, v., 81; Hazard's State Papers, i, 602-605.

James only "a certain island, called, therefore, by them, States Island, as a watering place for their West India fleets." The English towns on the westward part of Long Island, or any other of the English nation, intending to settle towns and colonies, were, in conclusion, lovingly advised "to be very cautious of making themselves guilty either of ignorant or wilful betraying the rights of their nation, by their subjecting themselves and lands to a foreign state." In case they wilfully and knowingly did so, they became, "in a degree, as guilty as he or they, that shall in England acknowledge subjection to a foreign state." However plausible were the positions laid down in this official document, its fallacies are too manifest to impose on the minds of those who will take the trouble to analyze them. Mere discovery of a country, not followed by actual possession, confers no title. This principle of public law was laid down and acted upon by Elizabeth, Queen of England, as far back as 1580, when resisting the exclusive pretensions of Spain to the new world, by virtue of the same title which Thurloe now put forth in favor of the English. "As she did not acknowledge the Spaniards to have any title by donation of the Bishop of Rome, so she knew no right they had to any places other than those they were in actual possession of; for their having touched only here and there upon a coast, and given names to a few rivers, or capes, were such insignificant things as could in no ways entitle them to a propriety, farther than in the parts where they actually settled, and continued to inhabit." The right derived from the Cabots, which had not even the plea of "having touched here and there on a coast" to support it, thus falling to the ground—for what was good as against Spain for England, must be admitted good also against the latter for the Dutch—the only remaining title in favor of England to this continent rests on the colonization of Virginia. This did not extend farther north than the Chesapeake or James River. Actual settle-

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¹ Camden, *Rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum Annales*, regnante Elizabetha, 8vo. Leyden, 1639, p. 328. "Proscriptio sine possessione haud valeat," was the principle laid down in this case.

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ment and continual habitation, which Queen Elizabeth laid down as necessary to make out a title, were, therefore, wanting to establish the English right to the country first discovered and now actually possessed by the Dutch. To call these "intruders," was, in the words of Louis XIV., "a species of mockery;" they had as good a right to reclaim the American wilderness as any other European power, and so long as they could show all the pre-requisites insisted on by England in 1580 to establish a title, theirs must be considered unobjectionable. This view of the case is only strengthened by an examination of the New England patent, granted by James I. to the Plymouth Company. This charter conveyed all the country from forty to forty-eight degrees of north latitude, with this express reservation, however: "Provided, always, that the said islands, or any of the said premises hereinbefore mentioned, . . . be not actually possessed or inhabited by any other Christian Prince or Estate." The Dutch had actual possession of New Netherland many years before the issue of this patent, and the reservation in favor of the rights of others which that document contains, was a full and perfect acknowledgment of the soundness of their title.¹ The assertion that James had granted them permission to use Staten Island as a watering place for their fleets, is purely an afterthought—a mere assertion, up to the present time unconfirmed by any evidence. The premises laid down by Thurloe being thus unsound, his conclusions become equally untenable; for where the English nation had no legal right, those inhabiting the English towns on Long Island could not be guilty of betraying such, by remaining under a government from which alone they derived every title to their lands, and to which they had voluntarily and solemnly sworn obedience. Baxter's emissary, however, thought otherwise, and, therefore, proceeding to Gravesend,

¹ See Patent in Hazard, i., 111. Consult further, "A State and Representation of the Bounds of the Province of New York against the claim of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay," &c., in the Journals of the New York Prov. Assembly; also, *Lettres du Comte d'Estrades*, Lond. 8vo. 1748, iii., 340, for the letter of the King of France, in which he states that after examination of both sides of the question, the right of the Dutch to the country is, in his estimation, the best established—"le mieux foudé."

demanded that the letter be opened and read to the people. The magistrates of that town immediately advised the Director-general of the matter, who gave instant orders that Grover and his papers be sent to the Mannhattans. The seizure produced considerable excitement throughout the English towns under Dutch jurisdiction. A general meeting of delegates from these several localities was invited to assemble at "Gemeco, to agitate concerning the letter sent by the Lord Protector unto the English living uppon Long Island, detained by the Governor-general," and Gravesend recommended that a messenger be at once dispatched to England to acquaint his Highness of the detention, and to inform him of the "wrongs and injuries which we receive here from those in authority over us." The communication which created all this turmoil was subsequently forwarded to Holland by Stuyvesant, "without daring to open it or allowing it to be opened, so as not to be accused either by the Lord Protector, of the crime of opening his letter or breaking his seal," or by the Directors "of admitting letters from a foreign prince or potentate from which rebellion might arise."¹

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1657.
Aug. 24.

Sep. 14.

Oct. 30.

Religious excitement now took the place of political. The Reverend Joannes Ernestus Goetwater, a Lutheran minister, had arrived with a commission from the Consistory at Amsterdam, authorizing him to act as pastor to the Lutheran congregation at the Mannhattans. The Dutch clergymen immediately informed the authorities of the circumstance. Dominie Goetwater was cited before the tribunals, and forbidden to exercise his calling. Messrs. Megapolensis and Drisius demanded that he should be sent back to Holland in the same ship in which he had arrived.² He was ordered to quit the province accordingly. Sickness, however, prevented his immediate compliance with this harsh and unchristian mandat^e. He was, therefore, "put on the limits" of the city, and finally forced to embark for Holland; and the established clergy wrote to the

¹ Hol. Doc. ix., 165-168, 269, 271; Alb. Rec. iv., 265; Gravesend Rec.

² Letter of the Rev. Megapolensis and Drisius, August 5, 1657.

BOOK V.
 1657. Directors protesting against the non-conformists. The department at Amsterdam endeavored to soothe the irritation of the Lutherans on the one side, and soften the too strict orthodoxy of the clergy on the other. Though they approved of the banishment of the Lutheran, they ordered the abandonment of the new and odious formulary of baptism, and the introduction into all the churches in New Netherland of the ancient formula, by which parents and guardians were obliged to acknowledge, generally, "that the doctrine contained in the Old and New Testaments, and in the articles of the Christian faith, and consequently taught in the Christian church, is the true and perfect doctrine of salvation." The fastidious and those of tender conscience would, by these means, be gained over in time, and the interests of religion and the country be promoted. The clergy were too much imbued with the leaven of "needless preciseness" to follow these injunctions. They scrupled using the old formulary, without a previous order from the Classis, lest they should be guilty of innovation. The Directors told them sharply in reply, that those might, with more truth, be called innovators who had originally altered the form of baptism. The new formulary had not been sanctioned either by the Church or the Classis. All moderate clergymen acknowledged this. It was a matter purely ceremonial, to be followed or omitted according to circumstances. The Directors expected that the ministers at New Amsterdam would have so decided after they had been once admonished. Whatever harmony then existed was, in their opinion, very precarious, whilst "that overbearing preciseness, so shocking to the feelings of others, is not avoided." If the present course be persisted in, the consequence will be that a separate church must be allowed to the Lutherans, who will not find it very difficult, on complaining to the home government, to obtain that privilege, to curtail which every endeavor will then be vain. The clergy were, therefore, seriously recommended to respond to the intentions of their superiors, and no longer hesitate to put in practice the "old formulary of baptism" without further orders. "In this manner alone can the

tranquillity of church and state be maintained and secured."¹

Meanwhile a few obscure men and women whom nobody knew—without learning or reputation—expelled from Boston as something worse than a pestilence—landed at New Amsterdam to announce a simple and humanizing creed, of which peace on earth and good will to men were the corner-stones. All being equal in the sight of God, individual superiority was no longer to be admitted by uncovering the head in the presence of a fellow mortal. Oaths were a profanation, when "Swear not at all" was the divine command; and wars and physical violence an outrage, when "Love one another" was the supreme will. Christopher Holder, John Copeland, Humphry Norton, Robert Hodshone, Richard Dowdney, William Robinson, Sarah Gibbons, Mary Clarke, Dorothy Waugh and Mary Witherhead, were the first apostles of these novel doctrines at the Mannhattans. Glowing with zeal and impelled by the Spirit, the two last-named women "publicly declared their principles in the streets," and announced to the Dutch burghers the existence of the benevolent society of "Friends." They were immediately arrested, and committed, apart from each other, to the keep. Hodshone went to Heemstede to disseminate his peculiar tenets in that place.²

Richard Gildersleeve, a magistrate of Heemstede, was one of the most prominent of the persecutors of the new sect. To "hold the garments of those who stoned the saints," was not glory enough for him. He pursued them with proclamations, and inflicted on them and their friends pains and penalties without end. Hodshone, whilst peaceably walking in an orchard, was seized and brought before this man, who committed him, and then proceeded to the Mannhattans to acquaint Stuyvesant with the fact. Returning in a short time with the Fiscaal and a guard of musketeers, they seized Hodshone's papers and Bible, then pinioned

¹ Alb. Rec. iv., 234, 266, 267, 275, 277, 323, 324; viii., 195; xiv., 323, 405.

² Besse's *Sufferings of the Quakers*, fol. Lond. 1753, ii., 182; Haz. Reg. Penn. vi., 174.

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their prisoner, and thus kept him during that night and the following day. They next arrested two poor, defenceless women who had entertained him, one of whom was burthened with a small child, and a nursing infant. Trundling these into a cart, they tied the unfortunate Quaker, pinioned, to its tail, and dragged him, by night, through the woods, over bad roads, "whereby he was much torn and abused." Arrived at New Amsterdam, he was cast into a filthy dungeon which was full of vermin. The women were removed to another place. Some time after he was brought before the Council, where Capt. Willet, of New Plymouth, succeeded in incensing the Director-general against him. Hodshone was sentenced to two years' hard labor at the wheelbarrow with a negro, or to pay the sum of six hundred guilders, equal to two hundred and forty dollars. In vain he attempted to make a defence. He was not suffered to speak, but remanded to prison, "where no English were suffered to come to him." After spending some time in this horrible hole, he was taken out, pinioned, his face set before the Council chamber, his hat removed from his head, and another sentence read to him in Dutch, which he did not understand; "but that it displeased many of that nation did appear, by the shaking of their heads."

After spending some additional days in prison, he was again brought forth, early one morning, chained to a wheelbarrow, and commanded to work. In vain he pleaded that he was never used to such labor. A pitched rope, some four inches thick, was placed in the hands of a sturdy negro, who beat the unfortunate man until he sank on the ground. Not satisfied, his persecutors had him lifted up. The negro again beat him until he fell a second time, after receiving, as was estimated, one hundred blows. Notwithstanding all this, he was kept, in the heat of the sun, chained to the wheelbarrow, his body bruised and swollen, faint from want of food; until, at length, he could no longer support himself, and he was obliged to sit down. The night found him again in his cell, and the morrow at his wheelbarrow, with a sentinel over him, to prevent all

conversation. On the third day, he was again led forth, chained as before. He still refused to work, for he "had committed no evil." He was then led, anew, before the Director-general, who ordered him to work; "otherwise he should be whipt every day." Hodshone demanded, "what law he had broken? and called for his accusers, that he might know his transgression." Instead of an answer, he was again chained to the barrow, and threatened, if he should speak to any person, with more severe punishment. But not being able to keep him silent, he was taken back to his dungeon, where he was kept several days, "two nights and one day and a half of which, without bread or water."

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The rage of persecution was still unsatiated. He was now removed to a private room, stripped to his waist, then hung up to the ceiling by his hands, with a heavy log of wood tied to his feet, "so that he could not turn his body." A strong negro then commenced lashing him with rods until his flesh was cut into pieces. Now let down, he was thrown again into his loathsome dungeon, where he was kept two days in solitary confinement, after which he was brought forth to undergo a repetition of the same barbarous torture. Fainting, and feeling as if he were about to die, he prayed that some English person might be allowed to visit him. An English woman came and bathed his wounds. "As she thought he could not live until morning," she acquainted her husband with the horrid sight she had witnessed. Her representation made such an impression, that the man went to the Fiscaal, and offered him a fat ox if he would allow Hodshone to be removed to his house until he recovered. This was refused, unless the whole fine were paid. Some would willingly accept these hard terms, but the Quaker, strong in his innocence, would not consent. He was now kept "like a slave to hard work." But his case eventually excited so much compassion, that Stuyvesant's sister at length interfered, and implored her brother so incessantly, that the Director-general was, at last, induced to liberate

BOOK V.
 1657. the unfortunate man.¹ In the face of the statute against conventicles, Henry Townsend, a conscientious and influential inhabitant of Rustdorp, had prayer-meetings in his house. He was immediately prosecuted, fined eight pounds Flemish, failing payment of which he was to be subjected to corporal punishment² and banished the province. The town officers of Flushing, to their honor, refused absolutely to enforce the law against the rights of conscience. For their part they could not condemn the persecuted, nor stretch out their hands to punish or banish them, "for, out of Christ, God is a consuming fire, and it is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God." They declined, therefore, to judge in the case, lest they should be judged; or to condemn, lest they be condemned; but preferred rather to let every man stand or fall to his own master. They were commanded by the law to do good unto all men, especially to those of the household of faith. The law of love, peace and liberty, extending, in the state, to Jews, Turks and Egyptians, forms the glory of Holland; so love, peace and liberty, extending to all in CHRIST JESUS, condemn hatred, war and bondage. But inasmuch as the Saviour hath said that it was impossible that scandal shall not come, but woe unto him by whom it cometh, they desired not to offend one of His little ones, under whatever form, name or title he appear, whether Presbyterian, Independent, Baptist or Quaker. On the contrary, they should be glad to see anything of God in them, desiring to do unto all as they wished all men should do unto themselves, "which is the true law both in church and state,"—"this, says our Saviour, is the law and the prophets." Should any of those people come in love among them, they, therefore, in conscience, could not lay

¹ This humane lady was Mde. Anna, widow of Nicholas Bayard, who, with her family, accompanied the Director-general to America. She had three sons: Balthazar, at this time a clerk in one of the public offices, Peter and Nicolaus. Balthazar Bayard married Maria, daughter of Govert Loockermans, by whom he had, 1. Anna Maria, married Augustus Jay, grandfather of Gov. Jay; 2. Arietta, married Samuel Verplanck; 3. Jacobus, married Hellegonda de Kay; 4. Judith, married Gerardus Stuyvesant, grandson of the Director-general.

² Sewell's History of the Quakers, 2d ed. Lond. 1725, 217-219; Besse, ii., 182; Alb. Rec. xix., 275.

violent hands on them. They should give them free ingress and egress into their houses, "as God shall persuade our consciences." And in this, they maintained, they were true subjects both of church and state, for they were bound by the law of God to do good, not evil, to all men, "according to the patent and charter of our town, given unto us in the name of the States General, which we are unwilling to infringe and violate."

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The high-toned and just sentiments here enounced were subscribed by all the inhabitants of the town.¹ Instead, however, of convincing, they only incensed the government. Sheriff Feake, who was commissioned to present the paper containing them, was immediately placed under Jan. 1. arrest, together with Messrs. Farrington and Noble, the magistrates of the village.

The town clerk was subjected, according to the proce- Jan. 3. dure of the courts of those days, to a searching examination on written interrogatories, with a view to discover the authors of the remonstrance. But though nothing of importance could be extorted from him, he was sent to prison. The magistrates "having been inveigled into signing the paper by Feake, were discharged, but suspend- Jan. 23. ed from office until further orders. Hart, after three weeks' confinement, was forced to make a most humble submission, and finally released only at the intercession of his neighbors, as he was one of the oldest settlers, and had a large family to provide for. It fared harder, however, with the sheriff. He was the mainspring of the whole popular movement, and an old soldier in the fight for religious liberty. He had, moreover, entertained and lodged "some of the abominable sect called Quakers."

¹ The names appended to this truly Christian remonstrance, ought to be handed down through all time. They were Edward Hart, clerk, Tobias Feake, William Noble, William Charles Stiger, William Thorne, Jun., Rudolf Blackford, Edward Feake, Mirabel Stevens, John Glover, Nathan Jeffs, Benjamin Hubbard, Philip —, William Pidgeon, George Blee, Elias Doughty, Anthony Field, Richard Stortin, Edward Griffin, Nathaniel Coe, Robert Field, Sen., Robert Field, Jun., Nicholas Persells, Michael Millner, Henry Townsend, George Wright, John Ford, Lyman Bumtall, Edward Reurt, John Masline, John Townsend, Edward Ffarrington.

BOOK V.
 1658. He had composed "the seditious cartabel" which the others had but signed. He had justified the "incendiaries" "who treat with contempt all ecclesiastical and political authority, and undermine the foundation of all government; maintaining that all sects, particularly the said abominable sect, ought to be tolerated, in direct opposition to orders which he ought to have maintained." As an example to all
 Jan. 28. others, he was, therefore, degraded from his office, and fined two hundred guilders, with costs of court, refusing to pay which, he was to be banished from the province.¹

These arbitrary proceedings evoked only increased resistance. The light which was extinguished in one quarter, burst forth, with increased energy, in another.
 Jan. 8. Intelligence was received that the Quakers and their adherents reappeared at Rustdorp. Henry Townsend, by no means convinced of his errors by the fine already imposed on him, still maintained conventicles there "in full blast." Gravesend, too, became infected. John Tilton, the clerk of that town, "had dared to provide a Quaker woman with lodgings." Both these rebellious spirits were cited before the Council. Tilton was fined twelve Flemish pounds, and Townsend three hundred guilders, with costs of court.² But this fine the latter absolutely refused to pay. His person and estate were in the hands of his persecutors. These they might take if they would, but he should not pay the fine. "Whereupon they cast him into a miry dungeon, from whence some of his friends at length procured his liberty, by giving the oppressors two young oxen and a horse."³

Having thus disposed of these cases, the opportunity was taken to infringe the patent of Flushing, and to circumscribe within narrower limits the privileges of its inhabitants. "To prevent in future the disorders arising from town meetings, as these are very prejudicial," all such
 Mar. 26. assemblies were henceforward forbidden, except on permission of the Director-general and Council, obtained through the sheriff, or in his absence from the magistrates.

¹ Alb. Rec. xiv., 1-9, 15, 38, 48, 49, 67, 68.

² Alb. Rec. xiv., 12-14, 20.

³ Besse, ii., 197.

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And instead of such meetings being composed, as heretofore, of the mass of the settlers, a "vroedschap," or council of seven persons, was to be elected "from the best, most prudent and most respectable inhabitants," and consulted on all local affairs by the sheriff and magistracy. One of these seven "councillors" was to be occasionally selected by the magistrates to act as their assistant when the bench was not full, or when any of the magistrates was a party in a law-suit. "Whatever shall be decided by said sheriff, magistrates and councillors, relating to fences, bridges, roads, schools, the church or public buildings, shall be submitted to by the inhabitants in general." And as the village had been bereft, for the three or four past years, of "a good, pious and orthodox minister," whereby the settlers were inclined to neglect religious duties, and violate the Sabbath, the above authorities were directed to look out for a proper clergyman, towards whose maintenance each proprietor was to pay a land tax of twelve stivers per morgen. In case this did not furnish an adequate support, the deficit was to be made up from the tenths. "All who do not consent to this order, are to dispose of their property and quit the town."¹ A conscientious Frenchman, and an equally unmanageable Englishman, were brought up by the sheriff of Breukelen, April 2. soon after this, on a charge of refusing to contribute to the support of the Rev. Mr. Polhemus. They "most insolently pleaded frivolous excuses—the first, that he was a Catholic; the other, that he did not understand Dutch." They were each fined twelve guilders.² Heemstede became next the theatre on which orthodoxy and heterodoxy came to blows. Separation made such alarming inroads here, the magistrates were under the necessity of issuing the following proclamation:—

"Whereas we judge, by woful experience, that, of late, April 13. a sect hath taken such ill effect amongst us to the seducing of certain of the inhabitants, who by giving heed to seducing spirits, under the notion of being inspired by the

¹ Alb. Rec. xiv., 169-173.² Ibid. 184.

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 1658. Holy Spirit of God, have drawn away with their error and misguided light those which, together with us, did worship God in spirit and in truth, and more unto our grief do separate from us; and unto the great dishonor of God, and the violation of the established laws and the Christian order, that ought to be observed, with love, peace and concord, have broke the Sabbath, and neglected to join with us in the true worship and service of God, as formerly they have done; Be it, therefore, ordered, that no manner of person or persons whatsoever shall henceforth give any entertainment, or have any converse with those people who are called by us Quakers; or shall lodge them in their houses, (except they are permitted for one night's lodging in the parish, and so to depart quietly, without dispute or debate the next morning;) and this is to be observed in the town and to the uttermost bounds thereof."

Yet all this was of no avail. "Mary the wife of Joseph Scott, together with the wife of Francis Weeks, contrary to the law of God, and the laws established in this place, not only absented themselves from public worship, but profaned the Lord's day by going to a conventicle or meeting in the woods, where there were two Quakers." They were accordingly arraigned. But instead of being downcast or abashed, they, on examination, justified the act. "They knew no transgression they had done. They went out to meet the people of God." The plea was overruled, and these good women were each fined twenty guilders, "with all costs and charges which arise herefrom."

The winter had not yet set in, when three other persons, "suspected of being Quakers," made their appearance at New Amsterdam. These individuals were Thomas Christian, John Cook, and Thomas Chapman. Being
 Sep. 30. brought before the Director and Council, "they entered the room, their heads covered, without paying any respect" to the authorities present. Stuyvesant appeared to

¹ Besse, ii., 196, 197; Thompson's L. I. ii., 11, 12.

have had enough of "the wheelbarrow and the pitched rope." He ordered the under-sheriff to conduct the Quakers to "Gamoenepan," (Communipau,) at the other side of the river, whence they had come. They requested permission to go to New England; but this was refused, and they were warned not to appear again at the Manhattans, under pain of corporal punishment. Dominies Megapolensis and Drisius sent a report on the alarming spread of sectarianism to the Classis of Amsterdam, who brought the subject, in consequence, before the Assembly of the XIX.¹

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But whilst Christians were thus harassing Christians at the east, various matters were occurring in the Indian country at the west, which must now claim our attention.

<sup>1</sup> Alb. Rec. xiv., 369; xviii., 133; Hol. Doc. ix., 102, 103.

## CHAPTER IX.

Proclamation to form villages—First settlement at the Esopus—Indian name of that tract—Difficulties with the natives—Stuyvesant visits the place—Interview with the Indians—The settlers concentrate their dwellings—Indian free gift—The French repair to the western part of the province—Settle at the Salt Springs of Onondaga—Père Le Moyne visits New Amsterdam—Trade to the St. Lawrence opened to Dutch ships—The St. John sails for Quebec—The Onondagoes conspire against the French, who abandon the Salt Springs—Mohawk delegation to Canada—Apply for an interpreter at Fort Orange—Result—Stuyvesant visits the Esopus a second time—His speech to the Indians—Their reply—The result of the talk.

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1656.  Though the massacre of 1655 was an occurrence to be deplored, yet, as no evil is unmixed with good, it must be acknowledged that even such a misfortune was not without its advantages. It showed the imprudence of the agricultural portion of the population living, as was hitherto the custom, each settler on his respective farm, apart the one from the other; and laid the foundation of a different system, on the part of the government, in the establishment of new settlements. In the beginning of the year succeeding the massacre, a proclamation went forth, ordering all who resided in isolated places to collect together and form villages, "after the fashion of our New England neighbors." Though this proclamation guided the future policy of the authorities, its effects were not immediately perceptible. Not a village existed between the Manhattans and Fort Orange for several years after it was issued.

The first Dutch adventurers had erected, in 1614, on the western bank of the Hudson, some fifty miles below Fort Orange, a small redoubt, or block-house, called the

<sup>1</sup> Alb. Rec. xii., 169, 170; New Amst. Rec. The practice of living at a distance from each other, was not peculiar to the Dutch farmers. It obtained, with like unfortunate consequences, among the French in Canada, and is strongly reproved in the "Relation" of the Jesuit mission in that country, 1659, 1660.

“Ronduit,”<sup>1</sup> but it was not until 1652 and 1653, that any settlers took up land in that quarter. A few persons, originally residents of Rensselaerswyck, desirous to be freed from the feudal pretensions of Patroons, settled, in the course of these years, on the Indian tract called Atkarkarton, now known as the Esopus.<sup>2</sup> The progress of these settlements was, however, seriously interrupted by the troubles of 1655. The country was, for the moment, abandoned. On the re-establishment of order, the farmers returned to their new homes, but each family remained on its own farm. The spirit of gain soon gave rise to many irregularities. Every boor became, as in other places, a trader, and, with a view to obtain a large amount of furs, imprudently distributed brandy and other intoxicating liquors among the savages. This proceeding naturally gave rise to serious disorders, and was followed, at last, by murder and arson; for some unruly savages, excited by drink, became quarrelsome, killed one settler, and fired the dwelling and out-houses of another. Next holding lighted firebrands to other buildings, they compelled the farmers to plough their maize patches, threatening, in case of refusal, to fire the dwellings of “the Dutch dogs”—“they could easily pay for killing them by a few fathoms of wampum.” The white population consisted, at this period, of between sixty and seventy Christians, the progress of whose tillage may be calculated from the fact, that they had nearly a thousand schepels of grain in the ground when this outbreak occurred.<sup>3</sup> Naturally alarmed for their crops, their property and their lives, they durst not refuse compliance with the demands of their persecutors.

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May 1.

<sup>1</sup> The Dutch word Ronduit means, literally, a small fort or redoubt. The original name, slightly varied, still designates the place. The Dutch “Ronduit” is now RONDOUT. In pronunciation these words have a strong resemblance, which perhaps accounts for the alteration in the spelling. Those, therefore, err who say that the present name is a corruption of the word redoubt. It is, with the variation already stated, the name originally given to the place.

<sup>2</sup> “About eighteen miles up the North River, half way between the Manhatans and Rensselaer or Beverwyck, lies a place called by the Dutch Esopus or Sypous; by the Indians, Atkarkarton. It is an exceedingly beautiful country.” Rev. Mr. Megapolensis to the Classis at Amsterdam.

<sup>3</sup> Estimating two bushels to the acre, the number of acres of tilled land at this time in Ulster county, was about 400, or 25 to each family.

BOOK V. They wrote to the Director-general, imploring him to send  
 1658. ~~~~~ forty or fifty soldiers "to save the Esopus, which, if well  
 May 2. settled, might supply the whole of New Netherland with  
 provisions. It will be vain to cover the well when the  
 calf is drowned." The Director-general, accompanied  
 May 28. by Govert Loockermans, proceeded, on receipt of this  
 letter, with some fifty soldiers, to the seat of the disturb-  
 ance. He invited the sachems of the neighborhood to  
 meet him at the residence of Jacob Jansen Stol. The fol-  
 May 30. lowing day, being Ascension Thursday, the Dutch settlers  
 assembled, as was their wont, at this house for religious  
 service. The Director-general seized the opportunity to  
 impress on the minds of those present the imprudence of  
 continuing, as heretofore, segregated, the one family from  
 the other. The prospect of an abundant harvest was most  
 promising: it would be unwise to attempt hostile opera-  
 tions against the Indians under such circumstances; for in  
 endeavoring to obtain redress for small injuries, they would  
 only run the risk of incurring serious losses. Scattered  
 as they were, it was impossible to protect them all; he,  
 therefore, recommended them to form at once a village  
 which could be easily fortified, and thereby afford every  
 one effectual protection from the surrounding barbarians.

The people were, at first, unwilling to act on these sug-  
 gestions. They had already been obliged, three years  
 ago, to abandon their farms. They were still poor, having  
 expended their all in recovering from the losses they then  
 incurred, in erecting buildings, and in bringing their land  
 to its present condition. At that particular season, when  
 their crops were in the ground, they could not very well  
 remove their houses; and it would be difficult to agree on  
 the site of a village, for every one would prefer the place  
 which he had selected for his own residence. Besides,  
 the village should be palisaded, and this could not well be  
 done until after harvest. Under all these circumstances,  
 they requested that the matter be postponed until after the  
 crops be gathered, and that the soldiers be allowed to re-  
 main until that time.

This request was at once rejected. But the Director promised, that if they would agree to palisade at once the ground to be selected for the village, he would remain with them until the work was completed. The people demanded until the morrow for consideration. In the mean time, some twelve or fifteen savages, accompanied by a couple of their chiefs, arrived at the house where the Director-general was sojourning, with word that the other sachems were deterred from coming through fear of Stuyvesant's soldiers. On receiving assurances that no harm should befall them, some fifty additional Indians, with a few women and children, made their appearance, and seated themselves beneath an aged tree which stood without the fence, "about a stone's throw from the house." Unaccompanied, save by a couple of followers and an interpreter, General Stuyvesant went forth to greet them. As soon as he was seated, one of the chiefs arose "and made a long harangue." Going back to the period of the war waged in Kieft's time, he detailed at length its various events, and enumerated how many of their tribe the Dutch had then slain, adding, however, that they had obliterated all these things from their hearts and forgotten them.

When the chief concluded, Stuyvesant replied: These events had occurred before his time; therefore, he could not be held responsible for them. They and other savages had caused that war by killing Christians, yet he was unwilling to renew the recollection of such occurrences, as, by the peace, "it was all thrown away." "But," he asked, "has any injury been done you, in person or property, since the conclusion of that peace, or since I have come into the country?" They all remained silent. The Director-general then proceeded to enumerate, through the interpreter, the various murders, injuries, and affronts which, since his arrival, they had committed on the Dutch. "Your overbearing insolence at Esopus is known. I come to investigate this matter, and not to make war, provided the murderer be surrendered and all damage repaid. The Dutch had never solicited your sachems for leave to come

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here. Your sachems have requested us, over and over again, to make a settlement among you. We have not had a foot of your land without paying you for it, nor do we desire to have any more without making you full compensation therefor. Why, then, have you committed this murder? Why have you burned our houses, killed our cattle, and continue to threaten our people?"

They answered not. "Bowing down, they let their heads fall, and looked on the ground!" At length, after a considerable pause, one of the chiefs arose and thus spoke: "You Swannekins have sold our children the *boisson*. It is you who have given them brandy and made them 'cacheus,' intoxicated and mad, and caused them to commit all this mischief. The sachems cannot then control the young Indians, nor prevent them fighting. This murder has not been committed by any of our tribe, but by a Minnisinck, who now skulks among the Haverstraws. 'Twas he who fired the two houses and then fled. For ourselves, we can truly say, we did not commit the act. We know no malice, neither are we inclined to fight. But we cannot control our young men."

The Indian chief had scarcely ceased when Stuyvesant started up and hurled defiance at the young braves. "If any of your young savages desire to fight, let them now step forth. I will place man against man. Nay, I will place twenty against thirty or forty of your hot-heads. Now, then, is your time. But it is not manly to threaten farmers, and women and children, who are not warriors. If this be not stopped, I shall be compelled to retaliate on old and young, on women and children. This I can now do by killing you all, taking your wives and little ones captive, and destroying your maize lands. But I will not do it. You, I expect, will repair all damages, seize the murderer if he come among you, and do no further mischief." "The Dutch," he continued, "are now going to live together in one spot. It is desirable that you should sell us the whole of the Esopus land, as you have often proposed, and remove farther into the interior; for it is not good for you to reside so near the Swannekins, whose

cattle might eat your maize, and thus cause fresh disturbance." The Indians promised to take the matter into consideration, and then departed. The settlers now concluded that it would be best to adopt the counsel of their Director. They therefore unanimously agreed to form themselves into a village, the site of which they left to Stuyvesant. Having signed an instrument to this effect, the spot was immediately selected and staked. It was two hundred and ten yards in circumference, and could be surrounded by water, if necessary, on three sides.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
IX.  
1658.

May 31.

The savages finding it now to be their wisest course to obtain terms from the Dutch sachem, returned the next day with their chiefs and solicited peace. Then laying down a few fathoms of wampum, they expressed their sorrow for what had passed. They felt particular shame that Stuyvesant should have challenged their young warriors to fight, and that they dared not to accept the challenge. They hoped such a circumstance would not be spread abroad. As for themselves, they would now throw aside all malice, and not give again any cause of offence. Presents of cloth and frieze were distributed among them in return, but they were told a second time, that they must surrender the murderer, and make good the damages they had committed. To these demands they at first demurred. The murderer was a stranger, whom it was impossible to give up. The indemnity should not be exacted from the nation in general, but from him who had done the wrong, and who had absconded. Finally, however, they agreed to make compensation, and to sell the land required for the projected village.

June 1.

All preliminaries having thus been arranged, a beginning was made with the fortifications. Whilst all hands were yet busily employed chopping wood, cutting and drawing palisades and digging trenches, forty or fifty savages were perceived approaching from a distance. Eighteen men were immediately ordered to stand by their arms, and all work was suspended. The Indians demanded a parley.

June 3.

June 4.

<sup>1</sup> Alb. Rec. xvi., 15-26, 35; Kingston Rec

- BOOK V.  
 ~~~~~  
 1658. They came, they said, to request the Grand Sachem to accept the land on which he had commenced his settlement, as a free present. They gave it "to grease his feet, as he had undertaken so long and painful a journey to visit them." They again renewed the assurance that they had thrown away all malice. Hereafter none among them would injure a Dutchman. The Dutch, on their side, reciprocated the like assurance. After three weeks' labor, the lines were completed; all the buildings removed; a guard-house, sixteen feet by twenty-three, built in the north-east corner of the village; a bridge was thrown across the kill, and temporary quarters erected for the soldiers, after which the Director-general returned to the Manhattans, leaving behind him twenty-four soldiers for the protection of this infant settlement."¹
- June 24. 1655. An embassy from the Onondagoes having already
 Sep. 12. invited the French to plant a colony in the heart of their country, the Rev. Joseph Chaumont and the Rev.
 Nov. 11. Claude Dablon accompanied the ambassadors and selected a site for the proposed settlement, at the Salt Springs near
 1656. Lake Gannentaha. A party, composed of six Jesuits and
 May 17. fifty French colonists, started under the command of Capt. Dupuis in the course of the next spring for their new homes, where they were joined by two other missionaries
 1657. and a number of Hurons in the subsequent year. But the Onondagoes had now triumphed over those nations with whom they had been at war. Victory had the effect of making them insolent, of reviving the recollection of their ancient hatred against the Hurons, and of creating within their breasts a vain desire of triumphing over the Europeans. They resolved to avenge themselves of the one and to destroy the others, and thus their success over the Cats led to a conspiracy against the French. Their perfidy
 Aug. 3. became manifest by the sudden and unexpected massacre of several of the Hurons who had accompanied the Europeans. This was followed by an incursion of

¹ Alb. Rec. xvi., 27-34.

Oneidas, (the "daughters" of the Mohawks,) who destroyed several Frenchmen at Montreal. Hereupon an order was issued by Gov. D'Aillebout for the arrest of all the Iroquois found in Canada. A number of Mohawks and Onondagoes were accordingly seized and put in irons. This vigorous proceeding saved the French at Onondaga from an immediate massacre. The savages considered it best to conceal their hate, for a season, until they could obtain the liberation of their imprisoned brethren, through the intervention of Père Le Moyne, then among the Mohawks.¹

CHAP.
IX.
1657.
Nov 5.

This missionary had followed some Christian Hurons into the Mohawk territory, and took occasion soon after to visit New Amsterdam, for the purpose of affording spiritual comfort to the Catholics residing in that city, as well as to some French sailors who had recently arrived with a prize at that port.² The Dutch, always alive to the extension of their commerce, seized the occasion of this visit to demand permission to visit the St. Lawrence for the purpose of trade, and solicited Le Moyne to represent their wishes to the Governor of Canada. The Jesuit's representations were crowned with success. The

Aug. 26.
1658.
Jan. 3.

¹ Relation, 1655, 1656., 16-23, 34, et seq.; Ibid. 1657, 1658., 2-8, 30-40. The force of the Five Nations at this period was estimated by the Jesuits (Rel. 1659, 1660,) at 2200 warriors, of which the Mohawks were reckoned at 500, "in two or three wretched villages;" the Oneidas 100, Onondagoes and Cayugas 300 each, and the Senecas 1000. "Whoever should take the census of the pure (frances) Iroquois, would scarcely find more than 1200 in the whole of the Five Nations." The same authority, (Anno 1645-6,) speaking of the Oneidas, remarks: "Oneida is a tribe, the greater number of whom were destroyed in war by the Upper Algonquins. To recruit itself, it was, thereupon, constrained to call in the Mohawks. Whence it comes that the Mohawks call the Oneidas 'their daughters.'"

² "This Simon Le Moyne has been with Indians from the Indian country several times at Fort Orange. At long last he came here to the Manhattans, without doubt, on account of the Papists residing here, and especially for the accommodation of the French sailors, who are Papists, and who have arrived here with a good prize." Rev. Dom. Megapolensis to the Classis of Amsterdam. On his return to Fort Orange, the Jesuit wrote three essays: 1. On the Succession of the Popes; 2. On the Council; 3. On Heretics; which he sent to the Rev. Mr. Megapolensis with a letter commending them to his study, adding, "that Christ hanging on the wood of the cross was still ready to receive his repentance," (or conversion.) The Dutch Dominie sent an answer by a yacht then on the eve of sailing from New Amsterdam for Canada. But the vessel was lost, and so Père Le Moyne never received this reply to his "Catologos."

BOOK
V.
1658.
Feb. 18.

Canadian Governor consented that New Netherland vessels should henceforward resort to Quebec, on the same terms as French ships, with this reserve, however, that the Dutch should not participate in the Indian trade, nor be allowed the public exercise of their religion in that country.¹ As this proviso was merely a counterpart of the rules which the Dutch themselves prescribed in their province, they did not object; on the contrary, they hastened to take advantage of the "happy and fortunate," circumstances, and prepared to "plough with their craft" the waters of the St. Lawrence. The bark *St. Jean*, July 2. Capt. John Perel, cleared in the course of the summer for Quebec, from the port of New Amsterdam, with a cargo

¹ The following is a copy of the correspondence announcing this fact:—

"Fort Orange, 7 Avril, 1658.

"Domine Illustrissime:—

"Mitto ad te, lubens, quas accepi Kebeco literas; gallico illas quidem idiomate, hoc est aperto et amico. Nolluit, opinor, latine scribere, qui nomen suum epistolæ subseripsit vir nobilissimus iuxta ac eruditissimus, Dom: Dailleboust; fortassis quia plures apud vos gallicè sciunt quam latinè; imo quia Gallorum una res agebatur et eorum qui Gallos vnos amant.

"Porro is scripsit qui hodie vices gerit Pro-regis nostri absentis, quique et ipse fuit quondam Pro-rex noster.

"Quod ergo felix, faustum, fortunatumque sit. Agite sulcis Manatenses amicissimi, Kebecum nostrum; aliquando inuisite vti post modum Canadenses nostri ad vos, Deo duce, appellant felicissime. Etsi enim non est integrum mihi, vobiscum hoc anno, quod speraveram, navigare, quia silvestres meos habeo nautas mecum; tamen in posterum et comitem vobis spondeo et famulum.

"Ignosce, si places, Dom: Illust: et accipe hoc totum, quod paulo liberius fluit è calamo, tanquam certissimum sensûs in Hollandos tuos et amoris in Te testimonium, quippe qui sum ex animo, Tibi, Dom: Illustrissime,

Seruus addictissim: idem et obsequius,

SIMON LE MOYNE, è Soc. Jesu."

Gov. D'Aillebout's letter to the Rev. Father Le Moyne.

"A Quebec, ce 18 Fevrier, 1658.

"MON REVEREND PERE:—J'ay communiqué à toutes les principales personnes de ce pais le dessein dont vous me parliez de la part de Messrs. les Hollandois; personne n'a douté que, veu que dans tous les ports de France, il y a de si tant d'années, ils sont receus comme amis et aliez de la couronne, nous ne pouvions leur refuser par aucune raison qu'ils viennent faire commerce avec nous, ainsy je ne puis m'y opposer. Je consens qu'ils viennent quant il leur plaira, à la charge d'observer les mesmes coustumes que les vaisseaux François et qui defendent la traicte avec les sauvages et l'exercice publique et à terre de la Religion qui est contre la Romaine. Vous savez ce que le roy nous deffend la dessus. Je me recommande à vos prières, et suis,

"Mon R. Père, vostre très humble et plus affectionné Serviteur,

[MSS. letters in Stuyvesant's time, I.]

"DAILLE BOUSTE."

of sugar and tobacco; and as it was "the first voyage from the Manhattes" to Canada, the government ordered a remission of all the duties.¹ The result, however, did not equal the expectations of the projectors. The *St. Jean* was wrecked at the entrance of the gulf, and left her bones on the Island of Anticosti.²

The situation of the French at Onondaga had been, throughout the winter, one of extreme peril. They knew not the hour or the minute when their enemies would set on, and destroy them. It was considered therefore the best policy to abandon a country where they were not a moment secure of their lives. To lull the suspicion of the savages, the French, whilst executing this design, invited all the Indians to a grand feast, in the preparation of which they exhausted every possible art, and were most prodigal of the music of drums and other instruments. On this occasion every one vied in producing the greatest amount of noise, and the savage who yelled and danced most wildly was sure of being best rewarded. By these means an uproar equal to that of Pandemonium was incessantly kept up, which effectually drowned all report of preparations making without for the departure of the whites. The savages at length, overcome by excitement and drink, fell into a profound sleep, during which the French departed, leaving behind them their domestic cattle and fowls, the lowing and cackling of which, next day, whilst still pent up, at an advanced hour, in their houses, was the first notice the Indians had of the trick played on them by their late hosts.³

The Mohawks, now anxious to obtain the release of such of their tribe as had been imprisoned by D'Aillebout, sent an embassy to the French to assure the latter that they had not violated the peace. They succeeded in procuring the liberation of some half dozen of their warriors, but others were still detained until their sachems should come in person and conclude a general treaty

¹ Alb. Rec. xiv., 275.

² Fort Orange Rec. in office of the County Clerk, Albany.

³ Relation, 1657, 1658., 12, 24, 130, 131.

BOOK with "Onontio" and his Indian allies.¹ Fifteen of the
 V. oldest "Zaackemaakers," or chiefs, presented themselves,
 1658. shortly afterwards, at Fort Orange.² Six of their tribe
 Aug. 13. were prisoners among the French, and they wished
 now to give four Frenchmen in exchange for them,
 and to conclude a treaty of peace with the Indians
 of that country. With this view, they were about to
 visit Canada, but as they were unacquainted with the
 French language, they requested the Dutch magistrates
 to provide them with an interpreter. The court however
 did not know any person who could act in such a capacity.
 The answer displeased the sachems. "When ye were at
 war with the Indians, we went to the Manhattans and
 used our best endeavors to procure you peace. Ye are
 bound, therefore, now to befriend us on this occasion."
 Such an appeal could not well be resisted. The public
 crier was sent around offering one hundred guilders to
 any person who might be willing to volunteer on such a
 service. Henry Martin, one of the Company's soldiers,
 accepted the invitation, and having been furnished with a
 letter to the Governor of Three Rivers,³ set out with the
 Mohawks, who promised to restore him in safety at the
 end of forty days. Arriving near their destination, the
 savages were discovered by a Frenchman, who, suspect-

¹ Relation, 1657, 1658., 60, 61, 67, 68.

² Le capitaine de cette bande d'Agneronnons es nomme en sa langue Atogouackoïan—c'est à dire, La Grande Cuillier.

³ "A Monsieur, Monsieur De la Petrie, [Potherie,] Gouverneur des Trois Rivières en la Nouvelle France.

"Monsieur :—Les Indiens, dès nostres nommés Maquaas, dès vostres, Iroquoys, sont venus icy le 13 de ce mois, amenant avec eux un François, nommé Louis Paraget, lequel (comme ils nous ont déclaré) ils desirent avecq deux autres ramener de par dela et vous les rendre en eschange de six des leurs que vous preniez prisonniers, et par mesmes moyens faire la paix avec tous les Indiens de vos quartiers. Et parcequ'ils n'ozent pas la faire en personne, ils nous ont requis de les vouloir assister de quelqu'un dès nostres qui eust cognoissance de la langue Françoisse pour les servir en cette occasion; ce que nous n'avons pas peu leur refuser, craignant de rompre l'occasion d'une bonne affaire. Voilà pourquoi nous avons expédié un soldat nommé Henry Martin pour les servir en cette affaire selon que l'occasion de la droit le requiert, esperant que vostre S. prendra en bonne part ce que nous faisons, qui ne part que d'une bonne intention, et sincère affection. Cependant je demeure (après mes humbles baise-mains,) Monsieur, vostre très humble obeissant serviteur. Fort d'Orange, ce 15 d'Aoust, 1658. LA MONTAGNE."

ing them of hostile intentions, levelled his gun at them. A young Mohawk, immediately anticipating the Frenchman's movement, wounded him; whereupon the latter fled into the town, where ten of the Indians shortly after presented themselves to Governor De la Potherie, stating that they had come, at the invitation of Onontio, to negotiate for a general peace.¹ Martin, the interpreter, who was furnished with the letter from La Montagne, had unfortunately been lost in the woods; and the savages, being now looked upon as enemies or spies, were seized and forwarded to Viscount Argenson, Governor-general at Quebec, who, too well pleased at the opportunity of avenging a recent massacre of Algonquins by some Iroquois under his very cannon, caused summary justice to be inflicted on the Mohawks whom De la Potherie had sent him.²

CHAP.
IX.
1658.

Director Stuyvesant returned this fall to Esopus, in order to obtain from the Indians a transfer of the remainder of their lands, and thus addressed the Red men:—

“A year and a half ago you killed two horses belonging to Madame de Hulter, and attacked Jacob Adriaensen in his own house with an axe, knocked out his eye, mortally wounded his infant child, and, not satisfied with this, burnt his house last spring. You, moreover, robbed him of his property and killed a Dutchman in one of his sloops. You compelled our farmers to plough your land; threatened, at the same time, to fire their houses, and repeatedly extorted money from the settlers, who had already paid you for their farms. You have added threats and insults, and finally forced the colonists, at much expense, to break up their establishments and concentrate their dwellings. Various other injuries you have committed since that time, notwithstanding your promises. For all this we now demand compensation; to enforce which efficient measures will be taken, unless the terms we now propose be acceded to.” These terms were, the free surrender of all the lands of Esopus, so far

¹ Relation 1657, 1658., 67.

² Ibid. 68, 69; Charlevoix, i., 323, 325, 335, 338, 339.

BOOK as the Director-general had already explored, as an in-
 V. demnity for the expense incurred in removing the various
 ~~~~~ dwellings and fortifying the village; the relinquishment  
 1658. by the Indians of various claims they had against the  
 settlers, besides the payment to the latter of several hundred  
 of wampum for the damages they had suffered.

These terms the Indians considered hard. They attempted to offset the demand by stating that they had already been deprived of many of their farms, for which they had never received payment. The Dutch ought now to be satisfied, and to live hereafter in peace. These exactions were, besides, unexpected. Many of their chiefs, whom they wished to consult, were hunting and had not yet returned. They, therefore, demanded further time. This was peremptorily refused, and their answer was now insisted on. Considerable altercation followed. Finally, one night was allowed them to determine what course they should pursue.

On the afternoon of the next day, between the hours of one and two of the clock, this council, on whose deliberations the future peace of the country and many innocent  
 Oct. 16. lives depended, again met. The sachems expressed a willingness to make a reasonable compensation for past injuries, but they protested against the present extravagant demands. They were poor and had no wampum. They would consent to relinquish part of their claim against the settlers, and give some land to those who had been injured. Then, throwing down a beaver, their spokesman said:—

“This was sent by the savages of the South, who wished to live in peace with the Dutch.

“When the summer comes, the Minquaas will arrive in Stuyvesant’s country to trade their peltries;” and, as a guarantee of the truth, they presented another beaver.

“The Minquaas told them that the Dutch measured gunpowder by the tobacco-box. We shall be glad if it be thrown to us by large handful. Then, indeed, would we bring many beavers;” and thereupon they laid another present on the ground.

“The Minquaas said to us: ‘Ye are among us, and

must submit to us and skulk among us, as we, also, crouch and skulk among the Dutch. What! would ye fight the Dutch?" and then was offered another beaver:

CHAP.  
IX.  
~  
1658.

"The Minquaas and the Senecas from the first castle say they want powder and balls from the Dutch to kill deer, to sell these afterwards to the Swannekins." A belt of wampum here backed this assertion.

The orator, then offering another wampum belt, continued:—"A horse belonging to Jacob Jansen Stol broke into our corn-fields and destroyed two of our plantations. One of our boys shot it, for which we gave Stol seventy guilders in wampum. But this belt we now present, so that the soldiers may let us go in peace, and not beat us when we visit this place."

This highly studied and cunningly constructed piece of oratory, which left untouched the principal point before the council, and endeavored to divert the attention of the Director-general therefrom by holding before his eyes the prospect of a valuable trade with the Senecas and Minquaas, failed, however, in accomplishing the purpose the orator had in view. Stuyvesant dryly demanded if they thought he would be satisfied with all these empty words? "What do you intend to propose about the land?" was the question to which he demanded a categorical reply. "It belonged to the chiefs who were not here to-day," was their answer; "they could not, therefore, with propriety, come to any conclusion on it; but they would return on the morrow and give their final answer."

The morrow came, but it did not bring the Indians. Two Dutchmen were sent to their wigwams to inquire their intentions. The messengers returned. "The chiefs had made fools of them." They had never intended to make any satisfaction. The Director-general, chagrined and disappointed, departed for the Manhattans, leaving Ensign Dirck Smith and fifty men at the Esopus, with instructions to secure the gates, guard-house, and enclosure with sentinels, and not to allow any savages inside the walls; to act purely on the defensive, and to detail, from day to day, a proper guard to protect the husbandmen

Oct. 18.

Oct. 19.

BOOK V. whilst engaged in their field labor. Several chiefs came  
 ~~~~~ in shortly afterwards and made a present of some kind to  
 1658. Jacob Stol, as a further indemnity for the injuries he had
 Oct. 29. sustained, and then renewed their request for the removal
 of the troops and for some presents. But the settlers had
 nothing "to grease the Indians' breasts. The meeting
 was a dry one."

The efforts of the Burgomasters and Schepens to assimilate their municipal government to that of Amsterdam, and to deprive the executive of the absolute power of appointing the city magistrates, were still unceasing. These exertions were, at length, successful, and an order was issued in the beginning of this year, that a double nomination should be made. But now the aristocratic division of the Burghers into Great and Small citizens was found to be a failure. Few or none would purchase a privilege which all seemed to disregard. The Director and Council
 Jan. 28. were, therefore, obliged to increase, of their own motion, the list of "Great" citizens. Hereupon, the nomination
 Jan. 31. was sent in. But it was declared informal. "It was not made according to instructions, in the presence of the sheriff, who, as chief of the board, ought to convene the members, collect the votes, and in case of equality, have the casting voice; nor was any regard paid to the direction that a member of the Supreme Council should assist at the nomination, if he thought proper. Moreover, it was not signed, as it ought to have been, 'in the name of the Schout, Burgomasters and Schepens.'" A new nomination was therefore ordered. The Burgomasters and Schepens, however, demurred. They did not know that the presence of a member of the Council was necessary; and though they might be obliged to make a new nomination, they would not propose a different list from that they had already sent in. The necessary form having now
 Feb. 1. been observed, the selection of the municipal authorities was vested, for the first time since the incorporation of New Amsterdam, in the city magistrates.² Two years

¹ Alb. Rec. xiv., 380; xvi., 41-59.

² Alb. Rec. xiv., 65, 87-89, 91-94.

afterwards, their wishes for a separate Schout were complied with, and Pieter Tonneman was appointed to that office, "in conformity to the usages of the shrievalty of the great city of Amsterdam." He was sworn in on the 5th August, 1660, and was the first sheriff proper of the capital of New Netherland.¹

¹ Alb. Rec. iv., 339; vii., 266, 267.

CHAPTER X.

Affairs of the South River—Stuyvesant visits that quarter—Willem Beekman succeeds Jacquet—His powers—The city of Amsterdam purchases the Whore-kill—Condition of New Amstel—Sufferings of the colonists—Bad reputation of the place—Several settlers wish to quit the country—Will not be allowed—Fly to Maryland—Messengers sent to reclaim them—Learn that Lord Baltimore claims the Delaware—Delegates from Maryland to New Amstel—Demand that the Dutch leave the river—Result of the conference—The city of Amsterdam tired of its colonie—Desires to reconvey it to the West India Company—Stuyvesant sends an embassy to Maryland—Particulars of that mission—Existence of the present state of Delaware, owing to the stand taken by the Dutch on this occasion—Continued unfavorable condition of New Amstel—Deaths of the clergyman and Vice Director.

BOOK
V.

THE dismissal of Jacquet was followed by serious damage to the Company's interests at the South River. 1658. Smuggling prevailed to a considerable extent, and large quantities of furs were exported without payment of duties. Appeals to the Director and Supreme Council at New Amsterdam had, also, been disallowed, and all mention of the Directors in Holland, as well as of their deputies at the Mannhattans, was carefully omitted in the oath taken by the newly arrived settlers.

To remedy these irregularities, Director Stuyvesant April 20. proceeded, in company with the Hon. Peter Tonneman, to the Delaware, where the Swedish sheriff, magistrates, May 8. and officers,¹ took occasion, on renewing their oath of allegiance, to demand some additional privileges, among others, to be permitted to remain neutral in case of differences between the crown of Sweden and the Dutch. Though the policy of Stuyvesant was conciliatory, he could not well sanction this, but in other respects complied with the May 13. wishes of these people. He received, soon after, instruc-

¹ Gregorius van Dyck, sheriff, Oloff Stille, Matthys Hanson, Pieter Rambo, Pieter Cock, magistrates; Swens Schüte, captain; Andries d'Albo, lieutenant; Jacob Swens, ensign. Van Dyck was removed from office in the beginning of 1661.

tions to dispatch "an honest and expert person" to ^{CHAP.}superintend the Company's possessions in that quarter. ^{X.}
 Willem Beekman, one of the Schepens of New Amster- 1658.
 dam, was in consequence appointed Vice Director of that July 30.
 district.

By his commission, this officer was invested with the ^{Oct. 28.} supreme command and direction of the South River, and with all the powers of the Company over that district, the colonie of New Amstel excepted. He was bound "to maintain the Reformed religion as preached in Fatherland and here, conformably to the Word of God and the Synod of Dordtrecht, and to promote the same by all means within his power. He was empowered to issue orders and execute the same; to exercise authority over all the Company's servants, and over all the freemen, "of what nation they might be;" to keep the first under good order and discipline; to administer justice among the latter in civil and military affairs, and in criminal matters "in minori gradu," conformably to former instructions given to the late commissary, or to the Swedish nation, "so far as law and justice are concerned." The sheriff and commissaries already appointed over the Swedes, were to be employed, until further orders, to aid in the execution of these commands. As custom-house officer his permanent residence was to be at, or in the neighborhood of, New Amstel, where he was to inspect all arriving vessels previous to their being discharged. He was not to permit any goods to be loaded or unloaded without examination, nor unless the duties had been paid, and to prevent frauds on the revenue he was to place officers on board all vessels trading to or from the river, whilst receiving or landing their cargoes. He was further to seize all articles of contraband, and prosecute smugglers before the Director and the court of the city's colonie, from whose judgment, however, he was to appeal in case the same should not be satisfactory. In return for these services, he was to receive a share of all seizures and fines which the court might impose, "according to the discretion of the Director and Council."

BOOK

V.

1658.

Intelligence had already reached Holland of the ransom by Vice Director Alrichs of some Englishmen from Virginia, who had been driven ashore at Cape Henlopen and taken prisoners by the savages. As their visit excited considerable suspicion, and as it was deemed necessary to anticipate all further intrusion on the river by the English, the Burgomasters of Amsterdam requested the Directors to purchase for them the tract of country called the Whorekill, extending, on the west side of Delaware Bay, from the above cape to Boomtjes hoeck, on which they proposed erecting a redoubt. Beekman was, therefore, further instructed to co-operate with Vice Director Alrichs, and if the terms of the Indians were reasonable, to purchase that district.¹ To carry out these plans, and to execute the important duties which now devolved on him, Beekman proceeded, early the next spring, to the Delaware, and succeeded in purchasing, on the 26th June of the following year, the above-mentioned tract.²

However promising at first were the prospects of the colonie the city of Amsterdam undertook to plant on the Delaware, it was not long before the settlers began to feel the effects of the climate, and of the miasms which the low alluvial soil, and the rank and decomposed vegetation of a new country, so readily engendered. These effects did not manifest themselves, however, until the summer of this year, nor until the people had finished planting their crops. Heavy rains then set in; fever, ague, and dysentery followed; and as if these were not sufficient to blight their hopes, the grain became attacked by the worm. Scarcely a family now but suffered from the epidemic. Six of Director Alrichs' household, the members of the council, and the magistrates were attacked; a great many young children perished, together with the surgeon sent out to attend the colonists, Sheriff Rynvelt, and a number of other adults, amounting in all to one hundred persons. Whilst this sickness was at its height, the Mill arrived with one hundred and eight additional settlers. Already eleven of

¹ Alb. Rec. xiv., 227, 228, 245-249, 314, 386-392.

² Ibid. xii., 498.

these had died on the passage, and several more were now taken sick.¹

CHAP.
X.

Scarcity of provisions naturally followed the failure of the crops. Nine hundred schepels of grain had been sown in the spring. They produced scarcely six hundred at harvest. Rye rose to three guilders, or one dollar and fifty cents, the bushel; peas to eight guilders the sack; salt was twelve guilders the bushel at New Amsterdam; cheese and butter were not to be had, and "when a man journeys he can get nothing but dry bread, or he must take a pot or kettle along with him to cook his victuals."

1658.

The population now amounted to more than six hundred souls, "without bread," and many of them "as poor as worms." Wages advanced with the price of food. Laborers demanded a rix-dollar a day, and mechanics a dollar and sixty cents. But scarcity and distress prostrated all industry. The people were under the necessity of consuming what they had saved for the coming season's seed, and the prospect for the winter, which set in early, and continued long and severe, was cheerless in the extreme. The new year brought only additional misfortunes. Mde. Alrichs, wife of the Director, fell a victim to the climate, far from relatives and friends, and the health of the settlement continued very unfavorable.

Oct. 10.

1659.

In this dilemma the authorities were under the necessity of executing, at the city's expense, work, such as barns and fences, which, under other circumstances, the settlers should have done on their own account. The church was also enlarged by one half; a public granary was erected, together with various other buildings of a like nature, for the purpose of giving employment to the distressed settlers. But "the place had now got so bad a name that the whole river could not wash it clean." The rumor went abroad

¹ They were attacked by scurvy. Willem van Rosenburgh was the surgeon in charge. He had so many sick on the passage, that he distributed among one hundred patients a hogshead of French wine, forty gallons of brandy, and half a barrel of prunes. A number of children from the Orphan Asylum came out in this ship, who were bound out among the settlers, some for two, some for four years, at from 40 to 80 gl. a year. "The Barber," as the surgeon is styled, brought out his wife and some children.

BOOK V.
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 1659. that many had died of starvation, and the prejudices of the people became so excited that few or none of them would remain.<sup>1</sup>

To add to the public discontent, intelligence was now received that the Burgomasters of Amsterdam had altered the conditions on which the colonists had agreed to emigrate. Instructions were sent out that the provisions in the public magazine should be distributed only among those who had left Holland previous to December, 1658; that the merchandise then in store should be disposed of only for ready money, or its equivalent, and that the city should no longer be obliged to keep supplies in their magazines. Exemption from tenths, which originally was to extend to twenty years after the lands were first sown, was hereafter to terminate, indiscriminately, in 1678, except to the first settlers, whose term of exemption would count from the date of their first arrival; and the exemption from poundage, horn and salt money, was to cease ten years earlier, after which the Director-general was to be at liberty to impose whatever rate he pleased. Alteration was also made in the articles regulating trade. Those planters who had repaid the disbursements made by the city on their account, were privileged to export their cargoes, as hitherto, to whatever quarter they pleased; but it was now ruled that whatever goods they might export should be consigned exclusively to the city of Amsterdam, to be disposed of there for the benefit of the shippers. This regulation, however, called forth a strong remonstrance from the commissioners entrusted with the superintendence of the colonie. "It had the appearance of gross slavery and chain-fettering of the free spirit of a  
 Feb. 13. worthy people." The West India Company had recently resolved to enlarge the commercial privileges of the New Netherland merchants, and to permit the latter to trade with the produce of their country, "whether of the soil or the sea," peltries excepted, to France, Spain, Italy, and the Caribbean islands, on condition of bringing their return

<sup>1</sup> Hol. Doc. xvi., 57, 61 73, 201-203, 205; Alb. Rec. xviii., 417, 419, 420.

cargoes either to the city of Amsterdam or the Manhattans. The conditions were, therefore, modified, and now all traders resident at the South River were in like manner privileged to export their goods wheresoever they pleased, except their beavers and other furs, the monopoly of which was still retained by the city of Amsterdam.<sup>1</sup>

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X.  
1659.  
Mar. 10.

But this tampering with the public faith, on the strength of which the people had left their native country, had the effect of aggravating the discontent which two years of sickness and bad harvests had created. Traders were discouraged and farmers disheartened, and several of the latter demanded permission to remove to the Manhattans, on giving bonds that they should not quit the province before they had reimbursed to the city the advances it had made on their account. "Many poor folks, whilst yet they had anything left wherewith to pay for their passage, had offered it to Alrichs and besought him with clasped hands to accept it in payment of their debts. But he declined. 'Ye are bound to remain for four years,' was his reply. 'We have spent, in our hunger, wretchedness, and misery, all that we had saved from our small pittance. We have nothing left wherewith to pay.' 'You must pay first and then go,'" was the ultimatum, and in their despair numbers fled to the neighboring colonies of Virginia and Maryland, where they spread the news of the weak and desperate condition of New Amstel.<sup>2</sup> Messengers were sent to reclaim the fugitives. They were told that orders were

<sup>1</sup> Hol. Doc. xv., 23-27; xvi., 215-217; Alb. Rec. iv., 290; Beschryv. der Stad Amst. i., 594.

<sup>2</sup> Stuyvesant, writing under date 4th September, 1659, says: "About fifty persons, among them several families, removed within a fortnight to Maryland and Virginia, caused chiefly, it is reported, by the too great strictness of Alrichs." It is right to add that the latter lays the blame of the ruin of the South River colonie, at this time, on Beekman and Stuyvesant, which caused the Director-general to express the hope, that if Alrichs made any complaints, the Directors "will keep one ear open for the accused." Alb. Rec. xviii., 29, 64. It is more than probable that there was some truth in the observation of Alrichs to Mr. C. de Graeff, (Hol. Doc. xvi. :) "It would seem as if those of the South and North were jealous of each other, and dread that this settlement should become great and flourishing, to prevent which, I believe many practices are resorted to for the injury of this place, to vilify us, to seek quarrels, and to draw the people away."

BOOK V.  
 1659. received from Lord Baltimore to take possession of the South River, and bring the settlers there under his lordship's jurisdiction. As soon as this was known at New Amstel, it caused a great deal of uneasiness and anxiety; all operations were suspended, and every individual commenced preparing for flight. The panic created by these reports had not had time to subside, when several delegates from Maryland arrived. After spending some days in carefully examining the place and tampering with the fidelity of the settlers, they solicited an audience. The Sep. 6. Company having guarantied to the city a sound and bonâ fide title of the territory in their possession, Director Alrichs considered it his duty to invite Commissary Beekman to this meeting, before which Colonel Utie, one of the Sep. 8. delegates, formally laid Governor Fendal's letter and a copy of his instructions,<sup>1</sup> in accordance with which he now commanded the Dutch to quit the place, or to declare themselves subjects of Lord Baltimore; adding, that if they hesitated, they should be responsible for whatever innocent blood might be shed, as Lord B. had uncontrolled power to make war and conclude peace. The Council considered this a most strange request, as the Dutch were in possession of the place for a great many years. "I know nothing about that," replied the Englishman; "all the country up to the fortieth degree was granted to Lord Baltimore; the grant has been confirmed by the King and sanctioned by Parliament. You had better, therefore, embrace this opportunity. Your people have nearly all deserted you, and those who remain are of little or no use. We will not forego the occasion, convinced as we are of your weak-

<sup>1</sup> "To the Honorable Jacob Alrike at Delaware: SIR—I received a letter from you directed to me as Lord Baltimore's Governor and Lieutenant of the province of Maryland, wherein you suppose yourself to be Governor of a people seated in a part of Delaware Bay, which I am very well informed lyeth to the southward of the degree forty, and therefore can by no means owne or acknowledge any for governor there but myself, who am by his lordship appointed Lieutenant of his whole province, lying between the degrees of thirty-eight and forty: but do by these require and command you presently to depart forth of his lordship's province, or otherwise desire you to hould me excused, if I use my utmost indeavour to reduce that part of his lordship's province unto his due obedience under him." Hol. Doc. xvi., 99. This letter bore date 8th July, 1659. Alb. Rec. xii., 514. The Instructions are in New York Hist. Soc. Coll. iii., 368.

ness, and our tobacco is harvested. We, therefore, demand your positive answer." The Dutch craved delay. They could not decide this matter; it must be left to their principals. But Utie "cared nothing for them." But "we can do nothing without them," said the others; "we must refer the matter to the Director-general and Council, and it will take some time to hear from them." "What time?" "Three weeks." "I have no orders to give you any respite," replied the Colonel, "yet I will grant you the time you request."

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The conference now broke up; the parties separated for the evening, and the Dutch counselled together as to what was best to be done. Beekman had already urged that the Englishmen should be arrested and sent prisoners to the Mannhattans to answer for this intrusion; but this was strongly opposed both by Alrichs and his Lieutenant, D'Hinoyossa. "Great calamities might grow out of it. It would cause a revolt among the citizens, who were already much irritated against them." Nothing, therefore, remained but to protest. This recapitulated all that had already occurred between the parties. Such conduct was unexpected from fellow Christians and neighbors, and the pretensions they put forth were unsupported by any documentary evidence. If Lord Baltimore had any title either by purchase, conquest, or grant, it ought to have been submitted. The Dutch were prepared to show their title to the country, both by charter and legal purchase. All the papers were preserved in the archives at the Mannhattans. That part of Gov. Fendal's instructions which authorized, on application, offers of protection and liberty to the city's colonists, and free trade to Maryland, "whereby many are lured to run away without paying their honest debts," was reprobated as altogether unlawful, and those who made such proposals should be held responsible for all losses and damages accruing therefrom. They were contrary to the provisions of the treaty of 1654, which enjoined governors, as well in America as in Europe, to abstain from all acts of hostility and injustice, the one towards the other.

Sep. 9.

BOOK V. Col. Utie, in answer to all this, only repeated what he  
 1659. had already stated, and then turning to Beekman, told him  
 that he, too, should depart from Fort Christina, as that place  
 also was situated within the forty degrees. But Beekman  
 retorted; if he had anything to say to him, let him come to his  
 place of residence and say it. The colonel considered it  
 sufficient to have made the communication there, and two  
 Sep. 11. days afterwards he and his suite took their departure.

Rumors now came in that five hundred men were in  
 readiness to march from Maryland to the South River.  
 Alrichs and D'Hinoyossa evinced much alarm. Ruin  
 seemed to stare New Amstel in the face. Scarcely  
 thirty families remained in the colonie. The soldiery  
 had been reduced by desertion to twenty-five men, and  
 two-thirds of this number were at the Whorekill, leaving  
 only some eight or ten to garrison the principal fort. In  
 this state of disorder, ill preparation and dismay, messen-  
 gers were sent overland to the Director-general to advise  
 him of what had transpired. As if to increase existing  
 difficulties, the Manhattan savages proclaimed war against  
 the Raritans, and the messengers from the South River  
 were obliged to return.<sup>1</sup>

The Burgomasters of Amsterdam were, by this time, as  
 sick of their purchase and colonization scheme, as their  
 colonists. The expenses were found excessive, and the  
 profits very inconsiderable. They therefore determined  
 Sep. 30. to reconvey their colonie to the Company for whatever  
 sum they might obtain. But the latter were chary, and  
 refused to reassume the burthen. The city of Amsterdam  
 was, therefore, per force, obliged to continue its under-  
 taking, and now voted an additional sum of twelve thou-  
 sand guilders to repay various old debts which had been  
 Nov. 8. incurred in its behalf, and a committee was appointed to  
 enquire in what manner the city could be relieved of its  
 burthens.<sup>2</sup>

Sep. 23. Director Stuyvesant, on learning Colonel Utie's visit to

<sup>1</sup> Alb. Rec. xii., 510-514; xvii., 1-11; xviii., 42; Hol. Doc. xvi., 117-121, 173;  
 Lond. Doc. iv., 174, 175.

<sup>2</sup> Hol. Doc. xv., 29, 31; Beschryv. der Stad Amsterdam, i., 594.

New Amstel, expressed considerable surprise at his frivolous demands, and at the "no less frivolous and poor answer" of the Dutch. Instead of permitting the English emissary "to sow his seditious and mutinous seed among the community for four or five days, he deserved to have been apprehended, and sent hither as a spy." "To remedy what passed, and to correct the blunders of others," Secretary Van Ruyven and Burgomaster Krygier were sent to the South River with a force of sixty soldiers, to regulate the disorders there, and to defend the place from the threatened attack of its English neighbors. Messrs. Augustine Heermans and Resolved Waldron were sent ambassadors to Maryland to request the surrender of those colonists who had left the South River, to conclude a treaty for the future mutual rendition of all fugitives, and to remonstrate against Col. Utie's late proceedings.<sup>1</sup>

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The Dutch ambassadors arrived, towards the middle of Oct. 16. the next month, at Patuxent, in the Chesapeake Bay, the residence of the Governor of Maryland, and on being admitted to an audience, presented to his Excellency and his Council "a Manifesto and Declaration from and in behalf of the Director and Council of New Netherland." Laying down the boundaries of the latter country, the Dutch claimed to derive their title, 1st, from the King of Spain, whose subjects they were at the time of the first discovery of the New World by the Spanish expedition under the command of Columbus; 2d, from the relinquishment by the Spanish monarch to the United Provinces, free and independent, of all the possessions in America, then occupied by the citizens of that Republic, whereby New Netherland, Curaçoa and Brazil became the inheritance of the Dutch nation; 3d, from the discovery of the Delaware and the North River by Henry Hudson, and first actual possession and settlement by the Dutch in these parts. Tracing, next, the history of the settlements, particularly on the South River, from the planting and destruction of Godyn's colonie at the Whorekill, to the expulsion of the

<sup>1</sup> Alb. Rec. xviii., 50; xx., 331, 332; Hol. Doc. xvi; New York Hist. Soc. Coll. iii., 371.

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1659.

Swedes, "against all which no man from Maryland or Virginia ever entered a caveat or claim," reference was made to the fact that the people of the latter provinces always remained at peace with the Dutch, even during the last war between Holland and England, and until Colonel Utie came into the town of New Amstel, "without any special commission or lawful authority from any state, prince, parliament or government, exhibiting only, by a piece of paper, a cartabel by form of an instruction, from Philip Calvert, Secretary, written without year or day, or name or place, neither signed nor sealed;" demanding the surrender of the country; going from house to house and inciting the inhabitants to rebel, and threatening, in case of non-submission, to return and reduce them "by force of arms, fire and sword," for which purpose the whole province of Maryland would rise; and that then they should be plundered and stripped of their houses. Such proceedings were properly condemned as a violation of neighborly friendship, the law of nations, and common equity. They were also declared to be contrary to several of the articles of peace concluded between the Republics of England and the United Provinces, in 1654, in virtue of which were now demanded justice and satisfaction of all wrongs and damages suffered by the province of New Netherland and its subjects. The surrender of the runaways who had fled to Maryland was also required, in return for which the Director-general and Council pledged themselves to restore all such persons as might come within their jurisdiction. Should this, however, be refused, then the *lex talionis* would be acted on, and "free liberty, access and recess should be proclaimed to all planters, servants, negroes, fugitives and runaways who, from time to time, might come from Maryland into New Netherland.

Lord Baltimore's claim to the South River was utterly denied. That river was in unquestionable, just and lawful possession of the Dutch, and by them settled full forty years, whilst Lord Baltimore's patent was not, at furthest, more than twenty-four to twenty-seven years old. It included, moreover, in no way the Delaware, and had not even as

much reference to it as that which Sir Edmund Ployden formerly subreptively obtained. But granting, for the moment, that Lord Baltimore had originally any claim to the country in question, his right was debarred by the thirtieth article of the treaty of peace, by which he was obliged to file before the 18th May, 1652, any claims he might have in these foreign parts. But as the Director and Council entertained every disposition to be on good terms with their neighbors, they now proposed that three persons be appointed on each side, to meet, on a fixed day, at a hill situate midway between the Chesapeake and the South River, at the head of the Sassafra River and another stream emptying into the Delaware, with full power to determine the bounds of both provinces; or to refer the points, on which they might not be able to agree, to their respective principals in Europe; all acts of hostility in the meanwhile to cease. Should this, however, be declined, they proclaimed their innocence to all the world, and protested against all wrongs and injuries already suffered, or which may hereafter be committed; "declaring and manifesting that they are and shall then be necessitated and obliged, by way of reprisal, and in accordance with the twenty-fourth article of peace, to preserve, maintain and hold their right, title and property to the aforesaid South River colonie, or Delaware Bay, and their subjects' lives, liberties and estates, as God, in their just cause, shall strengthen and enable them."<sup>1</sup>

This formal declaration immediately called forth considerable discussion. Gov. Fendal disclaimed having anything to do with the Governor or government at the Mannhattans. His controversy was with those who had recently established themselves on the Bay of Delaware, within his limits. To these people he had sent Colonel Utie. His Excellency was told that the people on the South River were not a distinct, but a subaltern and dependent government; merely a Vice-governor and co-members of the province of New Netherland, who there-

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<sup>1</sup> Hol. Doc. ix., 171-175, 274-291; xvi., 127-140. An imperfect translation of this paper is in New York Hist. Soc. Coll. iii., 373-381.

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fore had no authority in matters of high jurisdiction. The affairs of the whole of that province, and the sovereignty of their High Mightinesses, were entrusted alone to the Director-general and Council. The Governor, on receiving this explanation, acknowledged that he had not been aware of the fact. His impression had been, that those at New Amstel had their commission from the city of Amsterdam, and were consequently a separate and independent government. Colonel Utie now interposed. All this was foreign to the matter before them. His acts were directed against persons who had intruded on Lord Baltimore's province, and if the Governor again ordered him, he should repeat all he had already done. He was thereupon informed by the Dutch commissioners, that if he should do so, and behave as he had already done, he would be treated, not as an ambassador, but as a disturber of the peace, as his conduct in threatening, or summoning a place by fire and sword, partook of the character of a public enemy. He denied having acted any further than his instructions authorized him. He was given to understand, he added, that the people had threatened to send him to Holland. He only wished they had done so. He was immediately told that if he returned and repeated his misconduct, his wishes would probably be gratified.

These altercations assuming, now, a heated and personal turn, the Governor interfered, and the audience terminated. The remainder of the evening was passed in private conversation, the Dutch ambassadors endeavoring to impress on the several members of the council the wisdom of referring to commissioners the question of boundary, and the propriety of preventing any further misunderstanding by a treaty of confederation and alliance for the advancement of trade, "whereunto they found the majority very well inclined." The Governor also expressed himself much disposed to prefer peace and quietness to tumult and war, but it was not within his attributes to enter into any treaties. He had no other power than to defend the patent, and this he was inclined to do "as discreetly and as reasonably as possible."

On the next day, the Governor, being obliged to absent himself, in order to hold a court at a neighboring plantation, communicated to Messrs. Heermans and Waldron Lord Baltimore's patent for the province of Maryland. On examining this document, they immediately discovered that his lordship had applied for and obtained permission to establish a colony only in a tract of country in America, "not previously planted, though inhabited by a certain barbarous people, having no knowledge of Almighty God." Now, it was evident that such a grant could not apply to the Bay of Delaware. The South River had been taken up, purchased and planted, long before the date of this patent, by the Dutch. It was, therefore, manifestly not the intention of the King of England to include it in the deed to Lord Baltimore, whose claim and pretensions to the Delaware must, consequently, be invalid. On the Governor's return, the Dutch commissioners handed in a written statement to the above effect. Mr. Fendal attempted to parry the objection, by maintaining that the patent was granted with a full knowledge of the facts, and demanding communication of the Dutch patent for New Netherland. But the commissioners said that they had not come hither for the purpose of exhibiting any such paper; they were sent to prepare the way for the appointment of a commission to settle questions at issue between the respective governments. "We remarked that they were sorry for having so far exposed themselves; for they said, 'If that part of our patent be invalid, then the whole is good for nought.'" They maintained, however, that the objection now brought by the Dutch ambassadors was disposed of by the case of Col. Clayborne, who had already claimed the Island of Kent, on the principle that he too had had possession of that place before the date of Lord Baltimore's patent. But this objection profited him nothing, for he had to beg his life afterwards from the patentee. The Dutch replied that such a precedent did not apply to them: it was a totally different case. "We," said they, "are not subjects of England, but a free, sovereign people of the Dutch nation, who have as much right

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1659.  
Oct. 17.

BOOK V. to explore any countries in America as any other state.”

1659. “And with such and similar debates was the meeting adjourned for that night.” The answer of the Maryland authorities to the declaration of the Director-general and Council of New Netherland having been at length prepared, was formally communicated to Messrs. Heermans and Waldron. After reciprocating expressions of amity and love, the Governor and Council at once avowed that Colonel Utie had acted, at the South River, in pursuance to their instructions. And as the Director-general acknowledged that the Dutch colonie on the Delaware was established by his command, they protested against him, as against all other persons who might intrude thereon.

Oct. 19. “The original rights of the Kings of England to these countries and territories, it must (they continue) be our endeavor to maintain; not our discourse to controvert, nor in the least, our attempt to surrender. It is what we can neither accept from any other power, nor yield up to any other authority, without the consent of the supreme magistracy, their successors in the dominion of England. Though we cannot but mind you, that it is no difficult matter to show that your pretended title to that part of this province where those people (now, if at all, the first time owned by the High and Mighty States to be in Delaware Bay seated by their order and authority) do live, is utterly none, and your patent, if you have any, from the States General of the United Provinces, void and of no effect.” “We cannot believe the High and Mighty States General think, or will now owne, those people to be seated at Delaware Bay by their sanction, since they have heretofore protested to the supreme authority then in England not to own their intrusion on their territories and dominions. As to indebted persons, if there be any that are to you engaged, our courts are open and our justice speedy, and denied to none that shall demand it. This, we think, is as much as can in reason be expected. In regard to the

<sup>1</sup> Extract uyt 't Journael gehouden by Augustine Heermans op zyn Ambassade aen de Achte. Heere Gouverneur ende Raden van Marylandt. Hol. Doc. xvi., 141-156; Alb. Rec. xviii., 337-365.

special objection against Lord Baltimore's patent, "the Council resolved to take no notice of that paper."<sup>1</sup> Such a summary disposition of so serious an objection proved, however, either the weakness of their case, or their ignorance of public law. They either did not wish to discuss a question wherein they could not fail to be worsted, or they were unable to perceive the vital bearing it had on the point at issue. But, however cavalierly the objection was now treated, it was, notwithstanding, the one which proved eventually fatal to Lord Baltimore's claim. For in the great controversy which subsequently ensued between that nobleman and the founder of the neighboring colony of Pennsylvania, the strongest point the latter adduced against Lord Baltimore's pretensions, was the very objection which the Dutch ambassadors originally raised at Patuxent; and so strong was it, that the committee of trade and plantations made it the basis of their decision against his lordship, in 1685, when they declared "that they found that the land intended to be granted by Lord Baltimore's patent was only uncultivated and inhabited by savages, but that the tract, then in dispute, was inhabited and planted by Christians, at and before Lord B.'s patent, as it has ever continued to be since that time, and continued as a distinct colony from that of Maryland." It is now further admitted that Lord Baltimore was aware of the fact, even when he was most urgently contending against it.<sup>2</sup>

Throughout the whole of the discussion between the authorities on the Chesapeake and those of New Netherland, the conduct of the former was marked by the most courteous urbanity, whilst the latter evinced a tact and shrewdness of a high order; and it is doubtful, now, whether, in the prolonged suit which occurred subsequently between the patentees of Maryland and Pennsylvania, any solid plea was brought forward against the Baltimore claim that was not already anticipated in the Dutch papers.

<sup>1</sup> New York Hist. Soc. Coll. iii., 381-385.

<sup>2</sup> Hazard's Reg. of Penn. ii., 202; Dunlap in Mem. Penn. Hist. Soc. 166, 171; Bancroft, ii., 393, 394.

BOOK V  
 1659. And no man can rise from a perusal of the whole of the pleadings, without being convinced of this truth—that if the State of Delaware now occupies an independent rank in this great Republic, she is indebted, mainly, for that good fortune and high honor, to the stand taken by the Dutch in 1659.

Secretary Van Ruyven and Capt. Krygier continued, in the meanwhile, busily endeavoring to establish order and regularity at New Amstel. But as Alrichs and D'Hinoyossa maintained that the city's servants were not bound to obey any orders except such as they issued, their efforts failed. Crimination and recrimination followed. The local authorities were charged with acting oppressively towards the people, in consequence of which the latter would not "stir a foot" for the defence of the colonie. The agents of the Director-general were accused of fomenting discontent among the colonists, and debauching them to the Mannhattans.<sup>1</sup> No better understanding prevailed among those whom the city of Amsterdam had appointed to superintend their interests. Sheriff Van Sweringen and  
 Dec. 8. D'Hinoyossa were writing to Holland, accusing Alrichs of being the cause of the general ruin. Sickness and death only increased the confusion. Dominie Welius, who, by his counsel and sympathy, encouraged many to  
 Dec. 9 bear up against their heavy afflictions, was removed from his labors "to rest in the Lord," and Vice Director Alrichs  
 Dec. 30. followed him, soon after, to a welcome grave, leaving New Amstel "over head and ears in debt." In sober truth, these were the dark days of colonization on the South River.

<sup>1</sup> Compare Van Ruyven's letters, Alb. Rec. xviii., 417, 419, 420, 423, 425, with affidavits in Hol. Doc. xvi., 157, et seq.

<sup>2</sup> Hol. Doc. xvi., 106, 115, 177, 208; Alb. Rec. xvii., 25. D'Hinoyossa represents these debts at fl. 5520, "as far as he knows." But they were seemingly incurred for public purposes. They were not personal debts.

## CHAPTER XI.

Indian affairs—Treaty with the Mohawks—Collision at Esopus—War with the natives there—Efforts to raise troops at New Amsterdam—Expedition to the Esopus—Siege raised—Stuyvesant's report to the Company—Massachusetts claims the country westward to the Pacific—Makes a grant of land in the neighborhood of Fort Orange—Demands a passage through the North River—Negotiations in consequence.

THE relations between the Indians and the Dutch were, of late, assuming an aspect by no means favorable to the continuance of that good understanding so necessary to the settlement of this young country. Two soldiers who deserted from Fort Orange, had been recently murdered midway between that post and Hartford, and some Raritanians had destroyed a family, three men and a woman, at Mespath Kill, on Long Island, in order to obtain possession of a small roll of wampum which, in an unguarded moment, had been exhibited to them, and excited their cupidity.<sup>1</sup> Considerable uneasiness prevailed everywhere in consequence, for none could tell where the blow might next fall. At this conjuncture, a delegation from the Mohawks arrived at Fort Orange. "The Dutch," they said, "call us brothers, and say that we are bound one to the other by a chain; and this continues so long as we have beavers, after which we are no longer thought of. The bond by which we have hitherto been united, who would now presume to break? That union must be maintained. We are continually engaged in watching your enemies, the French. But our warriors are too much addicted to drink, and when overpowered by liquor, they cannot fight."

<sup>1</sup> Alb. Rec. xviii., 35-37. This was the nineteenth or twentieth murder committed by the savages since the commencement of Stuyvesant's administration, exclusive of the massacre of 1655. They were caused by the Christians living isolated, for not a single murder or robbery had occurred in a village or hamlet, though consisting of only four or five houses.

BOOK V.  
 1659. We ask that no more brandy be sold to our people; that the liquor kegs be plugged up, and that whoever, henceforward, will bring fire-water into our country, shall have their vessels burnt, and be themselves complained of to the chiefs of the Fort. The gun-makers and gun-smiths refuse to repair our fire-arms when we have no wampum. This is not generous. And when we have guns, we have neither powder nor lead. Should the enemy appear, the Dutch will be sore afraid if they now do not help their friends. They ought to consider how the French behave towards their Indians, when they are in need. They should act by us in the same manner, and assist us to repair our castles. We now require thirty men with horses, to cut and draw timber for the forts which we are building;" and with each of these requests they presented suitable gifts, adding they did not expect any presents in return. Sep. 8. The delegates were assured that the Dutch were desirous to maintain, unbroken, the ancient league, and that their requests should be submitted without delay to the Director-general, whose arrival was daily expected. A present of fifty guilders was given to the chiefs as an acknowledgment for their kind visit.

Sickness, however, confined General Stuyvesant to his room, and the authorities of Fort Orange and Rensselaers-Sep. 17. wyck resolved to send ambassadors to the Mohawk country to establish a closer union, and to thank their ancient allies for their unaltered friendship.

The meeting for the renewal of this important treaty Sep. 24. was held at the first castle of the Mohawks, situated at the Indian village of Kaghnuwagé, in the present county of Montgomery. The delegates, on the part of the Dutch, were Jeremias van Rensselaer, Arent van Curler, François Boon, Dirck Jansen Croon, Andries Herbertsen, Philip Pietersen Schuyler, Jan Tomassen, Volckert Jansen Douw, Adriaen Gerritsen, Johannes Provoost, and fifteen other burghers. On the part of the Indians, all the chiefs of the three castles attended. The council-fire having been lighted and the calumet smoked, one of the ambassadors rose, and thus spoke:—

“Brothers! we have come hither to renew our ancient friendship and fraternity. Ye must tell this to your children. Ours will for all time know and remember it by the records we bequeath them. We shall die, but these will remain, and from them shall they always learn that we have ever lived with our brothers in peace. Brothers! we bring no cloth, for we could not get people to carry it. Friendship cannot be purchased by presents. Our heart has always been, and is still good. If it were bad, no friendship could be secure though this whole country were covered with beavers and cloth.” Here three bundles of wampum were laid down.

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“Brothers! sixteen years have now elapsed since friendship and fraternity were first established between you and the Dutch; since we were bound unto each other by an iron chain.<sup>1</sup> Up to this time, that chain has not been broken, neither by us nor by you. We doubt not but it will be preserved bright and unbroken on both sides. We shall therefore say no more on that point, but shall always live as if we had but one heart. As an acknowledgment of our gratitude that we are brethren, we make you a further present of two bundles of wampum.

“Brothers! eighteen days ago you visited us, and submitted your proposals to your Dutch brethren. We could not give you an answer then, for we were expecting Stuyvesant our chief, and we promised to inform you when he should have arrived. He is now sick and cannot come. Brothers! when we speak, we are the mouth of the Honorable Stuyvesant; and all other Chiefs, Dutchmen and children, honor our brothers, in assurance whereof, and that we do not lie, we present these two bundles of wampum.

“Brothers! we speak once and forever; for ourselves, and all the Dutch who are now, or shall hereafter come to this country, and for all their children, that ye may henceforth be assured that we shall remain your brothers for all time, for the roads are so bad we cannot come

<sup>1</sup> This furnishes the precise date of the first treaty between the Mohawks and the Dutch.

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hither every day. If any people or Indians, be they who they may, attempt to tamper with you, and say, the Dutch will fight against you, regard them not, believe them not; but tell them they lie. The same shall we also say, if they speak so of our brothers; we shall not believe any tattlers; neither shall we fight, nor leave our brothers in distress when we can help them. But we cannot force our gunmakers or smiths to repair our brothers' fire-arms without pay, for they must earn food for their wives and little ones, who otherwise must die of hunger, or quit our land, if they get no wampum for their work. Then shall we and our brothers be afflicted for their distress." Two additional bundles of wampum were here presented.

"Brothers! eighteen days ago, you asked us not to sell any brandy to your people, and to plug up our casks. Brothers, if your people do not come to buy brandy from us, we shall not sell any to them. It is not over two days, that twenty to thirty kegs came to us, all to be filled with brandy. Our chiefs are very angry that the Dutch sell brandy to your people, and have always forbidden them to do so. Forbid your people also. Will ye that we take from your people their brandy and their kegs? Say so before all those here present. But then if we do so, our brothers must not be angry with us;" and two more bundles of wampum were laid on the ground.

"Brothers! we present you now this powder and lead. Take good care of it, distribute it among your young warriors, and should you overtake any hostile Indians, then use it;" and herewith were given seventy pounds of powder, and a hundred weight of lead.

"Brothers! we see that you are engaged hewing timber for your fort, and you have asked of us men and horses to draw it. This the horses cannot do, the hills here are so steep, and the Dutch are all sick, as you yourselves have seen. How then can they draw palisades? But as our brothers sometimes break their axes in chopping wood, we now present them with a fresh supply;" and with these words fifteen axes were laid down.

"Brothers! some of your people, as well as Mahicanders

and Senecas, sometimes kill our horses, our cows, and our cattle. We request our brothers to forbid such acts ;" and herewith were presented two beavers' worth of knives.<sup>1</sup> CHAP.  
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This speech gave much satisfaction, and the chiefs and bystanders gladly agreed that the Dutch should seize the liquor kegs of the Indians. The delegates now embraced the opportunity, whilst the savages were in good humor, to interpose in behalf of eight Frenchmen, prisoners in the hands of the Mohawks, and to demand that these unfortunate men be liberated and restored to their country. But such proposals could not be acceded to before they were submitted to all the castles. The Indians complained bitterly of the bad faith of the French. They make treaties, but do not observe them. Whenever hunting parties of the Mohawks were abroad, they were attacked by the French Indians, among whom a number of Frenchmen were always skulking to knock them on the head. They would communicate their determination by two or three of their chiefs.

These negotiations were not yet terminated when an express arrived from Fort Orange, announcing that a collision had taken place between the Dutch and the Esopus Indians, and that several had been killed on both sides. This news was immediately made known to the Mohawks, who now promised that, should the Esopus or others of the river tribes come with presents to obtain their co-operation against the Christians, "they would meet them at the threshold and say, 'Away with ye, ye beasts, ye swine; we will have nothing to do with ye!'" Having thus succeeded in securing the friendship of this influential tribe, the delegates left Caughnawagah on the next morning, Sep. 25. and rode so hard that they arrived at home in the evening of the same day.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Expenses paid by the Company on the occasion of this treaty: For the hire of a horse for Johannes Provoost, the Company's servant, fl. 25. Spent by the committee in French wine when they took leave, and returned, 15. To Rutger Jacobsen for nine cans of brandy, to be delivered to the delegates for presents to the savages, 36. For presents to the Maquaas, 656.10=fl. 732.10.

<sup>2</sup> Fort Orange Rec. Hon. Jeremias van Rensselaer's letter to his brother, Jan Baptist, 6th June, 1660. Caughnawagah, where this treaty was made, is forty-

BOOK V. In the meanwhile the whole province was thrown into the greatest consternation by the unfortunate occurrence at Esopus. During the whole summer mutual distrust and suspicion had prevailed between Christians and Indians in 1659. that section of the country. The former were disturbed by reports that the savages intended to massacre them when occupied in saving the harvest. The latter doubted the sincerity of the Director-general's desire to preserve peace. They feared that it was his intention to surprise and destroy them, for he had not yet sent those presents he had promised. As for the charges of intended violence circulated against themselves, the Indians utterly denied July 29. them, and their sachems came promptly forward and declared them false. "We patiently submit," said these chiefs, "to the blows which have been inflicted on us; yet the Dutch still plunder our corn;" and here laying down seventeen small sticks, "So many times have the Swannekins struck and assaulted us in divers places. We are willing to live in peace, but we expect your chief Sachem will make us some presents. Otherwise he cannot be sincere."

Aug. 17. It was whilst this bad understanding existed that the

Sep. 1. news arrived of the murders committed at Mespath. Rumors that the Esopus savages were busy night and day, preparing bows and arrows, now became rife, and every man's mind was again agitated by terrors of its own creation. Under such circumstances but little was required to bring about a collision, and as trouble is always at hand when looked for, that little was not long wanting.

A few Indians, some eight in number, were employed by Thomas Chambers,<sup>1</sup> one of the settlers, till late

one miles west of Albany. Railroads and steam have wrought a wonderful change in travelling since the Dutch delegates travelled this road.

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Chambers came originally to this country as a farmer under the first Patroon of Rensselaerswyck, and occupied the alluvial tract on which the city of Troy now stands. He removed in 1652 to the Esopus, where he accumulated, by commercial and other speculations, large parcels of land. On the 16th October, 1672, an order was issued by Gov. Lovelace, setting forth that Capt. Thomas Chambers, Justice of the Peace at Esopus, had done signal and notable service in the time of the wars against the Indians; and having by his industry acquired a considerable estate, and having, among the rest, a man-

in the evening, shelling or husking corn. At the termination of their work, they asked for brandy, a bottle of which was imprudently furnished. With this the party now withdrew to within a short distance of the fort, where they sat down and indulged in their excesses until midnight. Excited by the liquor, they now "began making a terrible noise," and having some wampum, they determined on purchasing an additional supply of drink. They succeeded, unfortunately, in obtaining a present of another bottle from a Dutch soldier, and they again renewed their carousal; but "the bottle had scarce made one round when they commenced pulling each other's hair." At this stage of the debauch, a drunken savage discharged his gun loaded, however, only with powder. Now one of the party proposed adjourning. "He felt some sensation in his body as if they should all be killed." He was jeered for his alarm. "Who'd kill us? We never harmed the Dutch. Why should they kill us?" This, however, did not appease his fears. "My

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sion house not far from the town of Kingston, with a great tract of land thereunto belonging, which said house is made defensive against any sudden incursion of the Indians or others, in acknowledgment of those services, and in part recompense thereof, the said house and lands were erected into the Manor of FOXHALL. This grant was confirmed in October, 1686, by Gov. Dougan, who invested the manor with power to hold Court Leet and Court Baron; to appoint a steward to try causes arising between the vassals; and granted, also, all waifs, estrays, felons' property, &c., to the lord, with right of advowson and patronage to such church as he may establish on his premises. With all these temporal honors, Chambers' heart seemed unsatisfied. His first wife, Margaritta Hendrix, dying without issue, he married, in 1681, Laurentia Kellenael, widow of Daniel van Gaasbeck, whose son Abraham assumed the name of Chambers, and became heir to the manor of Foxhall, on the death of his step-father, 1694. Under the dread that his name should become extinct or his manor broken up, Thomas Chambers established by his last will, a most intricate entail. For in case Abraham Gaasbeck Chambers died without issue, the estate went to his sister Jannetje, "on condition that she and her children should bear the name of Chambers, as well as whoever should marry her." Under like failure here, it passed to her next eldest sister, Maria Salisbury, on like condition, whose eldest son was to inherit both the property and the name. But if he died without children, it was to go successively from her second to her tenth son, and if no sons survived, to her eldest daughter, on the conditions already mentioned. In all cases the manor was to be left entire. Whether any descendants of this ancient family remain, we cannot say; but the manor of Foxhall, with its stewards, its Court Leet and Court Baron, its advowson and patronage, has itself become "a waif and estray." The name has disappeared except from the Book of Patents.

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heart feels heavy within me—my heart is full of fear,” he replied, as he again entreated his companions to leave the place. And well it might. The crackling of the under-wood told but too plainly the approach of danger. For whilst these heedless fools were thus destroying their reason, the Dutch in the fort became alarmed by the hideous noises which disturbed the silence of the night. Forthwith, the sergeant of the guard was ordered out to reconnoitre, and on reporting at his return that the disturbance proceeded from some drunken savages, Jacob Jansen Stol called on several of the people to follow him in a sortie against them. Contrary to the orders of Ensign Smith, he left the fort accompanied by Jacob Jansen van Stoutenbergh, Thomas Higgins, Gysbert Phillipsen van Velthuysen, Evert Pels, Jan Arentsen, and Barent Harmensen, and attacked the savages as they lay huddled in sleep, and fired a volley of musketry among them.<sup>1</sup> The unfortunate wretches immediately jumped up. One was knocked on the head with an axe; a second was taken prisoner; a third fled; a fourth, whilst lying intoxicated, “was hewn on the head with a cutlass,” which had the effect of rousing him from his slumbers, and he made off. “The Dutch thereupon retreated to the fort with great speed.”

The Ensign now instituted an enquiry as to who had commanded the fire. The guilty party cast the blame on the savages, who, they averred, fired first.<sup>2</sup> The truth

<sup>1</sup> Another entry states that Martin Hofman, Gilles de Wecker, Abel Dirksen, and James the mason, also accompanied this party.

That the Indians, on this occasion, were “more sinned against than sinning,” is evident from the statement of the Katskill savages, who were friendly to the Dutch throughout the whole of these troubles, and from whose report the particulars of the Indian debauch is taken. The report of the Mohawk chiefs, Oct. 29, 1659, corroborates the fact. “They with their four castles had deliberated on the exploit which took place between the Dutch and the Indians at the Esopus. . . . All their Zaakemaakers (chiefs) lay the cause of the war on us,” the Dutch. MSS. in County Clerk’s Office, Albany. The Hon. Jeremias van Rensselaer confirms this statement in a letter which he subsequently wrote to his brother. “The Esopus war,” he says, “was commenced in a wholly disorderly manner, and the Dutch are most to blame, for they first shot an Indian.” After reading the whole of the evidence, the Directors in Holland declared, “our people did court and begin this conflict.” Alb. Rec.

was now manifest; Ensign Smith could no longer control the movements of the people. "All acted their own way." He thereupon announced that he had already received orders to return with his soldiers to the Manhattans, and that, in obedience thereto, he should depart on the morrow. This caused only additional excitement, and he discovered, when the morrow came, that the settlers had cut off his retreat by chartering, on their own account, all the yachts which lay at the shore, and in which he and his men intended to embark. Nothing, therefore, remained but to send an express to Fort Amsterdam to announce to the Director-general the actual state of affairs, and to request his presence at that place. With this view, an armed party, eighteen or nineteen in number, with a sergeant and eight soldiers, set out for the shore, to forward the dispatches. On their return, they fell into an ambuscade; were unexpectedly surrounded by the Indians, to whom thirteen of the party, including the sergeant and six of his men, surrendered, with their arms in their hands, without firing a shot or offering the least resistance.<sup>1</sup>

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War was now openly declared by the Indians, who, as may be easily conceived, were considerably inflamed against the Dutch. All the houses, barns, and corn stacks within their reach were burnt; the horses and other cattle killed; whilst the savages, estimated at from four to five hundred warriors, harassed the Dutch night and day in the fort, which they made desperate attempts to fire, and from which none of the settlers durst venture, so closely and so constantly was the place invested. During this siege, which lasted nearly three weeks, hostilities continued with but trifling interruption. But, owing either to

iv., 330. Secretary Van Ruyven also corroborates this fact. The whole transaction clearly illustrates Mr. Moulton's observation, that "the cruelty of the natives towards the whites, will, when traced, be discovered, in almost every case, to have been provoked by oppression or aggression."

<sup>1</sup> The following are the names of the settlers who were taken prisoners on this occasion: Jacob Jansen van Stoutenbergh, Thomas Clapboard, William Carpenter, Pieter Hillebrant, Abraham Pieterz. Vosburg, Evert Pels' son. Clapboard subsequently made his escape, and young Pels was adopted into the tribe. "The youth took there a wife, who became pregnant, and unwilling to part with him or he with her." See also Alb. Rec. xxiv., 68.

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- Sep. 23. When the news of this outbreak was received at the Mannhattans, it caused the greatest consternation. "The farmers, apprehending a new massacre, fled in every direction, abandoning their harvested grain, cattle, and even their nearest inhabited villages on Long Island." The situation of the country "was never worse than at this time." Fever and other diseases were prostrating the energies of the people. The garrison at Fort Amsterdam consisted of "only six or seven sick soldiers," and despair seemed to have taken hold of men, women, and children. Yet the more imminent the crisis, the more active became the energies of the Director-general, and the more abundant the resources of his mind. Though laboring under severe indisposition, he visited in person all the adjoining villages, encouraging the well disposed, stimulating the timid, and urging the farmers everywhere to fortify and defend their villages. He summoned next the Burgomasters, Schepens, and officers of the militia of New Amsterdam, and laid before them the distressing situation of Esopus. They proposed to enlist, by beat of drum, a sufficient number of men, and to encourage volunteers by resolving that whatever savages might be captured should be declared "good prizes." Stuyvesant, however, was opposed to this mode of proceeding. It would cause, in his opinion, too great a delay, as those at Esopus were already besieged some nine or ten days. He was left, notwithstanding, in a minority. Two more days were thus

<sup>1</sup> Alb. Rec. xvi., 60-65, 67, 70-80, 83, 85, 87, 93-97.

<sup>2</sup> Hon. Jeremias van Rensselaer's letter book.

irretrievably lost, for at the end of that time only six or eight had enlisted, "such a terrible horror had overpowered the citizens." Capt. Newton and Lieut. Stillwell were now dispatched to all the English and Dutch villages, and letters were addressed to Fort Orange and Rensselaerswyck ordering out the Company's servants, calling for volunteers, and authorizing the formation of a troop of mounted rangers. The half dozen soldiers in Fort Amsterdam; every person belonging to the artillery; all the clerks in the public offices; four of the Director-general's servants; three of the hands belonging to his brewery, and five or six new-comers, were put under requisition. But when these were mustered, they numbered only thirty-six in all. Nothing could overcome the reluctance of the burghers. "The one disheartened the other; the more violent maintaining that they were obliged to defend only their own homes, and that no citizen could be forced to jeopardize his life in fighting barbarous savages." Discouraged and almost deprived of hope by this opposition, the Director-general again summoned the city magistrates; he informed them that he had now some forty men, and expected between twenty and thirty Englishmen from the adjoining villages. He, therefore, ordered that the three companies of the city militia be paraded next day in his presence, armed and equipped, in order that one last effort be made to obtain volunteers. If he should then fail of success, he announced his intention to make a draft.

The companies paraded before the fort on the following morning, according to orders. Stuyvesant addressed them in most exciting terms. He appealed to their sense both of honor and of duty; represented to them how ardently they would look for aid, if they, unfortunately, were placed in a situation similar to that in which their brethren of Esopus now found themselves, and concluded his harangue by calling on all such as would accompany him either for pay, or as volunteers, to step forward to the rescue. "Few came forward; only twenty-four or twenty-five persons." This number being considered insufficient, lots

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Oct. 2.

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1659. were immediately ordered to be drawn by one of the companies, and those on whom they fell were warned to be ready on the next Sunday, on pain of paying fifty guilders. "However, if any person was weak-hearted or discouraged, he might procure a substitute," provided he declared himself instantaneously. "Honor and shame silenced every mouth."

Oct. 10. All arrangements having been completed, the expedition embarked on Sunday evening, "after the second sermon." It consisted of one hundred drafted men, forty volunteers, twenty-five or twenty-six Englishmen, and nearly as many friendly Indians, belonging to the Marespinck tribe, of Long Island. With this party Stuyvesant sailed next day for the Esopus, where, on his arrival, he learned that the siege had been raised thirty-six hours previous, the savages finding, after having stormed the works several times, that they could make no impression on the place. The loss of the Dutch during the siege, was one killed and five or six wounded. The Indians had succeeded in firing one dwelling-house and four stacks of corn by means of burning arrows. As there was now no evident employment for the large force from the Manhattans, the heavy rains having inundated the country all around with nearly a foot of water, and thus prevented any possibility of pursuing the foe, Stuyvesant prepared to return to the Manhattans. At the moment of re-embarkation he was doomed to witness an occurrence, which, he declares, he "blushes to mention." As all the troops could not go on board at once, those who had been drafted were obliged to wait until the first division had embarked. During this interval, the sentinels, hearing a dog bark, fired two or three shots. The impression immediately prevailed that the Indians were at hand, and such a panic seized the citizens that many of them "threw themselves into the water before they had seen an enemy." The alarm, however, soon subsided, and all got in safety on board.

The authorities at Fort Orange now exerted themselves to bring about, if possible, an armistice and the release of those Christians who remained in the hands of the savages.

With this view, they obtained the co-operation of some Mohawk and Mohegan chiefs, who, after remaining five days among those of Esopus, brought in two of the prisoners. These were accompanied by several sachems, who, being compelled by the Mohawks, the Mohegans, and the Katskills, concluded an armistice, to continue as long as the same should be agreeable to the Director-general. The latter returned, in the hope of making a permanent treaty, but the savages were afraid to meet him. A conference was again held in the course of the ensuing month, and the Indians were persuaded to bring in some supplies in exchange for powder. But the truce was a hollow one. They still retained the young prisoners, having killed all the others. Those who had agreed to the armistice were not, it seems, the principal sachems. Under these circumstances, the Director-general wrote the most urgent terms to the Chamber at Amsterdam, for reinforcements. "If a farmer cannot plough, sow, or reap, in a new-settled country, without being harassed and disturbed; if a citizen and merchant cannot freely navigate the streams and rivers, they will, doubtless," he urged, "leave the country and look out for some place of residence and such government where they will be protected." The Directors wrote back instructing him to employ the Mohawks and other savages against the Esopus Indians. But this, for reason, he declined. "The Mohawks are, above all other savages, a vain-glorious, proud and bold tribe, yet more presumptuous on account of their continued victories over the French, and the French Indians, in Canada. If their aid be demanded and obtained, and success follow, they will only become the more inflated, and we the more contemptible in the eyes of the other tribes. If we did not then reward their services in a manner satisfactory to their greedy appetites, they would incessantly revile us, and were this retorted, it might lead to collision. It was, therefore, safer," he concluded, "to stand on our own feet as long as possible."

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Nov. 1.

Nov. 28.

Dec. 18.

Dec. 29.

<sup>1</sup> Alb. Rec. iv., 331; xvi., 101, 103, 105, 107; xviii., 54-60, 69, 102, 103. Rensselaerswyck MSS.

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Several years had now elapsed since the peace of 1654, and nothing had occurred to mar the good understanding which had then been re-established between the authorities of New Netherland and their New England neighbors. The Dutch, being the weakest, were very careful not to give any cause of offence, and therefore no differences arose of any moment. But the spirit of encroachment at the East only slumbered. Under the cover of its charter, Massachusetts now claimed the country north of the forty-second degree of latitude, from the Atlantic to the Pacific oceans, and acting on this pretension, made a grant of a plantation in the neighborhood of Fort Orange, to several persons of respectability residing within her jurisdiction.

June. With a view to locate this grant, an exploring party proceeded this summer to Beverwyck, where they were received with marked respect.<sup>1</sup> After examining most of the land along the east bank of the Hudson, they announced their intention to establish a village near the mouth of the Wappinger creek, a few miles south of the present enterprising town of Poughkeepsie, where the country, in point of beauty and fertility, surpassed anything they had seen in the East. As this spot was, however, at a great distance from the settled parts of New England, and difficult of access, in consequence of the intervening wilderness, the undertakers applied to the Dutch authorities for leave to proceed thither by the North River. Stuyvesant at once saw the danger to accrue from such a project, independent of any right of jurisdiction. "They would intrude with their wampum on our beaver trade, and thus divert it away from us." To encourage such a settlement in their midst would be only to hasten the loss of the whole province, for "so many hounds will assuredly be death to the hare." He therefore determined to anticipate their project by purchasing the lands, and establishing a village of some

July. twenty-five or thirty families thereupon, and wrote to

<sup>1</sup> The following item in Commissary La Montagne's accounts of this year, has reference to this visit: For a treat and feast to the English ambassadors from Hartford, fl. 132.4. At Fort Orange a salute was fired on the arrival and at the departure of the Englishmen. Alb. Rec. xxiv., 215.

the Directors urging them to send hither, by the first vessel, a colony of Polish, Lutheran, Prussian, Dutch, or Flemish peasants.

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The Englishmen, however, did not abandon their enterprise. They had sufficient influence to obtain from the commissioners of the United Colonies, letters to the Director-general, soliciting in their behalf the right of passage through the Hudson. But Stuyvesant still avoided making such a concession. Twenty-three or twenty-four years ago, they played the same game on the Fresh River. They commenced by asking a free passage to the Fort Good Hope. They finished by usurping not only the beaver trade, but the whole river, and after a while, all the land between the Manhattans and the Connecticut. He was determined to oppose a repetition of that game by all means within his power. Yet his resolution was not unmixed with serious misgivings. The power of New England "overbalances ours tenfold." To protest against their usurpations would be folly. "They will laugh at us." He therefore preferred to explain fully, in reply, the reasons which compelled him to refuse all persons, except the citizens of the country, the privilege of trading on or passing through the North River, against the orders of his principals. These reasons appear not, however, to have been satisfactory to the General Court at Boston, for they immediately sent Major William Hawthorne and Mr. John Richards, "to communicate their honest intentions in this matter, and to demonstrate the equity of the motion of the commissioners in their behalf." Having described their limits, and claimed the upper waters of the Hudson River as within their patent, "though the Dutch perhaps may have intruded within the same," they asserted their intention to plant the land thereabout, not actually in possession of the Dutch. The permission to pass through the Hudson should not, they said, prejudice any rights the Dutch may have. The Rhine, the Elbe, and many other rivers pass through the territories of divers provinces, yet afford passage to all in amity. The denial

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Nov. 22.

BOOK of this request would militate only against the Dutch.  
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 1660. traffic with their own tribes living near Fort Orange, even though it might affect Dutch interests. Yet they would not deny to the latter the like freedom. The treaty of Hartford did not, in their opinion, apply to Massachusetts, whose commissioners had been only arbitrators in that affair. But even were they principals, it could not prejudice their claims to the Hudson, because that agreement, not applying nearer than ten miles from that river, is expressly limited to within twenty miles from the sea, which they never claimed, as it came not to $42^{\circ} 20'$. Those parts of the Hudson, however, which are within this latitude and more than twenty miles from the sea, were liable, they concluded, to their claim, notwithstanding the treaty.

April 20. The Director-general replied to this letter at considerable length. He denied that the patent granted to Massachusetts had any bearing on the question at issue. The King of England could not deprive the States General of the power and authority to grant similar patents to their subjects. Such a patent they had granted to the Dutch West India Company; and though the government of Massachusetts had forgotten, "either accidentally or deliberately," to mention the date of their patent, "it is well known from English and Dutch history," that the late unhappy monarch did not succeed his father until 1625. Now, printed histories, archives, journals, and registers prove that the North River of New Netherland was discovered in the year 1609, by Hendrick Hudson, skipper of the Half Moon, in the service, and at the expense of the Dutch East India Company; that on the report of that skipper, several merchants of Amsterdam sent another ship in the following year up the said river; that these merchants obtained, from the States General, a charter to navigate the same, and had for their security erected in 1615, (1614,) a fort on Castle Island, near Fort Orange; that New Netherland, including the North River, was afterwards offered to the West India Company, who in

1623—two years before Charles I. ascended his throne—actually and effectually possessed and fortified the country and planted colonies therein. The assertion that the Hudson River is within the Massachusetts patent granted thirty-two years ago, therefore, “scarcely deserves a serious answer.” For that river was first discovered by persons in the employ of the Dutch, and had been navigated by Hollanders, not only for thirty-two years, but for more than half a century, and has been colonized by the West India Company over thirty-seven years. The appellation of “intruders” can consequently, with more justice, be applied to those who now endeavor to intrude themselves within the Dutch limits, and who “intruded” and settled between the Fresh and the North Rivers on Dutch territories, secured by Dutch forts, many years “before one single Englishman had possessed any land between these two rivers.” The free navigation of the Elbe and other rivers in Germany, was a case by no means in point. That of the Thames would be more applicable. Yet the English do not open to other nations that river, much less allow them possession of or jurisdiction over it. As for the liberty to trade with the natives, which the government of Massachusetts were so generous as to say they should permit, Director Stuyvesant presumed that the authority of their superiors placed the Dutch in a position to dispense with it, or to render them indifferent as to what regulations others may undertake to adopt. But the assertion that the English would not be prevented trading with their own tribes residing in the vicinity of the Dutch, perhaps to the obstruction of the latter’s trade, was pronounced to be so unbecoming professors of the Christian faith, that they who made pretensions to some sense of common justice, “could never bring forward such a claim, without being covered with shame.” For they do not attempt to designate who “their own Indians” are, nor to state how far their claims extend. The Dutch never forbade the natives to trade with other nations. They prohibited such trade only on their own streams and purchased lands, and cannot now grant

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either Massachusetts, or any other government, any title to such privilege, or a free passage through their rivers, "without a surrender of their honor, reputation, property and blood, their bodies and lives." To the threat accompanying the demand, he should make no other reply than that he had nothing more to fear than what shall be pleasing to a merciful and just God, in whose power alone it is to maintain the Dutch in their just possessions, as well by small, yea, by no human efforts, as by great power and means. The treaty of Hartford spoke, he concluded, for itself. As the Massachusetts commissioners then pretended to be disinterested in the discussion regarding the limits between New Netherland, Connecticut and New Haven, they put forward at the time no claim to lands on the North River. Had they done so, then a fair discussion of such pretensions might have taken place, and would have been fully answered.

Having thus dispatched the New England men, Stuy-
 June 25. vesant took an early opportunity to impress on the Company the necessity of being prepared against further encroachments from the East. Additional reinforcements ought to be sent out, and a frigate of fourteen to sixteen guns stationed at the mouth of the Hudson. Circumstances, however, interposed, and for a moment interrupted the designs of the New Englanders. A revolution restored monarchy to England, and those of Boston abandoned, for the time, the design of seizing on the North River.¹

¹ Alb. Rec. xviii., 31-34, 61, 62, 89, 90, 104, 123, 140, 144; xxiv., 161, 165-174; Hol. Doc. ix., 169-171; Hazard's State Papers, ii., 408; Hutchinson's Coll. 318.

BOOK VI.

FROM THE FIRST ESOPUS WAR TO THE SURRENDER OF NEW
NETHERLAND TO THE ENGLISH.

1660—1664.

CHAPTER I.

Continued misunderstanding with the Esopus Indians—Further enlistments decided on—Embassy to Virginia—Treaties with the River tribes—Stuyvesant visits the Esopus—Operations against the savages there—The Dutch transport their prisoners to Curaçoa—Continuation of the war—Other tribes mediate—Result of the embassy to Virginia—Renewal of negotiations at the Esopus—Stuyvesant's speech to the Indians—Re-establishment of peace—Stuyvesant sows the seed of another Indian war—Trouble with the Runners at Fort Orange—Stuyvesant proceeds thither—Meets delegates from the Seneca country—Their address, and his reply.

THE spring of 1660 found the affairs of the Esopus in an unsettled condition, and Stuyvesant, anxious "to vindicate the honor of the down-fallen Batavian reputation," urged the Council to adopt hostile operations so soon as a sufficient force could be enlisted. Secretary Van Ruyven was of a different opinion, and counselled the renewal of the treaty, especially considering the difficulties with which the province was threatened both by Maryland and Massachusetts. The prospects for raising new troops were very unfavorable, and few or no volunteers could be obtained. He was therefore opposed, in toto, to all offensive operations. These views influenced, though they did not altogether control, the decision of the Executive. War was declared necessary, but hostilities were postponed until the fall. A hundred or more men were to be en-

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 1660. listed in the interim, either at the north, or in Virginia.¹ It was at this conjuncture that intelligence was received of the death of Samuel Matthews, Governor of the latter province. Nicolaus Varleth, Stuyvesant's brother-in-law, having claims against the estate of the deceased, applied for permission to proceed to Jamestown. The opportunity
 Feb 27. was seized to commission this gentleman and Capt. Newton to conclude with that government a league, offensive and defensive, against the savages, and a treaty of commerce, on the same basis as that existing between England and Holland. They were, in addition, instructed to apply for leave to enlist twenty-five or thirty good and determined men, among whom were to be "as many Scotchmen as possible."² An agent was also sent to the South River to recruit among the Swedes and Finns, who could furnish at this date one hundred and thirty men capable of
 Mar. 6. bearing arms.³ A treaty of peace was next concluded with the Marrespinck and Rechgaweck Indians of Long Island, and also with the Staten Island, Nyack, Hacking-sack, Haverstraw, Wechquaesqueeck, and other Highland tribes, whereby, among other things, the savages bound themselves to deliver to the Dutch some of their children to be instructed in the elements of civilized education.⁴ A
 Mar. 15. few days afterwards, Goethals, chief of the Wappingers, requested that the Esopus savages should be included in the treaty. They had wampum and beaver, and were desirous that they and the Dutch should till the ground in peace. Stuyvesant was not averse to their request, but gave it as his opinion that they were insincere.

¹ Alb. Rec. xxiv., 57-59, 68-76.

² Messrs. Varleth and Newton's Commission and Instructions are in Alb. Rec. xviii., 97; xxiv., 101.

³ According to this, the Swedes and Finns numbered at this date about 700 souls. None of them would consent to enter the Dutch service.

⁴ This interesting article is as follows: "Whereas our posterity, after the lapse of ages, will see and know what we now speak and conclude together, whilst your posterity cannot do it equally well, as they cannot read or write, we demand that you entrust us with the education of some of your children." The chiefs replied that they were willing to leave a child now with the Dutch, and when an opportunity offered, they would bring more hither. Alb. Rec. xxiv., 118-121.

"The Indians say the same of the Dutch," was the Wap-pingers' reply. Kaelcop, Pemmyraweck, and the other sachems are anxious for peace. It is only "the Kalebackers," the poor, hungry savages, who are not inclined to treat, but the chiefs would make these come in. "What security can there be for peace, if the Kalebackers prefer war?" asked the Director-general. There was "no decisive answer." "The Esopus chiefs must come here if they wish for a cessation of hostilities." "They are too much frightened, and dare not come," was the answer. Believing this, Director Stuyvesant consented to go to Esopus; they should meet him there, and then propose what they pleased. Thither he proceeded accordingly, accompanied by the Attorney-general, leaving, ad interim, the administration of public affairs at New Amsterdam to Secretary Van Ruyven and Burgomasters Martin Krygier and Oloff Stevensen.¹

Meanwhile Ensign Smith advanced with forty men Mar. 17. three (Dutch) miles into the interior, where he discovered sixty savages; but so terror-stricken were these at his appearance, that they made no resistance, but fled, leaving three or four dead, and twelve others prisoners, in the hands of their pursuers. A large quantity of maize, peas, and bearskins fell, by this expedition, into the hands of the Dutch, together with the palisaded Indian fort of Wiltmeet.

Stuyvesant, on his arrival, found all hope of meeting the Mar. 18. sachems at an end. He therefore sent the plunder and the prisoners to the Manhattans, and having given orders to drive the remaining Indians across the Katskill, proceeded to Fort Orange, where he issued a formal declaration of Mar. 25. war against the Esopus savages "and all their adherents." Smith now followed up his advantage by posting forty- April 4. three of his men in ambuscade, "over the creek among the rocks." A body of one hundred savages soon made their appearance, but their scouts discovered the snare. Thereupon a general attack ensued. Three of the enemy

¹ Alb. Rec. xxiv., 125-129.

² Alb. Rec. xxiv., 131, 137.

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fell; two were severely wounded, and one was taken prisoner. A complete rout now took place. The Dutch followed the flying Indians upwards of an hour, killing three horses in the ardor of the pursuit. But the red men escaped without any further damage, and Smith and his party returned to the fort.¹

These vigorous operations produced a material change in the deportment of the enemy. "They did nothing now but bawl for peace, peace." Several of the neighboring chiefs applied at Fort Orange and the Esopus for a cessation of hostilities, but the officers at these posts having no authority to conclude a treaty, referred the parties to the
 April 21. Manhattans.² Here three Mohegan ambassadors presented themselves in the course of the ensuing month, and declared in the name of those of Esopus, that the latter were willing to quit that country and transfer it to the Dutch, as an indemnity for the murder of the Christians, on condition that their friends now in captivity should be surrendered, and a firm and durable peace concluded. Security was required that the young men concurred in these demands. Laying down four belts of wampum, "These," said Aepjen, "are a guarantee that the Kalebackers desire peace, and that we are authorized to treat in their behalf." The belts were taken up, but the chiefs were told that peace would be concluded with the Esopus tribes only when their sachems came to negotiate at the Manhattans or Fort Orange. Two other belts were now offered, and the Dutch were requested to liberate the captured savages. Those prisoners could not be restored, so the belts were returned; whereupon the ambassadors laid twelve wampum belts on the ground and renewed their request. They received the same answer, and the belts were returned. "What then are your intentions as regards these men?" demanded the sachems. The Dutch answered by enquiring, "What have they done with the Christian prisoners?"

After a brief consultation, and finding all attempts at making an impression on Stuyvesant vain, one of the chiefs

¹ Alb Rec. xvi., 133.

² Ibid. vi., 328, 330, 331.

laid a wampum belt at his feet, and requested that the war be confined to the Esopus country. He was told that so long as they observed peace, the Dutch would treat them as friends. Other belts were then presented "to wipe away the remembrance of the rejection of the belts they had offered for the prisoners," after which a blanket, a piece of frieze, an axe, a knife, a pair of stockings and two small kettles were given to each of the ambassadors, and they departed, content. On the next day an order was issued banishing the Esopus savages, some fifteen or twenty, to the insalubrious climate of Curaçoa, "to be employed there, or at Buenaire, with the negroes in the Company's service." Two or three others were retained at Fort Amsterdam, to be punished "as it should be thought proper." By this harsh policy Stuyvesant laid the foundation of another Esopus war, for the Indians never forgot their banished brethren.¹

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Ensign Smith now took seventy-five men, and, guided by one of his prisoners, discovered, "at the second fall on Kit Davit's kill,"² a few savages planting maize on the opposite bank. The stream being swollen, it was found impossible to cross, so he returned to the fort, where he learned that the Indians had concentrated their force at an almost inaccessible spot, "about nine (Dutch) miles up the river, beyond the above-mentioned falls, where it was pretty easy to ford" the kill. Thither he determined to pursue them, but on discovering their wigwams, the enemy got notice of his approach by the barking of their dogs, and they made good their retreat, leaving behind them Preummaker, "the oldest and best of their chiefs."

May 30.

The aged sachem, no way daunted by the presence of the overwhelming force before him, received the Dutch troopers very haughtily. "What do ye here, ye dogs?" he asked, aiming his gun at the soldiers whilst he spoke. But the weapon was easily wrenched from his feeble hands, and he was also deprived of his axe and knives. A

¹ Alb. Rec. xxiv., 253-261, 265, 266.

² Kit Davit's farm lay on the west side of the Esopus creek, about three (Dutch) miles from the North River.

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On the return of the soldiers to their quarters, they were occasionally harassed by scattered Indians lying in the brushwood, who, on being assailed in return, were put to flight.¹ The death of this old chief was a wanton and a needless act. Some days previous, Seuwhackenamo, one of the principal sachems of the tribe, had called together the Wauwapijesje warriors, who lived at a distance, and asked to know their wishes. "We will fight no more," was their brief reply. The chief next assembled the squaws, and enquired "what seemed to them best?" These answered: "That we plant our fields in peace and live in quiet." He then went to the young men, who lived apart in another quarter, and asked also their opinion. They told him to make peace with the Dutch. "They would not kill either hog or fowl any more." Having thus obtained the unanimous opinion of his people in favor of peace, Seuwhackenamo proceeded to Gamoenepan to secure the mediation of the sachems of Hackingsack and Haverstraw, in favor of a cessation of hostilities. There

June 2. he received the afflicting intelligence of the death of "the greatest and best chief" of his tribe. The news quite unmanned him. "He knew not what to do." With a heavy heart he returned to his people, leaving his Hackingsack and Haverstraw friends to treat, the best way they could, with the Dutch.

June 3. These presented themselves accordingly at Fort Amsterdam, and having been assured that the Dutch were disposed for friendship, "It is very strange, then," said the Hackingsack, "that your people were so recently engaged against the savages, and had killed their chief." He was told that it was the custom among white men to exert all their strength until they had conquered a peace. There-

¹ Alb. Rec. xvi., 125, 127-129, 131, 133, 135.

² These proceedings are interesting, as showing the preliminaries which the natives observed to obtain the views of the tribe before entering on matters of importance. Even the women had a voice in public affairs. The Indians seem in this respect to have been in advance of modern civilization.

upon the chief requested a truce pending the negotiations. He was told that if he consented to visit Esopus with the Dutch interpreter, and learn for himself what the dispositions of the Indians thereabouts were, an armistice should be observed until his return. This proposition was accepted, and Oratani took his leave, saying, "Now I shall see for myself if these Esopus savages contemplate any good."

In the meanwhile Messrs. Varleth and Newton, having concluded negotiations with the colony of Virginia, Sir Henry Moody, son of the late Lady Moody of Gravesend, arrived at the Manhattans as ambassador from the Governor and Assembly of that province, to exchange ratifications. He was received with marked respect by the Director-general, and the following treaty was shortly after made public:—

"ARTICLES of amitie and commerce agreed and concluded on between the Right Honourable the Governour and Assembly of Virginia and Mr. Nicholas Varleth, Capt. Lieut. Brian Newton, agents for the Right Honourable Peter Stuyvesant, Governour-generall of New Netherland, Curaçoa, Bonaire, Aruba, and Councill of State there established:—

"First, It is concluded and agreed that a free trade and commerce shall be permitted to the inhabitants of New Netherland, provided they pay unto the Right Honourable Governour of Virginia for the tobacco by them exported, such rates and customes as other neighbouring English and strangers doe, or shall pay; all trade and commerce with the Indians being on each syde prohibited.

"Secondly, It is concluded, that the inhabitants of Virginia and New Netherland, trading each with the other, shall have equal despatch and justice in each other's courts of judicature as their own nation has, and that uppon complaint of injustice done on either syde, in any inferior court, the Governour of each place shall be pleased to grant a rehearing in his own person, and if it shall be

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“Thirdly, All servants that formerly made escapes, and at present reside in each other’s provinces, or their limites, or such that may hereafter make escapes, and run away into each other’s jurisdictions, uppon complaint and notice given, they shall be secured and returned with the first convenient passadge, and for the apprehendinge, transportation, and other expenses shall be given satisfaction, either by the master, or else by the Treasurer of the country.

“Fourthly, It is agreed and concluded, that if any person being indebted in this country shall remove, or transporte himselfe to New Netherland, or any person indebted in New Netherland shall transport himselfe to Virginia, it shall be lawful for the creditors of each such person, or persons, to tacke out processe in the foresaide places of Virginia and New Netherland, and bringe it to tryal and judgement, as if the debts were made properly in that place where the debtors are ; and being confessed the debt, the debtor uppon demaunde doe give securitie to make due and just payment of the said debt or debts, and uppon default of none payment thereof, the securitie shall be oblided to macke satisfaction.”

Though the colonial legislature had already passed the acts necessary to give force to the provisions of this treaty,¹ it had but a brief existence. Orders were sent out to Virginia to enforce rigidly the laws passed during the Protectorate for the regulation of trade and navigation

¹ Act xv., March, 1659-60. Whereas by the articles of peace with the Dutch, it hath been concluded that in case the master of any runaway servants that shall be brought into this country, shall refuse to make payment for his passage and such other reasonable costs and disbursements, as shall be made to appear due, that then he should receive his pay at the secretary’s office, Be it enacted that payment shall be made at the secretary’s office, and said servant shall be sold to pay costs and charges, after which he is to be returned to his master. Act xvi., Allows the Dutch and all strangers of any Christian nation, free trade to, and guarantees them protection and equal rights and justice in all the courts of judicature in the colony. Henning’s Statutes at Large, 539, 540.

with the British possessions. The Virginians found means to evade these tyrannical enactments, and to carry on trade with the Dutch, notwithstanding their provisions; yet those orders were fatal to the treaty. It necessarily fell to the ground, to the great disappointment and regret of both the contracting parties.

In the course of the correspondence to which it had given rise, Stuyvesant endeavored, by a shrewd stroke of diplomacy, to obtain from Governor Berkeley an acknowledgment of the soundness of the Dutch title to New Netherland, but this was beyond the Governor's attributes to give. "I am," said he, "but a servant of the Assembly; neither do they arrogate any power to themselves further than the miserable distractions of England force them to: for when God shall be pleased, in his mercy, to take away and dissipate the unnatural divisions of their native country, they will immediately return to their ever professed obedience. What then they should do, in matters of contract, donation and confession of title, would have little strength or signification; much more presumptive and impertinent would it be in me to do it, without their knowledge or assent." Berkeley's brother coveted the soil of New Jersey. Perhaps this circumstance may afford some explanation of the tenderness, at this precise moment, of Sir William's conscience.¹

Information was now received that the Esopus savages were disposed to negotiate, and had invited the Director-general to pay them a visit, in order to arrange a treaty. Accompanied by Captain Krygier and Burgomaster Van Cortland, he accordingly proceeded to the Esopus country, and immediately sent messengers to acquaint the sachems of his arrival. Though fallen, the pride of the Red men was still unconquered. Three days had elapsed, and all the Director could learn was—"perhaps they would come to-morrow; perhaps not at all." Summoning the chiefs of the Mohawks, the Mohegans, the Wappingers, the Minquaas and Hackingsacks, and the delegates from Staten

¹ Alb. Rec. xviii., 157, 197; xxiv., 300, 301, 309; Robertson's America, (Phil. ed., 1812,) ii., 399; Bancroft's United States, ii., 310.

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July 14. “Brothers! ye all know well that we have not caused this war. After the Esopus savages burned three of our houses and murdered one of our men, a year ago, we forgave them and renewed the chain of friendship with them; promising the one the other, that we should not thenceforth again wage war though a man were killed, but that the murderer should be surrendered and punished. Notwithstanding all this, the Esopus savages took some of our people prisoners, now ten moons since; burnt several houses; besieged and stormed Esopus, though they pretended, during the siege, to be inclined to peace. They then consented to receive a ransom for the prisoners, but when the ransom was brought out to the gate, they carried it away by force, retained our prisoners, and murdered eight or nine of them afterwards in an infamous manner. Brothers! this it was that compelled us to take up the hatchet.

“Brothers! on the earnest entreaties of Indian friends, who solicited peace in behalf of the Esopus savages, and on the intercession of our allies, the Maquaas, the Mohegans, those of the Highlands, the Minquaas, the Katskills, and other tribes, we concluded a truce with our enemies, who seemed much rejoiced and solicited us to come in person to conclude a treaty. We came with our friends, yet those of Esopus hang back. They come not to us, nor speak one word of peace. Ye see clearly that it is not our fault. Brothers! the Esopus savages play the fool with you, as well as with us.

“Brothers! our station will not permit us to remain here, in uncertainty, any longer. Even ye are tired with waiting, and are as willing to depart as we. We request you to remember these our words. Communicate them to all the other sachems our brothers, and to all the Indians our friends, and tell them, as we have done before, that they must not meddle with the Esopus savages, nor suffer them to live among them. And now tell the Esopus savages

we will yet wait till evening. Brothers! when yonder ^{CHAP.} sun goes down, we depart, if they be not here.”

This menace had the desired effect. Towards evening, ^{I.} Kaelcop, Sewackenamo, Nosbabowan, and Pemmyraweck appeared before the gate of the Dutch village, and being seated “under the blue sky of heaven,” with fourteen chiefs of the tribes already enumerated, in company with the Director-general, Arent van Curler, and the other Dutch deputies, and in the presence of all the inhabitants of Esopus, both Christians and savages, Onderis Hocque, a Minquaa sachem, arose and thus addressed the assembly:—

“The savages of Esopus have complained to us that they were involved in a heavy war with the Dutch. We answered them, ‘Why did ye begin it? It is all your own fault. We cannot, therefore, help you in your necessity; but we shall intercede in your behalf, and do all in our power to obtain for you peace.’ We have now brought a present, in return for that with which they solicited our assistance for a peace, which we now request in their behalf. If they cannot obtain it now, those of Esopus must return home weeping.”

The Director-general answered:—“Out of respect for the intercession of all our friends here present, we consent to a peace, if the Maquaas, the Minquaas, and other chiefs will be security that it shall be faithfully observed.”

A Mohawk chief then addressed the Esopus sachems. “The whole country is now convened in behalf of you, who began this quarrel, to procure you peace. If this be once concluded, break it never again. If ye do break it, and treat us with contempt, we shall never again intercede for you.”

The Minquaa, thereupon, took up the word, and admonished those of Esopus in the same manner. “Ye must not renew this quarrel; neither kill horse nor cow, nor steal any property. Whatever ye want, ye must purchase or earn. Live with the Dutch as brothers. Ye cause us and the Maquaas great losses. This is not your land. It is our land. Therefore repeat not this, but throw down the hatchet. Tread it so deep into the earth that it shall

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~~~~~ never be taken up again." After concluding this speech, the orator presented them with a white belt.

1660. The Maquaa chief then addressed the Dutch settlers, warning them, in like manner, not to renew this trouble, nor to beat the Esopus savages in the face, and then laugh at them. After which, taking an axe from the hands of an Esopus sachem, he cast it on the ground, and trampled it to the earth, saying, "Now they will never commence this quarrel anew."

The Esopus chief then slowly rose, and addressing the assembly, said:—"The hatchet have we permitted to be taken from our hands, and to be trodden on the ground. We will never take it up again!"

These ceremonies having been concluded, the Director-general submitted the following as the conditions of the treaty:—

I. All hostilities shall cease on both sides, and all injuries shall be mutually forgiven and forgotten.

II. The Esopus savages, in compensation of damages, promise to transfer to the Director-general all the lands of Esopus, and to directly depart thence without being permitted to return thither to plant.

III. Further, the Director-general promises to pay for the ransom of the captive Christians eight hundred schepels of maize, the half next harvest when the maize is ripe, the other half, or its value, in the harvest of the following year.

IV. The Esopus savages promise that they will keep this peace inviolate, and not kill any more of our horses, cattle or hogs. Should such occurrence happen, then the chiefs oblige themselves to pay for it, or by refusal that one of them shall remain arrested until the killed animal be paid for or made good; while the Director-general, on his side, promises that the Dutch shall not do them any harm.

V. If the Dutch kill a savage, or the savages a Dutchman, war shall not be commenced on that account. Complaint thereof shall first be made, and he who committed the murder, shall be delivered to be punished as he deserves.

VI. The Esopus savages shall not approach the Dutch plantations, houses or dwellings, armed ; but may go and trade, unarmed, as before.

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VII. Whereas the last war owes its origin to drinking, no savage shall be permitted to drink brandy or any spirituous liquors, in or near any Dutch plantations, houses or concentrations, but shall do it in their country or deep in the woods, at a great distance.

VIII. In this peace shall be included, not only the aforesaid tribes of savages, but all others who are in friendship with the Director-general, and among others, by name, the chiefs of Long Island, Tapausaugh, with all their savages, and if any act of hostility be committed against them, then the Director-general engages himself to assist them.

IX. The aforesaid chiefs, as mediators and advocates of the Esopus nation, remain securities and engage themselves that it shall be kept inviolate ; and if any infraction be committed by the Esopus savages, they engage themselves to assist the Dutch to subdue them.

Thus done and concluded near the concentration of Esopus, under the blue sky of heaven, in the presence of the Hon. Martin Krygier, Burgomaster of the city of Amsterdam in New Netherland ; Oloff Stevensen van Cortland, old Burgomaster, Arent van Curler, Commissary of the colonie Rensselaerswyck, and all the inhabitants of Esopus, both Christians and savages, on the 15th July, 1660.<sup>1</sup>

These terms being accepted, peace once more prevailed throughout New Netherland. But in making the preliminary arrangements for this treaty, Stuyvesant laid the foundation of another war. He told the savages that they must consider the prisoners then in his hands "as dead." He could well afford to be generous, and by

<sup>1</sup> Names of the chiefs who solicited the peace in behalf of the Esopus savages, and in whose presence the same was concluded : of the Maquaas—Adogbegne-walquo, Requesecade, Ognnekelt ; Mohegans—Eskryas, alias Apie, Ampumst ; Katskill—Kefe-weig, Machacknemen ; Minquaas—Onderis Hocque, Kaskongeritschag ; Wappings—Isseschahya, Wisachganio ; Hackingsacks—Oratany, Carstangh ; Staten Island—Warehan ; Esopus savages—Kaelcop, Sewacke-namo, Neskahewan, Pemmyraweck.

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kindness and well-timed forbearance, endeavor to win unto himself the affections of those untutored savages now disheartened and friendless. But he preferred a different course, and shipped eleven of the wretches to the insalubrious island of Curaçoa. The Red men never forgot their banished brethren.<sup>1</sup>

After having concluded the peace with the Esopus Indians, the Director-general was next called to Fort Orange, to correct various disorders to which the fur trade had given rise in and about that post. This trade had absorbed the almost undivided attention of the inhabitants of Beverwyck. The increase of population had served to increase competition, and the traders, imitating the practice of the French, employed a number of agents, whom the Dutch called "Bosloopers," the French "Coureurs de bois." These "Runners" penetrated the woods to a considerable distance, in order to meet the Indians before they reached town, and secure in advance their peltries. This practice necessarily gave rise, at an early date, to dangerous irregularities. The runners were in too many instances men of strong passions and unscrupulous principles. Their remuneration depended on the amount of property they secured for their principals, and to increase their gains they often had recourse to violence, wresting from the Indians their property against their will, after inflicting on them, in addition, personal injuries.

This, in the then circumstances of the country, could not fail, if unchecked, to be productive of dangerous consequences. Several of the traders also complained that a few Christian runners monopolized the trade, and prevented others from having an equal chance, and it was insisted that every person should be privileged to employ similar agents if they thought proper. To prevent these abuses, May 31. the system of employing brokers was abolished, and all persons were forbidden to go "to the hill" to enquire where the savages were, or to the river side, when the

<sup>1</sup> Alb. Rec. vi., 330; xii., 317, 318; xviii., 118, 119; xxii., 227-229; xxiv., 279-284, 303, 318, 320, 332, 337-342.

savages arrived, under a penalty of three hundred guilders and suspension from trading for six months. "The savages were to sell their beavers wherever they pleased." 1660. CHAP  
I.  
~  
1660.

Two parties now sprung up in the village—"Runners" and "Anti-Runners"—rivalling, on a small scale, in virulence and animosity, the ancient factions of "the Hooks and Cabbeljauws." Instead of having recourse to reason and demonstrating the dangers which were likely to accrue from the employment of these wood rangers, the Anti-Runners dubbed their opponents "a rabble." This gave considerable offence, and caused also numberless suits at law, and an increased amount of bad feeling. A modification of the order of the 31st of May was the consequence. June 25. Savages might be employed as emissaries, but "no Dutchman." As it was useless to expect this law to be observed, unless supported by public opinion, a meeting of the commonalty was convoked with a view to obtain its concurrence. This assembly only brought out a repetition of "injuries and threats." Many of those who attended expressed their determination "to scour the woods with Dutch brokers, whether permitted or not." The magistrates, finding that the people opposed their wishes, renewed their former orders and again abolished the June 26. system altogether. The Mohawks now complained of the violence used towards them by the runners, who kicked, beat, and dragged them through and fro. If this were continued they should be compelled to break the old treaty, to leave the Dutch altogether; and "then perhaps matters might terminate as at Esopus." An order was issued to correct this evil, and the members of the June 28. court resolved "to visit the woods in these perilous times," July 14. and to fine all the Dutch runners who might be discovered violating the law. La Montagne accordingly proceeded thither, accompanied by an armed force, but to such a height had abuses gone, that he was obliged to remain out several nights. Prosecutions were instituted against those who infringed the law, and it is a remarkable and instructive fact, that several of the magistrates were among those who were fined.

BOOK  
VI.

Letters having been dispatched to the Director-general advising him of these disorders, his Honor was obliged, after concluding the treaty at Esopus, to proceed to Fort

1660. Orange, where he was met by the chiefs of the powerful tribe of the Senecas, who came from the banks of the Niaugaurah to renew the treaty which already existed between them and the Dutch. The council fires were  
July 25. lighted on this occasion in Fort Orange, and the magistrates of the colonie and Beverwyck attended, with the principal settlers of the vicinity, to add increased solemnity to the negotiations. The proceedings were opened by a long speech from an Indian chief.

They had visited the Manhattans several years ago, and though they had offered their presents they received no answer; "no, not even one pipe of tobacco." They had then bound themselves to the Dutch "with a chain," which they now desired to renew, having some trifling requests to make; but they felt as if they were about "to run against a stone." They were involved in a heavy war, and could not obtain either powder or ball without beavers. "A brave warrior ought to have these for nothing." Many of their tribe proposed to visit this place ere long. They asked that they may be allowed to barter their furs according to their pleasure; that they be not locked up by the Dutch, but be permitted to trade wherever they liked, without being kicked by those who wished to have their beavers, until "we know not where our eyes are." "Every one ought to trade where he pleases and where he can be best served." Such violent conduct ought to be prohibited, "so that we may smoke and suck our tobacco in peace, and ye too may smoke and consider our proposals maturely. There are so many runners we know not where to carry our furs. This ought to be corrected."

"You are," continued the orator, "the chiefs of the whole country. We all look up to you. We ask a piece of cloth for a beaver, and that it may be understood and henceforward a rule, that we shall receive thirty yards of black and sixty yards of white zeawan for one beaver. Ye have been sleeping hitherto. With these three beavers

we now open your eyes. We require sixty handsful of powder for one beaver. We have a vast deal of trouble collecting beavers through the enemy's country. We ask to be furnished with powder and ball. If our enemies conquer us, where will ye then obtain beavers?"

CHAP.  
I.  
1660.

"Ye have included us and the Mohawks and the Mohegans in the peace of Esopus. Set now at liberty the savages ye have taken prisoners there. We are sometimes obliged to pass by that path. It is good that brothers live together in peace. The French savages meet the Mohegans near the Cahoos. This we regret. Brothers! we are united by a chain; ye too ought to mourn. This our speech is designed merely to rouse you from your slumbers. We shall return next year to receive your conclusions. Warn the Dutch not to beat the savages. Otherwise, they will say—'We know nothing of this!'"

A number of valuable presents accompanied this address, to which Stuyvesant thus replied:—

"When our brothers were for the first time at the Mannhattans some two or three years ago, and entered into a close alliance, which we have always cultivated, and shall always cherish, the tobacco was forgotten. We now give you a roll to make you remember our union when you return to your own country, and to keep this as close as if it were linked together with a chain.

"Brothers! we made peace with the savages of Esopus, at the solicitation of the Mohawks, the Mohegans, and other friends, so that they may use in safety the rivers and the roads. We present you, therefore, the axes which we have thrown away, but we expect that when departing ye will kill neither our horses nor our cattle.

"Brothers! ye thanked us that we made peace with those of Esopus. Now we solicit, on our side, that ye, too, will make peace with the Minquaas and cultivate it, so that we, also, may use the road to them in safety, as our brothers now do on their way to us.

"Brothers! ye complain that ye do not receive much powder; we now give you a whole keg full. But it ought not to be used against our brothers the Minquaas, but

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~ against those distant enemies from whom ye capture beaver.

1660. "Brothers! ye complain that your beavers are taken from you when ye come to us. Three days ago we forbade our people to act thus, so that our brothers may now go whither they please.

"Brothers! if any Dutchman beat you, go and complain to the sachems. If any Dutchman retain or steal your beavers, then we shall take care that your property be restored. It is good that every one go with his beaver where he chooses. No more runners shall be sent out; but every one shall be free to go with his beaver where he pleases. Listen, then, no longer to these runners, but beat them on the head until it can no longer be seen where their eyes stood.

"Brothers! ye ask a certain quantity of zeawan or of cloth for a beaver. The Dutch cannot agree to that whilst the cloth is brought from so great a distance—far beyond the great lake."

<sup>1</sup> Alb. Rec. vi., 236-238, 254, 257-261, 270-283; xxiv., 348-352.

## CHAPTER II.

New effort to colonize Staten Island, which is again purchased from the Indians—Sale declared null in Holland—Melyn returns to Europe—Conveys all his right in the Island to the West India Company, who purchase also the claims of the heirs of Van der Capellen—A number of Palatines form a village there—New Haerlem incorporated—Bergen and New Utrecht planted—Bushwick settled—Its progress and charter—Efforts to obtain a court of justice for the Esopus—Roeloff Swartwout appointed sheriff—Stuyvesant objects—Rev. Harmanus Blom ordained minister of that place—Charter of Wiltwyck—Rev. Dominie Selyns minister at Breukelen—Progress of settlements westward—Schenectady, or the great Platt of Schonowe, purchased from the Indians—Conditions of that plantation—Impediments to its first settlement—Finally surveyed.

THE massacre of 1655 was a blow to Staten Island and the country in its rear, from which they did not soon recover, for it scattered the settlers throughout the province. Van der Capellen was, however, determined not to abandon that rich and beautiful spot. He again sent out a number of colonists, and gave instructions that those of his people who survived the late tragedy should be again collected and encouraged to resume their old locations. To remove any dissatisfaction that might exist among the native proprietors, Van Dinclage, the Baron's agent, purchased anew the whole of the island from the Indians, for ten cargoes of shirts; thirty pairs of Ferouse stockings; ten guns; ten staves of lead; thirty pounds of powder; thirty ells of coarse red cloth; two pieces of frieze; thirty kettles; fifty axes; twenty-five chisels; a few awls and a few knives. A treaty of alliance and peace was at the same time made with the savages, and the whole act was duly witnessed "with submission to the court of justice at Hospating, near Hackingsack, on Waerkinnes Connie in New Netherland."<sup>1</sup> When this transaction came to the ears of the Directors at Amsterdam, they immediately

CHAP.  
II.  
1657.

July 10.

Dec. 22.

<sup>1</sup> Alb. Rec. iv., 225; viii., 161.

BOOK VI.  
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 1657. instructed Stuyvesant to declare the sale null; to obtain a transfer of the lands from the savages to the Company, and then to reconvey to Van der Capellen as much of the soil as he may require.¹

Thus remained the affairs of this section of the country for the following year. Van der Capellen's settlers had now dwindled to two or three families. Van Dinclage died, and Melyn, discouraged by the continual opposition he experienced, had removed to New Haven, where he continued to reside till this fall, when he proceeded to 1659. England and passed thence over to Amsterdam, where he conveyed all his right and title in Staten Island to the June 14. West India Company.² Melyn obtained, in return for his claims, the proceeds of his property at the Manhattans, which Stuyvesant had confiscated in 1651; fifteen hundred guilders cash; exemption from duties on any merchandise he might export, to the amount of one thousand guilders, and a free passage for himself and family to New Netherland, where he and his heirs were to be granted, in free allodial tenure, all the real estate of which he might be in actual possession, or he or his family might hereafter hold. Whenever a sheriff should be required for that locality, the office was to be bestowed on his son, on obtaining his majority, in preference to all others; and, finally, he was to obtain a full amnesty for all disputes and contentions "which have occurred hitherto between them," so that henceforward they shall treat one another as good friends and with respect, and assist one another whenever it may be in their power."³

The Directors in Amsterdam being now thoroughly sick of Patroons and privileged colonies, next proceeded to extinguish the remaining claims on the island. Baron Van der Capellen having deceased in the course of the preced-

¹ Alb. Rec. iv., 258, 259.

² Ibid. 282; xiv., 180; xviii., 11, 198. Cornelis and Jacob Melyn took the oath of fidelity to New Haven, 7th April, 1657, (O. S.) Lubbertus van Dinclage married Margaretta, daughter of the Rev. John Hanius, by whom he had nine children. The first mention I meet of his death is in a letter, dated 2d April, 1658.

³ Alb. Rec. viii., 222.

ing year, the heirs were desirous to divest themselves of an estate, which, from its distance, could only be a source of embarrassment to its present owners. Baron Fredrik van der Capellen ter Budelhoff, as executor and co-heir, therefore gladly sold to the Company "his property on Staten Island, with the patronage, mansion, out-houses, implements of husbandry, stock, &c., for the sum of three thousand guilders.¹ Comparing this amount with what Melyn was to receive, especially when it is understood that the Baron held only one-third of the island, it seems liberal. But the payment consisted in unpaid accounts which the Company held against the province of Guiderland, and the Directors frankly acknowledged they would not have been so generous, had the young Baron not consented to accept these at his own risk, "which the Company could not collect."² By this transaction, Staten Island reverted once more to the public domain, and became disenthralled from feudal burthens and feudal lords for the remainder of the Dutch rule. A number of persons, partly Dutch and partly French from the Palatinate, subsequently received grants of land on the south side of the island, where a proper site for a village was next surveyed. The population increased, in the course of a short time, to twelve or fourteen families, for whose protection from the Indians a block-house was erected, garrisoned with ten soldiers, and fortified with three small guns. From this time forward, the settlement of Staten Island was uninterrupted by any reverses. The faithful there were occasionally visited during the remainder of this administration, by one of the clergymen of New Amsterdam.³

CHAP.
II.

1660.

Nov. 20.

Dec. 24.

1661.

Aug. 22.

¹ Alb. Rec. viii., 290.² Ibid. iv., 365. For the papers relating to these various sales and transfers, see App. I.³ Alb. Rec. iv., 384; xviii., 140-143, 160, 235, 251, 285. Rev. Drisius' MS. letters to the Classis at Amsterdam. The following are the names of the settlers alluded to in the text: Peter Belleau, Walraven Luten, Harman Burtels, Jacob Salomons, Jan Claessen, Johannes Christoffels, Claude Le Maitre, Andries Yemants, Thys Barentsen van Leerdam, Ryk Hendricks, Gerrit Warmaet, Myndert Evertsen, Gerrit Cornelissen, Teunis Cornelissen, Capt. Post, Govert Loockermans, Jan Jacobsen van Reenen, Wynant Pietersen, and Paulus Dirksen van Lutseburgh.

BOOK
VI.
1658.
Mar. 4.

Already the Director and Council had resolved to form a new village at the north-eastern extremity of Manhattan Island, "for the promotion of agriculture, and as a place of amusement for the citizens of New Amsterdam." To encourage this settlement, to which the name of "New Haerlem" was given, each inhabitant was to receive from eighteen to twenty-four morgens of tillage, and from six to eight morgens of pasture land, free of tithes for fifteen years, subject however to the payment within three years of eight guilders per morgen. The village was to be provided with fifteen soldiers for its protection, and with an inferior court of justice and "a good orthodox minister," as soon as it should contain from twenty to twenty-five families. Half the salary of such clergyman was to be paid by the people. The magistrates were to be nominated at first by the settlers, afterwards in the manner usual in other towns. More than 1660. two years elapsed before the place contained the number of families requisite to entitle it to its patent. The first Aug. 16. magistrates were Jan Pietersen, Daniel Terneur, Peter Coussen, the oldest of whom acted as sheriff. Their jurisdiction extended absolutely in civil suits to fifty guilders, beyond which appeal lay to the supreme court of New Amsterdam. In criminal matters they had final cognizance only of simple assaults. Graver offences were referred to the Director and Council.¹

The settlers, who had been so often driven by the savages from Pavonia, returned to their lands in the spring of 1658, when they received orders to concentrate their Aug. 16. dwellings. They formed, in 1660, a village "behind 1661. Gamoenepan," which obtained, in the course of the year Sep. 15. following, a patent of incorporation, and was called "Bergen," after a town of that name in North Holland. Tielman van Vleeck, notary public of New Amsterdam, was the first sheriff; Michael Jansen, Herman Smeeman, and Caspar Steynmets were the first magistrates of this court of justice, the earliest ever erected within the limits of the present State of New Jersey, unless,

¹ Alb. Rec. vii., 420-422; xxiv., 368, 369.

indeed, the existence of the somewhat apocryphal tribunal at Hospating, near Hackingsack, be admitted.¹

CHAP.
II.

1657.

The land opposite Staten Island, on the east side of the Narrows, between Gowanus and Conyen Island, originally purchased from the Indians in 1645, and granted to the Hon. Cornelis van Werckhoven in 1652, had been abandoned after that gentleman's death, and now lay wild and waste. Jacques Cortelyou, his agent, applied, under these circumstances, for its erection into a town. This request was complied with; the lands were divided, and in compliment to the city of which Mr. Van Werckhoven had been in his life-time a magistrate, the place received the name of "New Utrecht."² Actual settlement did not, however, follow this division of the soil, though some of the patentees had erected houses on their land. The town, therefore, did not prosper, and it became necessary to call for the interference of the government, on which occasion the inhabitants demanded "the same exemptions and freedoms as the other towns." An exemption from tithes followed, and a sheriff and overseer were appointed to attend to the few municipal wants which might arise in such a hamlet. With all this encouragement New Utrecht contained only twelve houses in the beginning of its fourth year. Orders were now issued to palisade the village, and to cut down "all the trees within gun-shot, so that men might see afar off."³ A block-house was soon after erected; and towards the end of the following year the town obtained a charter similar to those of other such settlements, empowering the inhabitants to elect their magistrates, and to hold courts which exercised a like jurisdiction to that of Haerlem. Jan Tomassen, Rutger Joosten, and Jacob Hellekars were the first magistrates, and Adriaen Hegeman, sheriff of the other neighboring Dutch towns, exercised jurisdiction also here.⁴

Jan. 16.

1659.

May 12.

1660.

Feb. 6.

1661.

Dec. 22.

¹ Alb. Rec. xiv., 28; xix., 273-275; xxiv., 372, 398. The lands in Bergen were mostly deeded in 1654, but no village was erected until 1660. The charter of Bergen is similar to that of Wiltwyck, a few pages farther on.

² New Utrecht Rec.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Alb. Rec. xix., 444-446. The following were the first patentees of this town: Jacques Cortelyou, Councillor and Fiscaal de Sille, Jacob Hellekars, alias

- BOOK VI.
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 1660. Frenchmen applied to the Director-general to locate a  
 Feb. 16. town on the north-east end of Long Island, between Breukelen and Middleburgh. Their wishes were com-  
 Feb. 19. plied with, and a village was laid out "between Mespath and Norman's kill, which was named Boswyck." The population now consisting of twenty-three families, the following proclamation was issued :—
1661. "The Director-general and Council of New Netherland,  
 Mar. 25. To all those who shall see these or hear them read, Health :  
 Be it known, that for the public good, for the further promo-  
 tion and increase of the newly begun village of Boswyck, and for the more convenient administration of justice, they have thought necessary to establish in the aforesaid village a subaltern bench of justice, which shall, provisionally, consist of the following named commissaries, viz.: Pieter Jansen Witt, Jan Tilje, and Jan Cornelissen."
1662. Of this court Boudewyn Manout of Crimpen op de Lecq  
 Dec. 28. was clerk, and he was subsequently appointed prelector and schoolmaster to the town. The settlers now prospered apace. They were sufficiently easy in circumstances to subscribe some fifty guilders "to ransom Thomas Craeyen's son Jacob, then a prisoner among the Turks."
1663. The next year they erected two block-houses, with walls a  
 June. foot thick, one in the east, the other in the west end of the village, "where the people could retire if necessary and defend themselves from the enemy." The population nearly doubled in three years, when the town contained forty men capable of bearing arms.<sup>1</sup>
1660. Efforts were making, in the mean time, in Holland, to obtain a local court of justice and a settled ministry for the Esopus. Roeloff Swartwout, an enterprising and respectable young man, who had resided some time in that locality, had proceeded to Europe and engaged a

Swart, Yonckher Jacobus Corlear, Jan Tomassen, Rutger Joosten, Pieter Roeloffsen, Cornelis Beekman, Johannis Zeelen, Albert Albertsen, Willem Willenssen, Huybert Hooeck, Pieter Jansen, Jan Jacobsen, Jacobus Backer, Jacob Pietersen, Claes Claessen, Teunis Joosten.

<sup>1</sup> Bushwick Rec.

number of persons to accompany him to this country. During his sojourn in Holland he prevailed on the Directors to separate Esopus from Fort Orange, of which it was, at the time, a dependency. Orders were, therefore, transmitted, to establish a court there, of which Swartwout was appointed sheriff, by the Assembly of the XIX. CHAP.  
II.  
1660.  
April 15.

Instead of inducting him, as directed, Stuyvesant expressed his "great surprise at the nomination," on the ground that Swartwout was a minor and incompetent for the office. The appointment was also premature, in his opinion, as no court was yet established at the Esopus, nor any likelihood of one being erected, "from the lack of individuals qualified to preside over it." Whenever a court became necessary, "a person of more mature age, higher talents and respectability would be required, as he would have to act, at the same time, as commissary for the Company."<sup>1</sup> This refusal brought on the Director-general the censure of his superiors. They were "astonished that their recommendations had been neglected and contemned." Stuyvesant was imperatively ordered to execute the Company's commands without further delay.<sup>2</sup> Sep. 20.

The religious instruction of the settlers had, up to this time, been superintended by the lay functionary called the "comforter of the sick," who, on Sundays and festivals, "spoke the words of the Lord" to the people, at one of the farmers' houses. It being reported in Holland that the Directors intended to send out additional clergymen to New Netherland, the Rev. Hermanus Blom, of Amsterdam, was encouraged by some of the clergy of that city to emigrate. After having preached at the Manhattans, he visited the Esopus, where he delivered two sermons. He immediately received a call from this congregation, with which he returned to Europe, where he was ordained by the Classis of Amsterdam, on the 16th of February of the following year. The unsettled state of the country did not, however, permit his entering on the active exercise of his ministry until the fall.<sup>3</sup> 1659.  
Aug. 17.  
Sep. 12.

<sup>1</sup> Alb. Rec. iv., 340; xviii, 108.

<sup>2</sup> Alb. Rec. iv., 352.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Blom continued pastor of this place until the 5th March, 1667. He

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VI.  
1661.  
May 16.

Stuyvesant could no longer refuse obedience to the commands of the Chamber at Amsterdam. He accordingly conferred a charter on the Esopus, to which place, in commemoration of the fact that the soil was a free gift from the Indians, he gave the name of "Wiltwyck, whereby it shall be known from now and henceforward."<sup>1</sup> This patent, the tenor of which will serve to convey an idea of the legal powers possessed by incorporated towns at this remote period, was in these words:—

"PETRUS STUYVESANT, in behalf of the High and Mighty Lords, the States General of the United Netherlands, and the Lords Directors of the Privileged West India Company, Director-general of New Netherland, Curaçoa, Aruba, and Buenaire and dependencies, together with the High Council, To all who shall see, or hear this read, Greeting. Be it known, that their Honors, hoping and wishing nothing else but the prosperity and welfare of their good inhabitants generally, and particularly that of the residents in the village of Wiltwyck, situated in the Esopus; and desiring that this may be effected and

had the misfortune to lose his wife, Anna Blom, who died at New York, 13th September, 1666; and this, it is presumed, affected him so deeply, that he left the country. The Esopus remained without a settled clergyman for the next eleven years, or until 1678, during which interval it was occasionally visited from Albany or New York. The following is the succession of Dutch clergymen at that place, from the last mentioned period:—1678, 15th September, Dominie Laurentius Gaasbeek; 1681, Johannes Weecksteen; 1696, J. P. Nucella van Bosen; [from 1698 to 1710, there was another interruption of resident clergymen, with the exception of 1706, when Dom. Henricus Buys was for a couple of years pastor;] 1710, Petrus Vas; 1732, Georgius Wilhelmus Mancius; 1763, Harmanus Meyer; 1775, George J. L. Doll; 1808, John Gosman; 1836, John Lielly; 1841, J. H. van Wagenen; 1845, John C. F. Hoes. Church Rec., Kingston.

<sup>1</sup> Alb. Rec. xix, 36, 112, 114, 137-140. The following is the first entry in the Wiltwyck Rec.: "May 16th, 1661. Director-general Petrus Stuyvesant, delegated and authorized in all matters of government relating to the public welfare of all the country of New Netherland, by power and commission from the Noble Lords Directors of the Privileged West India Company, Wherefore, the aforesaid Honorable Director-general Petrus Stuyvesant, observing the situation and condition of a place called the Esopus, now inhabited and settled since six or seven years, hath, in consideration of the state and population thereof, erected our locality into a village [tot een Dorp] and given it the name of Wiltwyck, whereby it shall be called from now and henceforward."

preserved with more love, peace and harmony, and to show to each inhabitant of the aforesaid village, and prove by deed its effects; so is it, that the aforesaid Director-general and Council, considering the increased population of said village, resolve to favor its inhabitants with a subaltern court of justice, and to organize it as far as possible, and the situation of the country will permit, in conformity with the customs of the city of Amsterdam in Holland, but so, that from all judgments an appeal may be made to the Director-general and Council in New Netherland, who shall reserve the power to give their final decision.

CHAP.  
II.  
1661.

“It is, therefore, necessary, so that everything may be effected with due order and respect, that there be chosen as judges, honest, intelligent persons possessing real estate, peaceable men, good subjects to their Lords and Patroons, and the high administration appointed by them in this country, professors of the Reformed religion, as it is now preached in the United Netherlandish churches, in conformity to the word of God, and the orders of the synod of Dordrecht; which court of justice for the present time, till otherwise shall be ordained by the aforesaid Lords Patroons in their authorized administration, shall consist of a Sheriff, being *in loco*, who shall summon in the name of the Director-general and Council, the appointed Schepens, and preside at their meeting; and with him three Schepens, who for the present time and ensuing year, beginning with the last of May next, are elected by the Director-general and Council aforesaid, and confirmed after they shall have taken their oath, EVERT PELS, CORNELIS BARENTSEN SLEGHT, and ELBERT HEYMANS ROOSE. Before whom all cases relative to the police, security and peace of the inhabitants of Esopus, so too all suits between man and man, shall be brought, heard, examined and determined by definitive judgment, to the amount of fifty guilders and below it, without appeal. But on higher sums it shall be left to the discretion of the aggrieved to appeal to the Director-general and Council aforesaid, provided that he enters the appeal

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in due time, and procures bail for the prosecution and expenses of the law-suit, according to law.

1661. "If there be a disparity of votes and opinions on any occurrent affairs, then the minority shall coincide with the majority without contradiction. But it is permitted to those who adopt another opinion or advice, to have their sentiments and advice registered on the roll or protocol. But they shall by no means publish out of court their advice, or communicate the same to the parties, under arbitrary correction, at the discretion of the bench.

"The Sheriff shall, in conformity to the first article, preside at the meeting, collect the votes, and act as secretary till further orders, or until the population is increased. But, whenever he shall either act for himself, or in behalf of the rights of the Lords Patroons, or in behalf of justice in the place of the Attorney-general, in all such cases he shall leave his seat, and absent himself from the bench, and in such cases he shall not have an advisory, much less a casting vote. In all such cases, one of the oldest Schepens shall preside in his place.

"What in the aforesaid article is decreed with regard to the Sheriff shall take place, in a similar manner, with respect to the Schepens, whenever, in the aforesaid court, any cases or questions might occur between them as parties or others, nearly allied in blood to the appointed Schepens, as when a brother, a brother-in-law, or a cousin is concerned, viz. : in the first and right line.

"All inhabitants of the Esopus are, till further orders, either from the Lords Patroons, or their higher magistrates, subjected and may be summoned before the aforesaid Sheriff and Commissaries, who shall hold their court, in the village aforesaid, every fortnight—harvest time excepted—unless necessity or occasion might otherwise require.

"To procure the good inhabitants of Wiltwyck a civil and easy administration of justice, the Sheriff as President, and the Schepens of this court, shall, for the better convenience of parties, appear at the appointed day and

place, on the fine of twenty stivers, to be disposed of by the college, when they shall have been informed by the court messenger, qualified for that purpose by the Director-general and Council, at least twenty-four hours, of the sessions of the court, and double this sum for the President, except by sickness or absence. If they arrive too late, or after the stated hour, the penalty shall be six stivers.

CHAP.  
II.  
1661.

“No extraordinary sessions shall, at the expenses and burdens of the parties, be called, except at the request of both parties, with submission to the costs, in case of the loss of the suit; which costs shall previously be secured by the solicitant or plaintiff, viz.: for each Schepen, fifteen stivers; for the President, three guilders; besides a provision for the clerk, yet to be appointed, the court messenger, and other necessary costs, agreeably to law.

“All criminal cases shall be directly referred to the Director-general and Council in New Netherland, provided that the court remains obliged to apprehend, arrest, detain and imprison the delinquents till they have a proper opportunity to transport them with safety before the supreme magistrate of the land, while in the mean time, they are holden to take good and correct informations with regard to the committed crime, at the expense of the criminal, or in behalf of the Attorney-general, and transmit these together with the delinquent.

“Lesser crimes, as quarrels, injuries, scolding, kicking, beating, threatenings, simply drawing a knife or sword, without assault or bloodshed, are left to the judicature and decision of the aforesaid court, in which cases the Sheriff may act as plaintiff before said court, with reservation of the clause of appeal, if the condemned feel himself aggrieved by the decision of said court.

“All criminals and delinquents guilty of wounding, bloodshed, fornication, adultery, public and notorious thefts, robberies, smuggling or contraband, blasphemy, violating God’s holy name and religion, injuring and slandered the Supreme Magistrates, or their representatives, shall, with the informations, affidavits and witnesses,

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be referred to the Director-general and Council of New  
Netherland.

1661. "Should the situation of affairs be such that the President and Schepens deem it advisable for the security and peace of the inhabitants, during the absence of the Director-general and Council, for the greater advantage and peace of the village and court aforesaid, to issue in said district any orders, respecting public roads, enclosure of lands, gardens or orchards, and further, what might concern the country and agriculture; so, too, relative to the building of churches, schools, and other similar public works; as well as the means from which, and in what manner, these shall be regulated, they are authorized to bring their considerations on such subjects in writing, support these by argument, and deliver them to the Director-general and Council, to be, if deemed useful and necessary, confirmed, approved and commanded by the Director-general and Council.

"The aforesaid Sheriff and Schepens shall further take care, and are obliged to see the laws of our Fatherland, and the ordinances and placards of the Director-general and Council, already published, or which may be published, in future, carefully executed and kept in strict observance, and not to permit that, under any pretext, anything shall be done contrary thereto, but that the transgressors shall be prosecuted according to law.

"The aforesaid Sheriff and court are not permitted to enact any ordinances, placards or similar acts, or publish and affix these, except by previous consent of the Director-general and Council.

"The Sheriff and Schepens shall further take care and be holden, to assist the Noble Lords Directors, as Lords and Patroons of this New Netherland province, under the sovereignty of the High and Mighty Lords the States General of the United Provinces, and to aid to maintain them in their high jurisdiction, rights, domains, and all their other pre-eminences.

"Whereas, it is customary in our Fatherland and other well regulated governments, that annually some change

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takes place in the magistracy, so that some new ones are appointed, and some are continued to inform the newly appointed, so shall the Schepens, now confirmed, pay due attention to the conversation, conduct and abilities of honest and decent persons, inhabitants of their respective village, to inform the Director-general and Council, about the time of the next election, as to who might be sufficiently qualified to be then elected by the Director-general and Council. Done, and given by the Director-general and Council, at their meeting in Fort Amsterdam, in New Netherland, this 16th day of May, 1661."

Shortly after the promulgation of this patent, Roeloff Swartwout was commissioned as sheriff, thus completing the organization of the first court of justice in the present county of Ulster.<sup>1</sup> June 27.

The Rev. Mr. Blom was accompanied to New Netherland by the Rev. Henricus Selyns of Amsterdam, who had been invited to take charge of the congregation at Breukelen. The disturbances at the Esopus had the effect of retarding his immediate entrance on his charge, and it was not until the 3d of September, 1660, that he was formally inducted. The population of Breukelen consisted at that period of thirty-one householders, or one hundred and thirty-four souls, who, being unprovided with a church, assembled, at first, in a barn for public worship.<sup>2</sup> Sep. 3.

<sup>1</sup> Alb. Rec. xix., 125-131. Roeloff, son of Thomas, Swartwout married, 13th August, 1657, at Fort Orange, Eva Albertsen, daughter of Albert Andriessen Bradt, and relict of Anthony de Hooges, secretary of Rensselaerswyck. (See Vol. I., p. 433.)

<sup>2</sup> Alb. Rec. iv., 337, 364; viii., 277, 304; xviii., 133; MS. letter of Dominie Selyns to the Classis of Amsterdam. The following are the names of the first members of the church at Breukelen:—Joris Dircksen, Susanna Dubbels, Albert Cornelissen, Tryntie Hudders, Willem Gerritsen van Couwenhoven, Aelte Joris, Peter Montfoort, Sara de Plancke, Jan Evertse, Tryntie Symons, Willem Bredenbent, Aelte Brackund, Jan Pietersen, Greatje Jans, Teunis Nyssen, Femmetie Jans, Adam Brower, Magdalena Jacobs, Johannes Marcus, Elsie Hendricks, Teunis Jansen, Barbara Lucas, Jan Jorissen, Jan Hibbou, Gertruyt Barent (25 members.) Breukelen Church Rec. Dominie Selyns married, 25th July, 1662, Machtelina Specht van Utrecht. He returned to Holland in 1664, but came back afterwards to this country, and officiated in the church of New York.

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Fort Orange was, up to this period, the frontier town on the northern and western borders of the province. Beyond that all was "the far west," little known and less explored, wholly abandoned to the wild savage or wilder beasts of prey. But civilization, that giant before whom beasts and savages were alike fated to disappear, and who was never to pause until he bathed his feet in the waters of the Pacific, was now about to take another step westward. The proximity of the whites had exhausted the resources of the Indians in the neighborhood of Beverwyck. Furs were becoming scarce, and the soil was no longer an object of value. The natives were, therefore, inclined to sell for a trifle the Great Flatt, west of the fort, "towards the interior of the country." Six or eight families were desirous to move thither, and the prospect of obtaining additional settlers was favorable, for at Beverwyck the common people were much impoverished, and unable to meet their wants, "from one loaf to another."<sup>1</sup> Under these circumstances, Arent van Curler applied, on behalf of himself and others, to the Director-general for permission to purchase the land in question. The requisite authority was duly granted,<sup>2</sup> but had not been yet received at Fort Orange when a freshet laid the country for miles around under water. This was followed, a few days after, by an inundation, much greater than the first, which forced the inhabitants to quit their dwellings and fly with their cattle for safety to the woods on the adjoining hills. Incalculable damage was caused by these irruptions. The wheat and other grain were all prostrated, and had to be cut mostly for fodder, affording scarcely seed

<sup>1</sup> Arent van Curler's letter to Director Stuyvesant, dated Rensselaerswyck, 18th June, 1661, in Fort Orange Rec., also in Alb. Rec. xix., 179. Van der Kemp's translation, in the latter, is in many essential parts incorrect.

<sup>2</sup> Alb. Rec. xix., 180. Arent van Curler's letter having been read, together with the authority to purchase the same, and to make a concentration thereupon, the Director and Council assented thereunto, "provided that the said lands, on being purchased from the native proprietors, be, as usual, transferred to the Director-general and Council aforesaid, as representatives of the Lords Directors of the Privileged West India Company; that, whatever the petitioners shall pay for the aforesaid lands to the original proprietors, shall, in due time, be returned to them, or be discounted to them against the tenths.

sufficient for the next spring.<sup>1</sup> This visitation necessarily caused the postponement of the purchase of the Great Flatt until the ensuing month, when the following deed was obtained from the Indian owners:—

“Appeared before me, Johannes La Montagne, appointed by the Director-general and Council of New Netherland Vice Director and Commissary in the service of the Privileged West India Company, at Fort Orange and the town of Beverwyck, certain chiefs of the Mohawk country, by name Cantuquo, Sonareetsie, Aiadane, Sodachdrasse, proprietors of a certain parcel of land, called in Dutch the Groote Vlachte, (Great Flatt,) lying behind Fort Orange, between the same and the Mohawk country, which they declare to have ceded and transported, as they hereby cede and transport, in real and actual possession and property, unto Sieur Arent van Corlear, the said parcel of land or Great Flatt, called, in Indian, SCHONOWE, as it is bounded in its contents and circumference, with its trees and streams, for a certain number of cargoes, wherein the cedants acknowledge to have received satisfaction; renouncing, now and for ever, all property and claim which they hitherto have had in the aforesaid parcel of land, promising to free the same from all claims which other Indians might have thereon. Done in Fort Orange the 27th July, anno 1661, in presence of Martin Morris and William Montagne, thereunto requested, in presence of me, La Montagne, Vice Director and Commissary over the Fortress Orange.”<sup>2</sup>

A grant under the provincial seal was issued in the following year, but the land was not surveyed or divided until 1664.<sup>3</sup> The inhabitants of Fort Orange and its neighborhood were most anxious to retain the fur monopoly,

<sup>1</sup> Petition in Renss. MSS. of the colonists of Rensselaerswyck to the Director and Commissaries of that colonie, for a remission of rent and tenths for this year, dated September 15th, 1661. Jeremias van Rensselaer's letter to his mother, 8th October, 1661, in Renss. MSS. Alb. Rec. vi., 345.

<sup>2</sup> Fort Orange Rec. 1654-1680. The mark of Cantuquo to the above instrument was a Bear; of Aiadane, a Turtle; of Sonareetsie, a Wolf; denoting the tribe or family to which each belonged.

<sup>3</sup> Alb. Rec. xxi., 137.

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 1662. and had sufficient influence with the Director and Council to induce them to order that the settlers of Schaenhech-  
 stede (as the new village came to be called) should confine themselves exclusively to agriculture, and abstain from all trade with the Indians. This, in fact, was the condition on which they were allowed to remove thither; "for it would never have been permitted to settle this plain except on the assurance that no object was in view but agriculture, because of the dangers which would accrue if, at such a distant place, any trade with the savages was allowed."<sup>1</sup> Such a restriction was easily evaded at this "distant" outpost, and it soon came to be known that some of the settlers sold intoxicating liquors to the natives.
1663. When the application for the survey came before the  
 May 7. Council, Jacques Cortelyou was sent thither, but with instructions not to survey any man's land who might refuse to sign the following obligation:—

"WE, the undersigned inhabitants on the Flatt named ———, hereby promise that we shall not carry on, or allow to be carried on, at the aforesaid Flatt, or thereabout, any the least handeling, (traffic,) however it may be called, with any Indians, under what pretext the same may be, directly or indirectly, on pain of paying, if we, or any of us, happen to violate this our promise, a fine, without any opposition, for the first offence, of fifty beavers; for the second, one hundred; and for the third, forfeiture of our acquired and obtained lands on the aforesaid Flatt."<sup>2</sup>

- When this resolution was communicated to the parties  
 May 18. interested, it excited much discontent. They avowed their loyalty, and willingness to pay the duties rightfully belonging to the Company, and not to do anything in violation of the laws and placards of the province. They hoped that they should not be treated less liberally than others. They had purchased their lands with their own monies, erected buildings, stocked their farms; now should all this be in vain, they would be ruined. They therefore

<sup>1</sup> Alb. Rec. xxi., 139.

<sup>2</sup> Pampieren raekende Schaenhechtady in Albany County Clerk's office, 1680-1685; 297-301.

requested that the surveyor might be allowed to proceed, CHAP.  
 "otherwise they should be necessitated to help themselves H.  
 as best they could." 1663.

Accompanying this remonstrance was a private letter May 21.  
 from Van Curler to the Director-general. On his recommendation the settlers had consented to proceed with their ploughing and planting, though, at first, they seemed unwilling to do so. He trusted that the place would be surveyed, though it was his impression that the Director and Council were acting on the suggestion of some envious persons who sought their own profit at the expense of the cultivation of the public lands, and that under a pretended fear that "a little beaver" should be bought there, and they have thereby so much less. It seemed to him that they who followed agriculture ought not to be worse treated than those who pursue commerce. It would be lamentable were the settlers and their posterity to remain forever under this ban of slavery, and be excluded from bartering either bread, milk, or the produce of their farms for a beaver, so as to be able to purchase some covering for their bodies and dwellings. No person would imagine that trade could be carried on with the Indians at Schaenhechtady as favorably as at Fort Orange. Goods must be brought from the latter place thither, and therefore must needs sell higher. To obviate all difficulty, the settlers were willing to pledge themselves not to sell any brandy to the Indians, on pain of confiscation of their property.<sup>2</sup>

This appeal in favor of unshackled commerce was of no avail. Nothing but danger would accrue if the inhabitants June 18.  
 were to continue conveying merchandise, as they had already begun to do, on waggons and horses, to the savages. "Already the Indians had attacked waggons, fired on those who conducted them, and attempted to violate

<sup>1</sup> Signed, A. van Curler, Philip Hendricksen, Sander Leendertsen Glen, Symon Volckertsen, Pieter Sogemackelyk, Teunis Cornelissen, Marte Cornelise, Willem Teller, Bastiaen De Winter, attorney for Catalyn widow of Arent Andries De Voss, Pieter Jacobse Borsboom, Pieter Danielse van Olinda, Jan Barentse Wemp, Jacques Cornelise. These were the first settlers of the locality in question.

<sup>2</sup> Pampieren raekende Schaenhechtady.

BOOK females journeying thither, as well in the concentration as  
VI. on the road." To prevent a repetition of these insolences,  
1663. no goods were to be carried to Schaenhechtady for the  
future, and the Schout of Fort Orange was ordered to proceed forthwith to the new settlement, take an inventory of all the goods introduced there in violation of the act of concession, and have the same removed, "as it was not the intention to build up one place for the purpose of bringing ruin on another—yea, on the whole country."<sup>1</sup> Thus things remained for nearly another year. It was not until May, 1664, that the surveyor was allowed "to lay out the lands of Schaenhechtede."<sup>2</sup> In legal and municipal affairs it remained dependent on the court at Fort Orange.

<sup>1</sup> Pampieren raekende Schaenhectady ; Alb. Rec. xxi., 135.

<sup>2</sup> Alb. Rec. xxii., 169, 234.

## CHAPTER III.

Probable effects of the Restoration on New Netherland—Proclamation inviting English settlers—Conditions—Citizens of New Haven propose settling behind Staten Island—Privileges demanded by them—Failure of the projected settlement—Revival of the persecutions against the Quakers—Soldiers quartered on the suspected—Remonstrances in consequence—Trouble between the Mohawk and Kennebec Indians—Cruelties of the former towards the French—Revival of religious persecutions—John Bowne turns Quaker—Is arrested—Further penal statutes—Connecticut claims Westchester and the English towns on the west end of Long Island—Stuyvesant endeavors to vindicate the rights of the Dutch—Fails—Bowne required to recant—Refuses, and is banished—Singular retribution—Bowne lays his case before the West India Company—Stuyvesant censured.

ENGLAND was now in a state of transition, and a crisis CHAP.  
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1661. was at hand, the issue of which might prove either favorable or fatal to Dutch interests in America. The followers of Charles, needy and unscrupulous, would, no doubt, endeavor, for selfish purposes, to excite the prejudices of the new monarch against the Hollanders, and represent the latter hostile to the increase of British settlements in the New World. On the other hand, a number of Puritans and Independents, whose party had been for so many years in the ascendant, and who relished neither the Restoration nor the institutions which it replaced, would now naturally, in their discontent, betake themselves to America. Here the West India Company held a vast tract extending from the North to the South River, which was, it may be said, wholly unpopulated; inhabited only by fierce Indians, who constantly interrupted the land communication between the Manhattans and the Delaware. To prove, then, to the King, that the Dutch entertained no hostility against English settlers; to the Puritans, that they would not be regarded with an unfavorable eye, but be on the contrary welcomed and cherished, in New Netherland; and to secure to the rich and fertile district, now forming the State of New Jersey, the blessings of civilization and the benefits

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1661. of a moral and religious population, the bold resolution was taken to invite those of tender consciences in England and elsewhere to settle in that part of the province lying between the 39th and 40th degrees of latitude. With these views, the following proclamation and liberal conditions were scattered throughout the British kingdom :—

Feb. 14. “The STATES GENERAL of the United Provinces, To all who shall see or hear these presents read, make known : That We have condescended and permitted, as We do, by these, condescend and permit all Christian people of tender conscience, in England or elsewhere oppressed, full liberty to erect a colony in the West Indies, between New England and Virginia in America, now within the jurisdiction of Petrus Stuyvesant, the States General’s Governor for the West India Company, on the conditions and privileges granted by the committees of the respective Chambers representing the Assembly of the XIX. [We] do, therefore, order, charge and command all and every one whom these may concern, that they shall not, in any wise, hinder the said people, nor any of them, nor any whom they shall or might send with knowledge of the said Company, but contrarywise afford unto any and all of them, all favorable help and assistance where it shall be needful ; for we have found it to be good for the Company. Given at the Hague under our seal and paraphure, and signed by our Greffier the 14th day of February, Anno Domini, 1661.”<sup>1</sup>

“CONDITIONS AND PRIVILEGES granted by the West India Company unto all such people that shall be disposed to take up their abode in those parts, viz.: in New Netherland.

“The West India Company being assembled, do grant and condescend unto all such people as above mentioned, of what nation soever, fifteen leagues of land in breadth along the seaside, and as farr in depth in the continent as any plantation hath or may be settled in New Netherland, with jurisdiction of all bayes and rivers comprehended within the bounds above mentioned.

<sup>1</sup> Lond. Doc. i, 105.

“The free property forever of the said colonie, with the appurtenances and dependencies of the same, with power to dispose thereof forever, either by will, contract, bond or otherwise. CHAP.  
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“They and their associates may and shall establish their high, middle and low jurisdiction; the better to mainteyne their authority.

“They shall be free from payinge head money for the space of twenty yeere.

“They shall have the propriety of any mines of gould and silver, (if any found,) and all other mineralls whatsoever or chrystalls, costly stones, marble, saltpetre, pearle fishing, with exemption of all dutyes and recognizances, for the tyme of twenty yeere, and of [tenths ?] and other taxation for the tyme of tenne yeere.

“They shall be free for tenne yeere of any recognizance for all such goods as shall be transported into the said colonie for traffique with the natives or otherwise.

“They shall be free for the tyme of tenne yeere for paying the Company their right of furr, dyes, and any groth, and all merchandise that shall bee exported, none excepted.

“These inhabitants shall and may make use of their owne fraited or hired shippes for the transportation of their owne goods and merchandises forever, without rendering or giving any account unto the said West India Company.

“The said inhabitants shall and may freely erect and establish within their colonie the fishing trade, and transport the same into Spaine, the Streights or elsewhere, free from any recognition during the terme of twenty yeere.

“The said inhabitants shall have full liberty, after they have planted their colonie, in case of difference with the aforesaid Peter Stuyvesant, or any that shall survive him as Governor, by appointment of the States of the Netherlands, to chuse a Director or cheife; only they shall issue out all writs, of what nature soever, in the name of the States Generall of the United Netherlands.”

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A glowing description of the country was appended to these conditions. The land, "only six weeks' sail from Holland," was fertile; the climate was "the best in the world;" seed may be committed to the soil without preparation; timber and wild fruit of all descriptions abounded; furs and game may be obtained without trouble, and every encouragement existed for the establishment of fisheries. "Therefore, if any of the English good Christians, who may be assured of the advantages to mankind of plantations in these latitudes above others more southerly, and shall be rationally disposed to transport themselves to the said place, under the conduct of the United States, they shall have full liberty to live in the fear of the Lord, upon the aforesaid good conditions, and shall be likewise courteously used." "If any persons wish to transport themselves without joining the above Company, they shall have the full, free and absolute liberty, to all intents and purposes whatsoever."<sup>1</sup>

In the course of the year preceding the appearance of these papers, application was made by John Sticklan, of Huntingdon, on Long Island, on the part of a number of New England people, for permission to commence a settlement at Achter Cul. Nothing further was done, however, in the matter until the following spring, when the news of the annexation of their colony to Connecticut caused considerable dissatisfaction at New Haven, and such indisposition towards the King that some of the magistrates absolutely refused to take the oaths prescribed by the new order of things.<sup>2</sup> In this state of the public mind information was, possibly, received of the liberal offers of the States General and the West India Company, and a deputation came over to examine the lands. These gentlemen were so "courteously entertained" that Messrs. Benjamin Fenn and Robert Treat, magistrates of the dis-

Nov. 28. contented colony,<sup>3</sup> with Mr. Lawe and Deacon Gun, visited

<sup>1</sup> Lond. Doc. i., 105-109.

<sup>2</sup> Trumbull's Conn. i., 242.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Fenn had been elected an assistant of New Haven, in 1654. It was with difficulty he had been prevailed on, this year, to accept the office. He took the oath with the reservation that his office referred only to the laws of the col-

the Manhattans in the fall, furnished with powers to conclude the terms on which they might commence the proposed plantation. They demanded, 1st, liberty to establish a church "in the Congregational way, such as they have enjoyed in New England about twenty years past," and that the same be recorded; 2d, that the English churches under the Dutch government, if they agree to unite together, be allowed to call a Synod, "to establish by common consent such orders, according to Scripture, as may be requisite for the suppressing of heresies, schisms, and false worship, and for the establishment of truth and peace in these English churches, and that the Governor and Council at New Amsterdam protect the said churches and synods from any that oppose or injure them;" 3d, the right to administer justice in all civil matters within themselves; to elect their own magistrates and other officers; to keep courts and make all such laws and orders as they shall find most suitable to their condition and welfare; and that all planters within their jurisdiction be bound to obey such laws, orders, sentences and appointments as shall from time to time be enacted, without appeal to other authorities, "for this power the English in New England have had and exercised in all causes, by the graunt of the late King of England, Charles the First, as is seene in His Majesty's letters pattent, aboute twentye yeares together." This privilege they considered the more essential under the Dutch, "whose laws they know not, nor understand their language." For the manner of exercising this "self-power," they proposed to adopt the fundamental laws of New Haven, "so far as we shall find it will alike suite Christ's ends and our condition;" 4th, that the lands be purchased from the Indians, and then conceded by the Dutch government to the associates forever; 5th, that no person be allowed to settle among them except by their own consent; 6th, the right to collect debts; and finally,

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ony, and that if anything "foreign" presented, he should decline acting. Mr. Treat acted several years as assistant of New Haven and Connecticut. Of the latter, he was subsequently Governor fifteen years, having filled the office of Deputy Governor for thirty-two years. He was one of Andros' Council, in 1687, and died 12th July, 1710, aged 89.

BOOK VI. the ratification of these conditions, by a proper instrument.

1661. There was no objection to any of these proposals, except the third. "In the way of magistrature, judicature, and civil affairs, shall be granted (it was replied) to the petitioners all such power, authority, privilege and liberty as all other towns and colonies in New Netherland have obtained; to wit, the nomination of their own magistrates within themselves, yearly, in a double number, to be presented [as a token of acknowledgment] unto the Director-general and Council, to elect from the same the magistrates for that year, and to confirm those that shall be qualified, with sufficient power and authority to make, and see approved and confirmed by the Director and Council, all such ordinances as they shall find good for the benefit of their towns or plantations; according to the same, to do right and justice; appeal being reserved unto the High Court, in conformity to the general order and exemptions granted unto all the inhabitants of New Netherland."

Mar. 11. Further consultation took place in the course of the following spring, but no change resulted in the answer already given. The right of appeal and the double nomination

May 30. were insisted on, after which the whole matter was referred to Holland.<sup>2</sup> As the proposed settlement might serve as a

1663. defence against the savages on the Raritan and Minnisinck,

Mar. 26. the Directors made no objection to it. On the contrary, as it would have been a gratification to them, had the project been carried out, they advised the Director-general to encourage it. The only obstacle which retarded its progress was the appeal in certain criminal cases, such as fornication, adultery, and similar offences, which the New Haven people punished by death, in accordance with the Mosaic law. To this the Directors did not altogether object. They consented that the right of appeal should be abolished "in all crimes the prosecution of which is instituted on a voluntary confession," but this could not be permitted to extend to "all other cases of a dubious nature." These

<sup>1</sup> Alb. Rec. xix., 409, 410, 418-420; New Amst. Rec.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. xx., 73, 147.

laws should, moreover, be enforced only against their own countrymen, and not against the Dutch who might settle among them. This point was of too high importance to be surrendered, "as long as it was tenable;" but if, finally, their settlement was not to be attained without the sacrifice even of this, Stuyvesant was authorized to accord to the English such terms as in his opinion might best conduce to the public welfare.<sup>1</sup>

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In accordance with these instructions, a final answer July 20. was given. The first, second, fourth, and sixth propositions were absolutely consented to. The election of magistrates was granted, on condition that those chosen be annually presented to the Director and Council to be confirmed and sworn into office. The settlers were next allowed to establish courts; to make such laws as they may think most suitable, but such enactments were to be presented to the authorities at New Amsterdam, to confirm the same if "found to concur with the Holy Scriptures." Capital sentences, on convictions following the confession of the accused, were to be executed without appeal; but in dark and dubious cases, especially in witchcraft, such judgments were not to be carried into effect, unless with the consent of the Governor and Council. Final jurisdiction was allowed in civil matters to the amount of one hundred pounds Flemish, above which sum an appeal was to lie to the superior tribunal. No new settlers were to be admitted unless by consent of the local magistrates and on taking the oath of allegiance. Finally a charter was to be granted, embracing all the above concessions.<sup>2</sup> Whether this settlement was carried into effect under Stuyvesant's administration is a matter of doubt. Probably the execution of the plan was obstructed by misunderstandings, which now existed to a serious degree, between the English of Connecticut and Long Island and the Dutch, and which marred whatever good intentions were entertained by the supreme authority in Holland.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Alb. Rec. iv., 415, 416.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. xxi., 231-237; Bancroft's U. S. ii., 317.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Whitehead, in "East Jersey under the Proprietary Government," accuses

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Whilst these efforts were making to induce "persons of tender conscience" to settle in New Netherland, strange contradiction! every means that power could employ were invoked to drive those of tender conscience already resident in the country from the province. Henry Townsend of Rustdorp, undeterred by the fines to which he had been already twice subjected, persisted, not only in harboring Quakers, but in inviting his neighbors to hear "the learned man."<sup>2</sup> The Rev. Mr. Drisius and the deputy sheriff were dispatched to stay these irregularities. Whilst the clergyman preached at Rustdorp, the deputy sheriff set off to Gravesend, where he understood the Friends held a meeting. But the Quaker had fled, and the officer was forced to return with no richer trophy than the poor man's cloak.

Jan. 8. The two Townsends, Spicer, and Tilton were now prosecuted. Having been asked if they pleaded guilty to the charge against them, they demanded that it should first be proved. They were told that it was proved. They replied that they had only visited their "friends," and this was not forbidden by law. The equivoque did not succeed. Henry Townsend was fined twenty-five and Spicer twelve pounds, with costs of suit. John Townsend and Tilton were sentenced to be banished.

The sword of the spirit wielded by Dom. Drisius having failed to convince the inhabitants of Rustdorp of their errors, the arm of the flesh now put forth its power.

the Dutch of having obstructed, or thrown obstacles in the way of this settlement, (pp. 24, 182 ) But in view of the whole of the evidence above adduced, candor, we believe, will acquit them of this illiberal charge. It was foreign to the spirit of the proclamation and conditions of February. 1661, with which, however, we presume Mr. Whitehead was unacquainted ; and when we reflect that Stuyvesant interposed the right of appeal only in charges of witchcraft and such like "dubious cases," humanity and an enlightened spirit will rather praise than censure him for such "obstruction."

<sup>1</sup> Names of those who were at the Quakers' meeting in Henry Townsend's house, as furnished by Richard Everett and Nathaniel Denton :—Henry Townsend, Goodie Tilton of Gravesend, Samuel Andrews, Richard Harker, Samuel Dean and wife, John Townsend and wife, Richard Britnell, Richard Chasmoor, and Samuel Spicer. Total, eleven persons. Alb. Rec. xix., 2. This Samuel Spicer married Esther, daughter of "Goodie Tilton," above mentioned. Vide ante, p. 143. Judge Thompson informs me, they removed to West Jersey in 1686, and that their daughter Martha married Thomas Chalkeley, in his day a popular and much esteemed leader among the Friends of Philadelphia.

Richard Everett and Nathaniel Denton, having given proofs of their fidelity by "informing" on their neighbors, were appointed, with Andrew Messenger, magistrates over the town, and a dozen soldiers were quartered on the infected district. Such were some of the means employed in those days to propagate truth and "suppress conventicles." If they had not the effect of convincing men of their errors, they succeeded, at least, in making them sensible of the oppression of the government under which they lived. They therefore remonstrated, and requested that the soldiers be recalled. They were told that their petition should be complied with whenever they promised, in writing, to assist the magistrates in arresting any Quakers who might visit their town. Fifteen of the townspeople, with their magistrates, gave the required pledge,<sup>1</sup> but John Townsend, Richard Harker, Samuel Dean, Samuel Andrews, Benjamin Hubbard, and Nathaniel Cole refused to sign the paper. The soldiers were, thereupon, quartered on the recusants, and Townsend was ordered to quit the province. Again, however, Townsend and three others remonstrated. "They were obliged to support seven soldiers because they would not become tale-bearers and informers against Quakers." They asked to be relieved of this burthen on their promise to demean themselves as good subjects. "They should be released whenever they signed the paper," was the only answer vouchsafed them.<sup>2</sup>

The wild and irregular habits of the Mohawks, and their insolent domineering over the other tribes, caused, now, a good deal of annoyance to the Director-general. Having

<sup>1</sup> "We whose names are underwritten, doe, by these presents, promise and engage, that iff any meetings or conventicles of Quakers shall bee in this towne off Rustdorpe that we know of, then we will give information to the aughtority set up in this place by the Governor, and alsoe assist the aughtority of the towne against any such person or persons called Quakers, as needs shall require. Witness our hand this 11th of February, in the year 1661, stil nov. Richard Everett, Nathaniel Denton, Andrew x Messenger, Abram x Smith, Samuel Mathews, Robart Coe, Benjamin Coe, Samuel Smith, William Foster, Roger Symes, Richard x Chasmore. John Rodes, Henry Steven, Moses Smith, George Mills. Written by Daniel Denton, clerk." Jamaica Rec. i., 120.

<sup>2</sup> Alb. Rec. xix, 11, 18, 21, 24, 28, 40, 41, 42, 45, 46, 55, 56.

- BOOK VI.  
 1662. crushed the Hurons, one hundred and sixty of their warriors directed their movements towards the Kennebec, on whose banks the English maintained a few men for the purposes of trade with the north-eastern tribes. After April 30. forcing these to barter some goods, they proceeded to Fort May 3. Penobscot, and surprised a party of Onakouques, or Abenakis Indians,<sup>1</sup> who to the number of about one hundred men, women and children, had come to obtain supplies from the whites, and were encamped, in fancied security, under the protection of the fort. To cloak their designs, the Mohawks purchased some provisions and goods, and then departed with their prisoners. On their return to the upper trading post, they killed several head of cattle belonging to the English, plundered the house of its contents, removed thence about a quarter of a mile, and ensconcing themselves in a rude stronghold, erected for the nonce, indulged, during a fortnight, in their wonted barbarities, putting to death several of the unfortunate people who had fallen into their hands. The authorities of Boston and Nova Scotia complained to the Director-general of these aggressions, and sent delegates to the Mannhattans with a view to obtain redress for those injuries. Stuyvesant July 27. found it necessary to accompany these gentlemen to Fort Aug. 1. Orange, where he was met by several of the Mohawk sachems. Various efforts were made to induce the savages to surrender their prisoners and indemnify the English for the damages they had inflicted. They offered wampum, but refused to give up the captives. "If the English were not satisfied, they could not help it." They then broke off "in a huff," scattered themselves through Beverwyck, and insolently proclaimed aloud that the Dutch were "no better than hogs;" that they cared not for the English, but on the contrary, would, within three weeks, attack the border settlements on the Connecticut, and burn and destroy everything that came in their path, unless the English now declared themselves satisfied. Stuyvesant, however, succeeded in mollifying the bar-

<sup>1</sup> "Onakouque, alias Kennebeck." Alb. Rec. vi., 402.

barians, who consented to a temporary truce with those of Kennebec, to permit them to come in and make peace, and finally surrendered, in exchange for some presents, a few of their prisoners.<sup>1</sup>

Whilst one party of Mohawks were thus negotiating with the English, another, aided by some Oneidas, attacked a post near Montreal, garrisoned by seventeen Frenchmen and one hundred Indians, all of whom they put to death except three of the former, and twenty of the latter. Among the slain was the Rev. Mr. Vignal, whom the savages devoured; Monsieur Brignac was burned at the stake by the Oneidas. The surviving French prisoner succeeded, after much difficulty, in making his escape, with two others of his countrymen whom he met in captivity. After travelling nine nights through the forest, having no food but the bark of trees or grass; after having been pursued by some half-dozen different war parties, and undergoing incredible dangers, the unfortunate men at length arrived, scarcely resembling human beings, at Fort Orange, where they experienced a most cordial welcome, were clothed and lodged, and finally conveyed beyond the reach of their savage persecutors, to the Manhattans; whence they were forwarded to Boston, and coastwise to Quebec, where they finally arrived after innumerable hardships.<sup>2</sup>

The embers of religious persecution, which lay all this while smouldering on Long Island, now burst out anew into a flame. But, as is usual in such cases, the persecuted obtained more converts than the persecutors, and Providence at length raised up an instrument to vindicate the rights of conscience.

JOHN BOWNE, a native of Matlock, in Derbyshire, emigrated to Boston in 1649, in the twenty-second year of his age. His origin was humble, his habits plain, and his

<sup>1</sup> "A True Relation of the Mohawks' coming to Penobscott Fort, and what they did there." Alb. Rec. xx., 178, 184-189, 191-194; Hol. Doc. xi., 211. The dates of the transactions on the Kennebec, described in the text, are presumed to be "Old Style."

<sup>2</sup> Relation, &c., 1664-5., 92-105.

BOOK VI.  
 1662. manners unaffected. He was endowed with a strong mind and sound judgment, whilst his avocations as a farmer tended to add to his physical powers of endurance. Having removed to Flushing, he attended, at first from curiosity, some of the Quaker meetings in that town. Struck with the simplicity of their worship, he invited them to his house, and next became, in the course of this year, a member of their society, "his judgment being convinced of the truth of the principles they set forth." His house, henceforward, became the head-quarters of the sect, where all those from the neighboring towns of like persuasion collected.<sup>1</sup>

Aug. 21. Information of the fact was communicated by the magistrates of Rustdorp to the Director-general, who forthwith

Sep. 14. ordered Bowne to be arrested, and fined twenty-five pounds. In contempt of "the merciful sentence" already pronounced on them, John Tilton of Gravesend, and his wife, also persisted in their heresies; they were therefore peremptorily ordered to quit the province within a few

Sep. 21. weeks. These rigorous measures were followed by another most stringent proclamation against the public exercise of any but the Reformed religion, "either in houses, barns, ships or yachts; in the woods or fields," under a penalty of fifty guilders for the first offence on each person found in attendance thereupon, whether "man, woman or child," or who should provide accommodations for "heretics, vagabonds or strollers;" double that sum for the second offence; and four times the amount, with arbitrary correction, for the third infraction of this law. All seditious or seducing books, papers or letters, were also forbidden to be imported or distributed, under a fine of one hundred and fifty guilders on the importers and distributors, and fifty guilders on the receivers, together with the confiscation of all such publications. All persons arriving in the province were, within six weeks thereafter, to appear at the secretary's office, to register their names and take the oath of allegiance, failing which they should pay fifty guilders and suffer arbitrary correction; and finally, all

<sup>1</sup> Thompson's Long Island, ii., 386.

magistrates conniving at the violation of this statute were to be deprived of their office and declared incompetent to fill thereafter any public trust. Michael and Samuel Spicer cared very little, however, for bills of pains and penalties. They continued to propagate their principles and distribute their tracts. "To crush this abominable sect," they were both ordered to quit the province.

Connecticut having, by this time, obtained a royal patent, notified Director Stuyvesant not to trouble, henceforward, any of his Majesty's subjects within its limits. This was but the shadow of forthcoming events. Oostdorp on the main was advised that it was included within the colony of Connecticut, and its inhabitants were summoned to send representatives to the Hartford legislature. Rustdorp, (Gemeco,) Flushing, Gravesend, Heemstede, and Middleburgh, received notice, also, that they were annexed to the other side of the Sound.<sup>1</sup> The situation of New Netherland was now seriously critical. "There remains after this not one foot of land to the West India Company. Those of Boston claim Fort Orange, with all the country, from one sea to the other; those of Hartford, the remainder to Maryland and Virginia."<sup>2</sup> In this dilemma, the Director-general called the attention of the magistrates of Connecticut to the seditious proceeding of Capt. Young. It was an absolute breach and nullification of the agreement of 1650, and justified the States General and Lords Directors of the West India Company to demand and recover all the land between Greenwich and the Fresh River, of which they had been, without the authority of any patent or commission, so unjustly deprived. Still confiding (though not very wisely) in the promises of Governor Winthrop, he should await the return of that gentleman. In the meanwhile he demanded a decisive answer to the complaints he now entered against "the aforesaid John Young."<sup>3</sup> The magistrates of Oostdorp were next called on to explain

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III.

1662.

Oct. 5.

Oct. 9.

Oct. 13.

Oct. 27.

Dec. 13.

1663.

May 12.

<sup>1</sup> Alb. Rec. xviii., 218; xx., 249, 253; xxi., 97, 99-101.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. xviii., 219.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. xx., 263; Rec., in Secretary of State's Office, Hartford, entitled "Colonial Boundaries," ii., 1.

- BOOK VI. why they had not sent in, as usual, their annual nomination. They had called the people together for that purpose, (they replied,) but the latter refused to act, as they had been summoned by Hartford. Why, then, had they not communicated the letters they had received six months ago? Why had they actually appointed two persons to represent their village in Hartford? They confessed they had erred, and prayed forgiveness. They were discharged, and letters were sent forbidding the settlers to obey any orders from Hartford, or to send delegates thither. Richard Mills, the Connecticut emissary, now in prison, 1663. was liberated on swearing not to do anything, "written or printed," either in or out of the province, against the Dutch government. He some time after went to Virginia.<sup>1</sup> Connecticut persisted, notwithstanding, in its determination to reduce Eastdorp, and for this purpose sent Captain John Talcott, one of the magistrates of the colony, with a mounted force of sixteen or eighteen men, over to Westchester, who absolved the settlers from their allegiance to the Dutch; dismissed the magistrates; appointed others in their stead, and finally made themselves masters of the whole place.<sup>2</sup>

Now, all this time John Bowne continued doggedly in jail, and refused to pay his fine. He was one of those men who, strong in their innocence, seem determined to try issues with their persecutors; and "as he continued obstinate and pervicacious," he was warned that he should be sent across the seas if he did not submit. But this threat had no effect on the Quaker convert, and at the appointed day he was put on board the Fox—an ominous name!—and shipped for Holland, whither Stuyvesant also wrote, complaining in strong terms to the Directors of the man, as a disturber of the peace, who "obstinately persisted in his refusal" to pay the fine which had been imposed on him,

<sup>1</sup> Alb. Rec. xxi., 80, 93-95, 103, 141, 143.

<sup>2</sup> Aitzema, iv., 112. Trumbull, i., 257, says Talcott was sent "to lead the inhabitants to the choice of their officers." He keeps the armed posse carefully out of sight, as well as the other violences of the Connecticut emissary. Sending sixteen or eighteen armed men into a retired hamlet, is rather a suspicious mode of teaching people how to vote.

and was now banished "in the hope that others might be discouraged." Should this example fail of salutary effect, the Director-general expressed his determination to have recourse to "more severe prosecutions." But before he could put this threat into execution, retributive justice brought to his own lips the bitter chalice from which he had obliged so many others to drink. Judith Varleth, his brother-in-law's sister, lay imprisoned in Hartford on charge of being a witch,<sup>1</sup> and Stuyvesant found himself obliged to implore in her behalf that forbearance and mercy which he knew not to extend to others. Punishment, to a high-toned mind even worse than this, now awaited him. Bowne in due season "manifested his case to the West India Company." "They were not disposed to take offence at our manners or the like, neither one word against me in particular, nor one word tending to the approval of anything that was done against us." On the contrary, a dispatch was transmitted by the Directors at Amsterdam to Gov-  
CHAP.  
III.  
1663.
April 16.

ernor Stuyvesant, severely censuring the course he had pursued. "In the youth of your existence you ought," said they, "rather encourage than check the population of the colony. The consciences of men ought to be free and unshackled, so long as they continue moderate, peaceable, inoffensive, and not hostile to the government. Such have been the maxims of prudence and toleration by which the magistrates of this city have been governed; and the consequences have been, that the oppressed and persecuted from every country have found among us an asylum from distress. Follow in the same steps, and you will be blessed."<sup>2</sup>

The persecution of the Quakers under the Dutch ceased from this time, but not its evil consequences. The affections of the people were forever alienated; for what incentive is there to love a government which violates the most sacred rights?

<sup>1</sup> This lady was sister to Maria Varleth, who married successively Johannes van Beck, Paulus Shrick, and (April, 1664,) William Teller of Schenectady.

<sup>2</sup> Alb. Rec iv., 427; xviii., 221; xx., 199, 208, 213, 217-220, 230-233, 263, 291; Besse, ii., 237

## CHAPTER IV.

Alexander D'Hinoyossa succeeds Alrichs at New Amstel—Changes in consequence—Lord Baltimore sends an agent to Holland to support his pretensions to the Delaware—The West India Company resist his claims—Apply for protection to the States General—Renewed efforts to colonize the South River—Enlargement of the charter of New Amstel—New civil list—Private merchants admitted to take stock in the city's colonie—Disagreements between D'Hinoyossa and Beekman—Consequent disorders—The former visits Holland—Mennonists propose emigrating to the South River—Their peculiar rules—Obtain a grant of land at the Whorekill—The whole of the South River surrendered to the city of Amsterdam—Further emigration—D'Hinoyossa appointed Director over the Delaware, and Beekman commissioned Sheriff of Wiltwyck.

BOOK  
VI.

1660.

WHEN Vice Director Alrichs perceived his last hour approaching, he appointed, in conformity to his instructions, Alexander D'Hinoyossa his successor, adjoining unto him Gerrit van Sweringen and Cornelis van Gezel as councillors, to administer the government of the city's colonie on the South River, until otherwise ordered. He enjoined them, at the same time, in feeling terms, and made them promise, as he took their hands in his, to perform their duty uprightly, and act in good faith towards each other. The scene was moving, and touched the heart of the lieutenant, who expressed himself in kindly terms towards the dying man, praised his administration, hoped that God might yet spare him, and voluntarily promised that he should ever be foremost in the defence of his honor and reputation. The breath, however, was scarcely out of the Vice Director's body, when these promises were forgotten. For, the next night, whilst yet the corpse occupied the chamber of death, D'Hinoyossa and Van Sweringen employed themselves examining the papers of the deceased; then called the magistrates together, read to them the instructions Alrichs had received, besides the letters sent to him from Holland, and loudly accused him of having violated the major part of

his superiors' commands. Had he been still living, his life and property would have been forfeit. D'Hinoyossa concluded his attack, by expressing his determination to seize all his effects for the use of the city, and called on the Schepens to approve under their signature these proceedings. The magistrates, however, refused to concur. Some of the acts which D'Hinoyossa had declared illegal, had been those of the court in which they sat. They were, consequently, compromised as having participated in such judgments, or orders, and could not, therefore, be expected to condemn themselves. "They should prefer being dismissed from office, to declare an honest man a villain." They were discharged accordingly. D'Hinoyossa followed this by arraigning Van Gezel, Alrichs' executor and heir, on a charge of mutiny, on the ground that he caused the Schepens to refuse obedience to his orders, and finally removed him from the office of councillor and colonial secretary; seized his property; placed a bailiff in his house; threatened to transport him to Fatherland, and denied him all access to the books, papers and accounts of the deceased Director. To avoid all further persecution, Van Gezel was obliged to remove to Altona, where Jan. 30. he placed himself under the protection of Commissary Beekman, and subsequently appealed for justice to the Director-general. Jan Prato was appointed his successor in the council, and Pieter Alrichs commissary at the Whorekill.<sup>1</sup>

In the mean time, Lord Baltimore, dissatisfied with the issue of the conference at Patuxent, between his officers and the Dutch commissioners, sent Capt. James Neale April 20. to Holland, to enquire if the West India Company authorized the occupation of the country on the south side of Delaware bay; if so, to demand its surrender in his name; and should such be refused, to protest against them on the ground of illegal possession. This was, however, of no avail, and its renewal was thereupon ordered. A formal June 7. claim for the surrender of New Amstel was then sent

<sup>1</sup> Alb. Rec. xvii., 33, 38; xxiv., 360-365.

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 1660. in to the Directors, who were at the same time expressly  
 Aug. 23. informed that should they persist in retaining possession  
 of that place, all possible and lawful means would be used  
 by the proprietor to defend his rights, and reduce the  
 Dutch to his obedience. "That all the world may see  
 and acknowledge that nothing but what is right and  
 just is intended," Capt. Neale offered, at the same time, to  
 negotiate for the termination of this business in a peaceable  
 and friendly manner, on reasonable and honorable terms.

Aug. 29. The matter was referred to the Assembly of the XIX., who,  
 with very little delay, drew up their reply.

Sep. 1. They expressed great surprise that Lord Baltimore  
 should put forth such claims. They had been for a long  
 series of years in lawful possession of the country in  
 question, without any pretension being made thereto, either  
 by his lordship or any one else. They were now re-  
 solved to retain that possession, and to defend their people,  
 their rights and immunities, against every person whom-  
 soever. They hoped, they added, that Lord Baltimore  
 would consider well before he acted as he threatened.  
 If, however, he should proceed to execute violent measures,  
 then it was their duty to say, that the West India Com-  
 pany, under the protection of their High Mightinesses,  
 would employ all the means, with which it was provided  
 by God and nature, to preserve its possessions, protesting  
 themselves innocent of all the Christian blood which might  
 be shed in such a struggle.<sup>1</sup>

New Netherland being thus threatened at both extremi-  
 ties—from the north and from the south—at a moment, too,  
 when it was about to be in a position not only to sustain  
 itself, but to reimburse its proprietors their heavy outlays,  
 Nov. 5. now exceeding ten tons of gold,<sup>2</sup> the XIX. voted an ad-  
 dress to the States General, requesting that their ambas-  
 sadors in England be instructed to complain of those en-  
 croachments; to demand of his Majesty to order Lord

<sup>1</sup> Alb. Rec. iv., 354; viii., 292-302; Hol. Doc. ix., 111-126, 175-177; Lond. Doc. iv., 175-177.

<sup>2</sup> "Al verre over de Thien Tonnen gouts comen te bedragen," equal to 1,000,000 gl.

Baltimore to desist from his unfounded pretensions, and from disturbing his neighbors, at least until a boundary line be run between his province and the Dutch possessions; and further, to command that the Fresh River and the lands lying on both its banks, together with that part of Long Island illegally usurped by the northern English, forthwith be restored, and that those residing thereupon be holden to conduct themselves as other of their High Mightinesses' liege subjects; thirdly, to direct that a boundary line be drawn between the English and the Company, to prevent, for the future, similar invasions. Finally, the Directors requested that means be adopted to obtain the renewal and ratification of the treaty of 1627, which conceded to the Company's ships the free use of all the British ports. A voluminous report on the subject of boundaries in New Netherland, reviewing the history of the difficulties between the English and Dutch from Wouter van Twiller's time to the present, accompanied this address. All these papers were placed in the hands of the ambassadors, then on the eve of departure for England, with instructions to call the attention of King Charles, as early as possible, thereto.<sup>1</sup>

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IV.  
1660.

The committee, appointed in the fall of 1659 to investigate the affairs of New Amstel, having satisfied themselves that there was no prospect of reconveying that colonie to the Company, proceeded to make a searching enquiry into the principal causes which retarded its prosperity and the remedy to be applied for their removal; the means to be adopted to advance its interests, and the amount required to place it in a position to maintain itself and to render it a source of profit to the city of Amsterdam.

According to information obtained from persons in the city's service on the South River, the committee ascribed the backwardness of the settlement to want of sufficient discretion and prudence in the late Vice Director. The colonists, unable, in consequence, to obtain a subsistence, had, for the most part, left the place. The differences

Mar. 9.

<sup>1</sup> Hol. Doc. ix., 144-301.

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1661.

between Director Stuyvesant and the local authorities, on the subject of jurisdiction and other points, tended also to drive many away and to cause much discontent among those remaining. The great oppression of which the colonists complained arose from the circumstance that they were subject to appeal to the Director-general at the Mannhattans in civil suits exceeding forty dollars. This tended, in fact, to an exclusion from justice of the mass of the settlers, whose circumstances and position disabled them from defending actions in appeal before a court so distant. No good policy whatever could be promoted by allowing appeals in criminal cases. The regulation which rendered it obligatory to discharge and inspect at New Amsterdam, or some other of the Company's entrepôts, merchandise freighted for New Amstel, was another grievance, which was only increased by the claims put forth by the Company's servants on the South River for anchorage in front of the city's colonie. To obviate these various evils, the appointment of another Vice Director was recommended. The differences about jurisdiction could be arranged by the Company holding their Director strictly to his duty, forbidding him to encroach in any manner on the city's rights, but, on the contrary, charging him to promote its interests and to live in harmony with its officers, "especially as on complaints to the Chamber at Amsterdam, very earnest letters had already been addressed to that effect to the said Director."

To remove the inconvenience resulting from appeals, Mar. 21. the Company extended the jurisdiction of the Schepens at New Amstel, in civil cases, to six hundred guilders (\$240) Holland currency, and abolished the right of appeal, in all criminal matters. Henceforward the city might send direct to their colonie its own vessels, whether freighted on its own account or on account of individuals, and license ships of private persons to trade thither, subject, however, to the Company's regulations.

To prevent the recurrence of difficulties about the right of anchorage, the Company promised, that when the city increased the population of its colonie, they should inter-

pose no objection to the extension of its limits, on the east bank of the South River, as far as its territory now ran on the west side. The remedy recommended for the prevention in future of the evils under which the colonie already suffered, was to discharge the soldiers then in the pay of the city, and to leave the defence of the place altogether to its inhabitants. To carry out this plan, they proposed that free grants of land be made to the troops then in the country, on condition of rendering military service in case of need, when they should again be placed under pay;<sup>1</sup> and that land be in future conveyed to such freemen as may proceed thither, in the same manner as the Company adopted, "to the great advantage of the country." This plan was expected to prove successful, especially "as many people can now be found well inclined to emigrate." It was further recommended that twenty-five or thirty boerknechts, or farm servants, from Westphalia and Guilderland, be forwarded to the South River at the public expense, on condition that the produce of their labor belong to the colonie. A considerable reduction in the number of persons in the public service was, lastly, recommended, and the civil list was henceforward to consist of one director, one sheriff, one assistant commissary, one surgeon, one cooper, one smith, one comforter of the sick, to act also as schoolmaster. Ten thousand dollars were required to execute the proposed plan. This sum was to be expended in merchandise and implements of agriculture, the profits derived from the sale of which, with the future revenues of the colonie, would, it was calculated, suffice for the payment of the above establishment. The appropriation now demanded was to be the last required for the support of the colonie.<sup>2</sup>

This report was concurred in; public notice was given Aug. 18. of the changes made in the charter of 1656, and the mer-

<sup>1</sup> The manner in which the military received this proposition, is thus communicated by Stuyvesant:—"To this the soldiers answered: 'We know no trade, nor how to labor on a farm. Our sword must earn our living; if not here, then we must seek our better fortune elsewhere.' This is the reason why they return to Fatherland."

<sup>2</sup> Hol. Doc. xv., 37-50; Alb. Rec. viii., 335-337.

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VI.

chants of Amsterdam and other cities were invited to take an interest in the colonie.<sup>1</sup>

1661.

Meanwhile the commissaries entrusted, at Amsterdam, with the management of the affairs of New Amstel, had appointed, on the 28th of August of the preceding year, D'Hinoyossa Director over their colonie. The impolicy of maintaining two separate and distinct jurisdictions on the river, became now obvious, as it was a continual source of disturbance. D'Hinoyossa considered himself equal to, and independent of the Director-general, and avowed at once his determination "not to be imposed on, any longer, by those at the Mannhattans, with their man-

Sep. 9.

damuses, ecclesiastical laws and statutes."<sup>2</sup> He insisted that vessels should 'lower their colors when passing New Amstel, and threatened to examine their lading; whilst Beekman, on the other hand, claimed jurisdiction over all the river, even in front of the city's colonie, whose authority, he maintained, did not extend farther than the water's edge. Not satisfied with this, he even cited D'Hinoyossa before him at Altona. This summons the latter disobeyed, "on the ground that he was, himself, the head and fountain of justice." But Beekman persisted

1662.

May 15.

notwithstanding, and now charged D'Hinoyossa with having indulged, before a number of persons in the tavern at New Amstel, in a violent attack on the Director-general and the authorities at New Amsterdam, whom he denounced as his mortal enemies; threatening at the same time, that if "the city" should not support him, he would imitate the example of Minuet, "who, in consequence of the ill treatment he had received from the Company, had brought the Swedes to the South River." He too, in like manner, would bring the English, the Portuguese, the Swedes and the Danes hither, for "What the devil did

<sup>1</sup> Hol. Doc. xv., 123; xvi., 231-235; Alb. Rec. iv., 377; xviii., 195.

<sup>2</sup> They refused to publish one of Stuyvesant's proclamations for a day of fast and thanksgiving, but issued one themselves, in which they omitted all mention of the Director-general and Council of New Netherland, and wrote to Stuyvesant at the same time, "that they expected no more such orders and injunctions from him, as they would for the future take care of themselves." Alb. Rec. xviii., 195.

he care whom he served? He should have his revenge." CHAP.  
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1662.  
 And then taking a drop of wine on his finger, he added, "If I could drown or poison them (of the Mannhattans) with this, I should not use a spoonful." He was likewise charged with having sold to the English at Maryland considerable property, sent out for the accommodation of the settlers. To substantiate these charges, Beekman summoned several of the citizens of New Amstel, but here again came into action the difficulty about jurisdiction. They refused to testify, and Beekman, in order to obtain their evidence, was obliged to arrest them, whilst temporarily visiting Altona. Other disorders followed. The ordinances of religion were totally suspended; the Lord's Supper had not been administered during two years and a half in the colonie, and several children remained unbaptized. Sheriff Van Sweringen, in a moment of terror and alarm, had shot one of the Company's soldiers whilst passing his door; Stuyvesant and Beekman insisted on bringing him to punishment, but D'Hinoyossa protected him, and he was eventually pardoned. One way alone remained to terminate these mischievous broils: that was, for the City or the Company to relinquish its territory on the river—the one to the other—and thus bring all the colonists under one authority. D'Hinoyossa and Van Sweringen proceeded to Holland, with a view to induce the parties to come to some such arrangement.<sup>1</sup>

June 7.

The advertisements and representations published in Holland, by those interested in the promotion of emigration to the South River, attracted considerable attention, and induced many to turn their thoughts thitherward; among others, a number of Mennonists undertook to settle the Whorekill. The projected association was to consist only of such males as were married, and of such single men as had attained the age of twenty-four years, and were not bound to service nor indebted to the association. As equality was to be its basis, every associate was, on entering the community, obliged solemnly to promise

<sup>1</sup> Alb. Rec. iv., 350, 351; xvii., 95, 100, 127, 129, 151, 169-179, 199, 202, 236, 243, 247, 279. Lond. Doc. iv., 177.

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that he should never strive to obtain any superiority or office therein, nor suffer himself to be induced, by any other member, to seek for such honor, but to oppose it by all means in his power. He was also pledged to obey all ordinances legally enacted by the association. "For the maintenance of peace and concord," all clergymen, without distinction, were to be rigidly excluded from the society. As it was to be composed of persons of divers opinions, this exclusion was unanimously agreed to, for in choosing a minister of one sect, it would, it was argued, be impossible to harmonize so many discordant humors. To appoint one for each, would be not only impossible, but "an inevitable ruinous pest to all peace and union." It was, moreover, considered "difficult to comprehend the peculiar benefit such a society could derive in any way from a preacher." They were themselves provided with the Holy Scriptures, which all ministers agreed in pronouncing to be the best, and which they looked upon as "the most peaceable and most economical of all preachers." Their controversies were "an almost endless chaffering and jangling" about the proper interpretation of the several passages in Holy Writ, "or efforts to interpret other men's interpretations, which are mere differences among preachers, or attempts to reconcile two differences." Instead of this, it was, in their opinion, wiser "to arrive, by certain and sound reasoning, beyond all uncertain cavil about Scripture, at a right rule for the establishment of good morals, and the direction of civil affairs." By plenty of schools and sound laws these were to be attained. Baptism and the Lord's Supper, they considered "signs or ceremonies becoming rather weak children, than men in Christ." Their religious exercises were to be few and simple, as their object was "to avoid all peculiar contentions and fierce sectarianism in religious matters." To accomplish this, they proposed to assemble, at a stated hour in the forenoon, on every Sunday and holiday, to sing a psalm, and listen to the reading of a chapter from the Bible, by some one of the society appointed in turn to that duty, concluding the service by another

hymn; after which the court should assemble at the same place, for the transaction of public business. As a qualification for the exercise of political rights, each member of this community was to take the oath of allegiance, and register his name, age, and residence, as well as that (when married) of his wife, and the number of his children and servants; also their trades "and religious persuasions." For though it was declared, at the outset, that the society was to be composed of persons of different creeds, "all intractable people, such as those in communion with the Roman see, usurious Jews, English stiff-necked Quakers, Puritans, foolhardy believers in the millennium, and obstinate modern pretenders to revelation," were declared incapable of admission into the body.

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All laws and regulations were to be concurred in by at least two-thirds of the members, who, it was provided, should vote by ballot. The same number of votes was to be required for the changing or annulling of such laws; and to avoid all chance of rashness, no such alteration could be proposed nor new laws offered, unless previously submitted to the officers of the association and such as had been already in authority. Before any enactment could be legally in force it was, moreover, to be approved by the representatives of the city of Amsterdam. To constitute a meeting for the election of town officers, one hundred members were required to be present. Each of these was to write on a ballot the name of such person as he considered best qualified for office. The names of the ten having the highest number of votes, were to be then sent to the Burgomasters of Amsterdam, to select five from the list, who were to continue in power for one year. But, if it should happen that more than ten had a majority of the votes, such of these as had the lowest majority were to draw lots to decide as to whose names should be forwarded. In like manner those who were akin by blood were to draw lots to determine which should be dropped, as by the Dutch law, no two relatives could sit on the same bench. Should the colonie increase, an additional town

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officer was to be allowed for every twenty families. After the first election, this nomination was to be held a year in advance, to allow the names to be sent to and returned from Holland, in season for the officers elect to enter on the performance of their duties. No magistrate was to be re-eligible until after an interval of one year from the expiration of his term of service. The oldest member was to preside over the court at first; afterwards, the longest in office.

These magistrates were to be clothed with the general superintendence of the affairs of the colonie, and the settlers were, for the five years after their arrival, to live in common. After this term, the land and stock were to be divided, and each was to receive his proportionate share, and to provide for the support of his family. Should he, however, afterwards prove dissolute or idle, and fail to maintain those dependent on him, he was to become subject to expulsion by a vote of two-thirds of his fellow members, and the court was to assume the care of his wife and children.

In criminal prosecutions carrying with them capital punishment, the proceedings were to be subject to revision; but cases of a less grave character, and civil suits below a certain amount, as well as all differences "between man and woman, parents and children, servants and masters, man and maid servants," were to be summarily disposed of by the town magistrates. Whoever refused to abide by this decision was to be mulcted in a certain fine; in case of continued contumacy, he was to be deprived of his vote, and for a third offence, expelled.

In civil actions beyond a fixed amount, an appeal was to be allowed to a court of revision, on payment of a certain sum. This court was to be composed of the magistrates who had already been in office, of double the number of those actually on the bench; in case these could not be obtained, then of seven-and-twenty persons taken from the general body of the settlers, who were to decide the question at issue by a majority of votes. It was a close approach to a jury, and their decision was to be final. All

executions were to be levied after the expiration of three months, by the sheriff of New Amstel.

The laws regulating succession, marriage, the rights of property and personal liberty, were to be those in force in Holland, especially in the city of Amsterdam; but for the performance of their duties, the magistrates were to receive no compensation, "not even a stiver." If they did not act for the sake of the honor, they were to do so for the love of their fellow-men. Provision was next to be made for the encouragement of marriage among the younger portions of the society; for the comfort of the sick; support of orphans and paupers; as well as for the purchase of the lands and cattle belonging to such as might desire to withdraw, in course of time, from the association.<sup>1</sup>

The correspondence on the subject of erecting this singular colonie, finally eventuated in a grant of land at the Whorekill, free from tenths and all other imposts for the term of twenty years. To assist in obtaining necessities for the undertaking, twenty-five hundred guilders were loaned the association by the city of Amsterdam, the expense of the passage of the head of each family therein included, the women and children being transported free of charge. The whole body was bound for the repayment of this sum. By the agreement entered into on this occasion, the society was privileged to make such rules and orders as they should consider proper for the government of their settlement, allowing to each member the right to appeal to the tribunals in case he might consider himself unjustly treated. But these rules were not to be in contradiction to the fundamental conditions which the City had published in 1656.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The whole history of this project, with the constitution proposed for the colonie, consisting of 116 articles, and the correspondence with the Burgomasters of Amsterdam, was printed in 1662, in a small 4to. volume of 84 pages, under the title of "Kort Verhaal van Nieuw Nederlands Geleghenthiel, Natuurlyke Voorrechtenen byzondere Bequaemheyt ter Vevolkingh; Mitsgaders eenige Requesten, Verdoogen, Deductien enz. ten dien einden door eenige Liefhebbers ten vershyde tyden omtrent 't laetste van 't Jaer 1661, gepresenteert aen de A. A. Hn. Burgermeesteren dezer Stede of der zelve EE. Hn. Gecommitteerd enz. Gedrukt in 't Jaer 1662."

<sup>2</sup> Hol. Doc. xv., 128. Pieter Cornelisz. Plockhoy was principal leader of these Mennonists.

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The negotiation for the surrender to the city of Amsterdam of the entire South River, was renewed at the close of the year. As this was, however, connected with various propositions regarding the regulation of trade, the arrangement was not completed for some months. In consequence of the continued encroachments of the English on every side of New Netherland, an agreement was concluded whereby the Directors conceded to the Burgomasters "the whole of the Delaware from the sea upwards as far as the river reached, with the territory on the east side, three Dutch miles into the interior, and on the west as far as the country extended towards the English, saving the rights of the settlers and proprietors in the neighborhood," on condition that the city should send out troops to replace those the Company maintained at Altona, and that four hundred settlers be conveyed thither. It was further stipulated, that the Burgomasters were not to sell or transfer the colonie on pain of forfeiting all the privileges now granted to them, and they were to send annually four hundred settlers to the colonie.<sup>1</sup> To carry this out with greater vigor, the commissaries called on the City Council for another subsidy, and submitted, at the same time, various considerations to show both the necessity and wisdom of such a vote.

Were New Netherland sufficiently peopled, it would, they said, beyond a doubt, be the finest country on the face of the globe. Every article now obtained from France or Germany could be produced there, in course of time, in as great abundance as in both these countries together. Already it sends to the West Indies, from the English colonies alone, full two hundred ships of all sizes, and this trade could not fail to be increased were the country still further fostered.<sup>2</sup> The most favorable opportunities to promote its settlement now presented them-

<sup>1</sup> Alb. Rec. iv., 433, 437; viii., 352-363.

<sup>2</sup> In the Royal Instructions to the Governor of Virginia, September, 1662, it is complained that very much tobacco is shipped from that colony in Dutch vessels, where some few English mariners are entertained for that purpose, and that very much which is put on board some English vessels, is not brought to England, as by the Navigation Act it ought to be. Hazard, ii., 610.

selves. Crowds of people from Germany, Norway, Austria, Westphalia, and those countries which had suffered by the pressure of the last two years, were in Holland desirous to emigrate, and the number was increased by the religious persecutions of the Huguenots and Waldenses. Several families from Rochelle had requested permission to proceed with farmers to New Netherland at their own expense. They asked only for protection for a year or two against the Indians. Commerce could not but be benefited if these people were encouraged. The English were most favorably disposed. They expressed every inclination "to open a small door," through which the Dutch might reach them overland, without any risk at sea, should the English government persist in forbidding foreigners to trade with its colonies. No money could be better expended than in supporting the settlement on the South River. In fact, such advances would be only a loan; for the revenues to be derived from that country, would soon repay any outlays. The risk was small, the returns certain, and for these reasons the supply should be liberal.<sup>1</sup>

D'Hinoyossa arrived at Amsterdam a few months after this, with urgent appeals from the people for aid and support. He had had interviews with the authorities of Maryland, and found them willing to encourage commercial intercourse. The Swedes, Finns, and other colonists had one hundred and ten plantations on the river, stocked with two thousand cows and oxen, twenty horses, eighty sheep, and several thousand swine. The fertility of the soil was undoubted, affording two crops a year; it was capable of producing wheat and all sorts of grain, hemp, flax, rice, French plums, and other fruit. The City had there already two or three breweries; additional ones were required. The English could furnish one thousand tubs of tobacco a year, and strong beer, with the manufacture of which they were unacquainted, was in great demand among them. Ten thousand furs could be obtained

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<sup>1</sup> Hol. Doc. xv., 81-85.

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 1663. annually from the Indians, and various other sources of
 July 14. revenue existed. One hundred colonists were immediately
 sent with D'Hinoyossa to the Delaware, and these were
 followed soon after by a considerable number of other
 settlers. From this time, that district prospered in an
 eminent degree, and hopes were now entertained that ten
 thousand schepels of grain would be raised there within
 Sep. 11. the next two years. The Directors instructed Stuyvesant,
 in fulfilment of the preceding arrangements, to convey
 Fort Altona and the remainder of the river to the city
 Dec. 4. of Amsterdam. A deed was, in consequence, executed,
 and the property transferred. D'Hinoyossa became Di-
 rector over the whole of the Delaware,¹ and Beekman
 was transferred, in the course of the next summer, to the
 Esopus, of which district he was appointed Sheriff.²

¹ Hol. Doc. xv., 91-108; Alb. Rec. iv., 433; xxi., 443, 444.

² Willem Beekman continued Sheriff of Esopus until the close of Lovelace's administration, when he returned to New York. He filled the office of Burgomaster of New Orange in 1674, and was Alderman subsequently under the English, from 1678 to 1682, and again in 1685, and 1691 down to 1696, when he retired from public life. He was born at Hasselt, in Overysse, in 1623, emigrated to America in 1647, and died in New York, in 1707, in the 85th year of his age. In 1652 he purchased Corlear's Hook, for 750 guilders; in 1677 he is mentioned as a brewer in New York, where the present "William" and "Beekman" streets still bear his name. By his wife, Catharine de Boogh, he had (I believe) six children. His eldest daughter married a son of Gov. Stuyvesant; Gerardus, the second son, was president of the Provincial Council, and in 1710, temporarily Governor of the colony of New York. Henry Beekman, the eldest son, settled in Kingston, was Judge of Ulster county, and member of the Provincial Legislature. His daughter Margaret married Robert R. Livingston, and among her children were Janet, wife of General Richard Montgomery, and the Chancellor, Robert R. Livingston. The descendants of Willem Beekman are very numerous, and are to be found at the present day, scattered through the States of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Michigan.

CHAPTER V.

Renewal of Indian hostilities—Massacre at Esopus—Efforts to liberate the Christian captives—Captain Krygier proceeds against the savages—Captures an Indian fort—The savages build a second fortress—Another expedition—The Indians attacked—Routed—The Christians liberated—A third expedition against the savages—Its result—Earthquake in New Netherland—Freshet at Fort Orange—Small pox breaks out among the whites and Indians—Stuyvesant visits Boston—Fresh troubles on Long Island—Proceedings at Boston—The English towns on Long Island apply to be annexed to Hartford, and demand the reduction of the neighboring Dutch villages—Their petition—Descent on the Dutch towns—Stuyvesant sends delegates to Hartford—Their negotiations—Delegates from the majority of the Dutch settlements meet at New Amsterdam—Their remonstrance on the state of the province—Recommendations of Stuyvesant thereupon—The English of the west end of Long Island proclaim the King and the laws of England—Their independence agreed to—Descent on the Raritan—Proceedings between the English, Dutch, and Indians in that quarter.

THE last three years had passed in uninterrupted peace, and colonists were encouraged, in consequence, to remove to the Esopus in additional numbers. Wiltwyck became already too confined, and a new village was laid out to accommodate the increasing population. The savages beheld with an unfavorable eye the onward advance of the white man. The "new fort" omened no good; they had not been paid for the land on which it was about to be erected; the transportation of their friends to Curaçoa still rankled in their hearts, and half-smothered threats of revenge began again to be heard. Increased civilization brought in its train but increased elements of discord. Brandy became more common than ever in the country.¹

To avert the storm evidently approaching, the Director-general instructed the magistrates to announce to the sachems his intention to visit them in a few days. "If the renewal of peace be his object, they would meet him and his unarmed attendants outside the gate, in the open air,

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¹ Alb. Rec. xvi., 148, 152, 153; xviii., 193; xx., 113, 115, 120; xxi., 87; Fort Orange Rec.

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 1663. according to their custom." The friendly disposition manifested in this answer, threw the settlers off their guard. The male portion of the population mostly left the village to pursue their field labors, when between

June 7. eleven and twelve o'clock, large bodies of savages sauntered carelessly into the place, and spread themselves among the different families, some offering for sale a little maize, others a few beans. A quarter of an hour afterwards, several horsemen rushed "through the millgate," and with loud cries announced that the Indians had burnt the new village. This was the signal for a general assault. The fearful warwhoop was at once raised. Shots were heard in every direction; tomahawks and battle axes flashed through the air, and havoc and carnage stalked through the street, sparing neither age nor sex. Every corner and every window served as an ambush for a foe, who brought down, with unerring aim, the husbandmen, as one after the other they hastened from their field labors to their homes on hearing the alarm. Having plundered the dwellings, the savages set these on fire, but the wind fortunately veering to the west, a portion of the village escaped destruction. The work of murder and devastation was not, however, permitted to proceed without resistance. The villagers who remained at home rallied with desperate energy at the sound of the alarm bell; some at the millgate, some at the gate towards the strand, others at the sheriff's, more at the minister's house, whilst others collected at the corps de garde; and though armed only with cutlasses and a few guns, encouraged by the sheriff and their Dominie, they attacked the savage horde, whom they succeeded eventually in routing.

When evening came, sad was the sight at Esopus. Here lay women in all the loveliness of motherhood roasted alive; there children in the bloom of innocence butchered and burnt. Parents wandered without offspring; husbands without wives; numbers without roof or shelter. "The corpses were lying in the fields far and wide as manure, and the burnt and roasted bodies, like burning sheaves

behind the mower."¹ The total missing were seventy, forty-five of whom, principally women and children, were taken into captivity. Nine were severely wounded. Twelve dwellings in Wiltwyck were destroyed, and, except the mill, not a house was left standing in the new village.²

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The Director and Council, on receiving intelligence of this catastrophe, dispatched forthwith Councillor De Decker to Fort Orange to raise volunteers, call out the Mohawks and Senecas, and finally obtain, if possible, a loan to aid the necessities of the government. A proclamation was next issued inviting the colonists in and around the Mannhattans to enlist, who were further encouraged to come forward by the usual promise of plunder, as well as by the assurance that every Indian, taken in the war, should be the prize of his captor. In addition to these, each volunteer was to receive soldier's pay, a gratuity ranging from four hundred to one thousand guilders if maimed, and be entitled to

June 12

June 19.

¹ "The burnt bodies were most frightful to behold. A woman lay burnt with her child at her side, as if she were just delivered, of which I was a living witness. Other women lay burnt also in their houses, and one corpse with her fruit still in her womb was most cruelly butchered, with her husband and another child, in their dwelling. The houses were converted into heaps of ruins, so that I might say with Micah, 'We are made desolate.'" Rev. Mr. Blom's letter to the Classis at Amsterdam.

² Alb. Rec. xvi., 164, 165, 168-170, 194-199; xx., 352. List of killed, wounded, and missing, [imperfect.] Killed:—Jan Albrechtsen, Willem Jansen, Willem Jansen Hap, Jan de Smit, Hendrik Jansen Looman, Herry Olferts. Soldiers—Hendrik Martens, Dirck Willemsen, Christiaan Andriessen. Women—the wife of Lichten Dirckz., with her infant child, burnt behind the house of Barent Cornelissen; the wife of Matthys Capito, killed and burnt in her house; the wife of Jan Albertsen, in the last days of her pregnancy, killed with her daughter; the wife of Peter van Haerlem, killed and burnt in her own house. Children—A daughter of Jan Alberts, murdered with her mother; a child of Willem Jansen Hap, burnt alive in the house. In the New village—Martin Harmansen, behind his hay-mow and burnt with his house; Jacques Lyssen, Dirck Adriaensen. Wounded in Wiltwyck:—Thomas Chambers, in the woods; Hendrik Juraensen in his own house; Michel Frere, Albert van Vechten, Andries Barents, in front of their houses; Jan de Carle, at Aert Pietersen Turck's house; Hendrik, a servant of the Director-general, opposite Aert Jacobsen's house; Paulus de Noorman, in the street. Prisoners:—Jan Evertsen; Mde Louis du Bois and three children; Mde. Anthony Crepel and one child; Mde. Lambert Huyberts and three children; Mde. Marten Harmansen and four children; Mde. Jan Jansen and two children; Mde. Barent Harmansen and one child; Greetje Westercamp and three children; Mde. Jan Barents and one child; Mattheus Blaussen's two children; Michel Frere's two children; Hendrik Jurger's child; Hendrik Martensen's child; Albert Heyman's child, and Mde. Van Imbroeck, daughter of the Honorable La Montagne, and her little girl.

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exemption from chimney tax and tithes for the term of six years. But, though General Stuyvesant visited Heemstede in person, and sent agents through the other villages, no more than half a dozen Englishmen enrolled themselves, the leaders of their towns having discountenanced the project. Treaties were again renewed with the River tribes, and forty-six Marespinck savages were engaged to accompany the troops to the Esopus. Captain Martin Krygier, an old and experienced officer, was placed in command of the expedition, under whom Lieutenants Pieter W. van Couwenhoven, Nicolas Stillwell, and Ensign Samuel Edsal also received commissions.¹

June 27.

The news of the massacre caused no less a sensation at Beverwyck than at New Amsterdam; for the inhabitants in that quarter were more exposed, by their frontier position, and the Senecas and Minquaas were now waging a bloody war. Efforts were, therefore, made to put Fort Orange in a thorough state of defence,² and ancient treaties were renewed with the neighboring tribes; but so great was the alarm that the out-settlers fled for protection to the fort called Cralo, erected on the Patroon's farm at Greenbush, where they held, night and day, regular watch and ward.³ In this panic the country was abandoned for

¹ Alb. Rec. xvi., 171-173; xx., 313, 352, 356; xxi., 129-132, 145-149, 152-154, 157, 163-166, 170, 181, 203-208, 261, 313.

² Fort Orange, at this period, had four points, on each of which there were two pieces of cannon.⁴ It had besides a twelve-pounder on a carriage. The village of Beverwyck was enclosed by a board fence, which was defended by three pieces of artillery loaned by Mr. Van Rensselaer, in 1656, and placed on the church. Alb. Rec. vi., 388, 415, 416.

³ The above alliance was confirmed "by the shaking of hands." The following extract from the "Resolutie Boek der Colonie Rensselaerswyck," refers to the watch:—"12th June, 1663. Information being received of murders and burning which occurred at Esopus, last Thursday, 7th inst., the Court of Rensselaerswyck renewed the resolution of the 1st April, 1660, for the establishment of a night watch (at Fort Cralo.) Cornelis Van Nes was appointed Captain, and Willem Fredericks Bout, Corporal. List of the colonists in Greenbush:—Under the chief officer Cornelis van Nes—Cornelis Stevensen Mullen, Adam Dingerms, Gerrit van Nes, Jan Juriaensen, Jan van Nes, Jacobus Jansen, Tymon Hendricksen. Under Corporal Willem Bout—Jan Oothout, Hendrik van Nes, Hendrik Maessen, [Van Buren,] Gerrit Teunissen, Frans Jacobsen, Hendrik Willemsen, Claes Claessen. The officers shall take good care that none of the watch shall fire, unless when necessary, under the penalty of six guilders for the first, twelve gl. for the second, and an arbitrary correction for

miles around. "Nothing," says Jeremias van Rensselaer in one of his letters, "is talked of but war, for no one can distinguish friend from foe." CHAP.
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In the meanwhile, considerable confusion prevailed at Wiltwyck, and had the savages followed up their first attack, the whole white population would probably have been cut off. But, fortunately for the settlers, the natural indolence of the Indians prevailed, and gave the Dutch time to secure their position. A reinforcement of forty-two men, under Ensign Nyssen, landed at Ronduit, and succeeded in cutting their way, a few days after this, to the village, with a loss of one killed and six wounded; and the arrival of Krygier, shortly after, with the force under his command, placed the settlement beyond all further danger. Some time was now employed in bringing up supplies, and obtaining intelligence of the strength and position of the enemy. Mde. Gysbert van Imbroeck, who had been taken prisoner on the 7th, succeeded in effecting her escape, and had furnished most valuable information as to the locality of the savages. Their numbers were estimated at about two hundred, and some few Wappinger, Wauwarsing, and Minnisinck Indians assisted them. They occupied a square fort some nine or ten Dutch miles distant. The prisoners were removed, through fear of surprise, into the mountains every night, always to a different place, all the Indians capable of bearing arms remaining in the fort. Various attempts were made, in the interval, through Mohawks and other friendly Indians, to redeem those unfortunate people in the hands of the enemy, but, with the exception of the release of a few women and children, the effort was fruitless. The Indians retained them as hostages, and refused to liberate them "unless Corlear and Rensselaer came with presents to conclude a peace and redeem the captives." Until then they were determined to make a stand. On receiving this reply, Captain Krygier determined to pay them a visit. Taking with him two hundred and ten men, forty-one of whom were Indians, forty-one

the third offence. Actum in Greene Bos in the colonie Rensselaerswyck this 12th June, 1663."

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volunteers from Esopus and Manhattans, and seven negroes, with two cannon on waggons, he started in search of the enemy, under the guidance of Mde. Van Imbroeck. Thirty-six soldiers and twenty-five freemen were left behind to garrison Wiltwyck. Taking up the line of march at four o'clock in the afternoon, they proceeded two Dutch miles and halted until the moon rose. They then advanced, but after a little experienced so much difficulty that they were

July 27. obliged to bivouac until daybreak. The road now became stony, and intersected by numerous streams. To cross these, trees had to be felled to form bridges, and "some of the mountains were so amazingly steep that they were forced to take the waggons to pieces." The party had now pursued a south-west course from Wiltwyck for about twenty-four English miles. The Indian fort was still two Dutch miles distant. Lieutenants Couwenhoven and Stillwell and the Ensign were here ordered forward with one hundred and sixteen men to surprise the place, Krygier following with the reserve, the cannon and waggons. But when within a mile of the fort, the road became so bad that he was obliged to leave these behind under charge of forty men. On arriving at the castle, he found it in possession of the main body. The savages had abandoned it two days previously. The works consisted of a square with four points, the approach to which was defended by three rows of palisades. In the interior were several houses, each surrounded with heavy beams and palisades set firm in the ground, and having three loop-holes to permit those within to fire at assailants. Between the houses and the outworks flowed a creek, towards which was another point, also strongly fortified. The party remained that night in this fortress, having succeeded in capturing a squaw who had come for a supply of maize.

July 28. Next morning, at break of day, a military council was called, and being informed by the squaw that the Indians had retreated to the mountains with their prisoners, it was determined to pursue them. One hundred and forty men, under the command of Couwenhoven and the other subaltern officers, were detailed on this expedition, Krygier

retaining possession of the fort with twenty-four men. Again they were doomed to disappointment. On reaching the savage camp, "the bird had flown." They were now told by the squaw that the Indians had fled to another mountain, distant yet two Dutch miles. The resolution was taken to follow them. The march was one of great difficulty, but entirely fruitless; "not a savage was to be seen." The squaw said they had retired to another fastness four Dutch miles farther off, but she was unacquainted with the path thither. Nine savages were now discovered approaching, whereupon the party fell flat on the ground, but they could not elude the Indians, who fled terror-stricken. All attempt at overtaking the savages was now considered hopeless, so the party returned to the fort, where they collected and burned all the maize the savages had stored since the last year. "A considerable quantity of plunder" was removed. On the next day the work of destruction was continued. Four savages made their appearance on the point of a high mountain, whilst the soldiers were at this work, and bawled out that they should come on the morrow to fight, for "they must now die of hunger." But they did not keep their promise. Having cut down and destroyed nearly two hundred acres of corn and burnt all that had been stored in pits, the Dutch set fire to the fort. As soon as it was in full blaze, the expedition departed, Lieut. Couwenhoven in front, Lieut. Stillwell and his company in the centre, Capt. Krygier and his men making up the rear. On the next evening, at nine o'clock, the whole party arrived at Wiltwyck without the loss of a man.¹

It was not long, however, until news arrived that Warynawoncks were busy building another castle. Wet weather, and the difficulty experienced in procuring horses for the accommodation of such of the party as might happen to be wounded, delayed operations against this point for some days. At length, everything being ready, one hundred and twenty-five men set out at one o'clock in the

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July 29.

July 31.

Aug. 1.

Aug. 30.

Sep. 3.

¹ Alb. Rec. xvi, 176, 183, 199, 200-221; Jeremias van Rensselaer's letter book.

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1663. afternoon, under Krygier and the other officers, guided by a Wappinger Indian. After a march of three Dutch miles they came at night "near the kill which empties at the Ronduit." Here they remained until morning, the rain pouring down, in the mean time, in torrents. The kill was now found so swollen and rapid that it was impossible to
Sep. 4 ford it, so six men were sent back to the village for ropes and axes to construct a raft, or some other means to enable the troops to cross to the other bank. On their return ropes were extended over the stream and made fast to trees on the opposite side. By these expedients the party passed over in the course of the afternoon, and marched twelve English miles further, when night set in. They then encamped in the open air, the rain coming down
Sep. 5. the while in floods. At daybreak they again took up their march, and reached, about noon, the first Indian corn patches, where two squaws and a Dutch woman were collecting maize. Though anxious to capture them, Krygier found it impossible. The kill separated them, and this could not be crossed without risking a discovery. He was, therefore, obliged now to take to the woods, and arrived about two hours afterwards, in view of the fort, which stood on an elevated plain, about thirty-six miles south-south-west of Wiltwyck. It was a square, not quite so large as that already captured, and secured all around with a row of palisades, standing fifteen feet over the ground. Two points had already been completed, and secured with palisades of the thickness of a man's body, having double loop-holes, one above the other. A third point had been begun. Those which were finished were so solid "that Christians could not have done it better."

Having now hastily surveyed the enemy's position, Krygier divided his force into two sections. The right wing was commanded by himself and Lieut. Couwenhoven, "the left was led to the charge by Lieuts. Stillwell and Nyssen." The party advanced stealthily behind the hill, but the ground to the left of the fort being an open plain, they were discovered by a squaw, who sent forth "a terrible cry." A sudden onslaught was thereupon made.

The savages immediately retreated through the fort for their arms, which lay in the houses, about a stone's throw distant. But the Dutch were so hard on their heels that they were obliged to retreat, leaving many of their guns behind. A hot fire was then kept up on the enemy, who were pursued until they precipitated themselves into the creek "which bordered the lower part of the corn patch." On gaining the opposite bank the Indians rallied and threw back a fire, which the Dutch returned with interest. It now became an imperious necessity to follow the enemy across the stream. This was gallantly effected, and the whole savage force was driven from its position.

In this attack the Indians lost their chief, Papoquanaehen, fourteen warriors, four squaws, and three children, "whom we have seen lying dead on both sides of the kill." Many more were wounded whilst running from their fort to the houses, "when we did give them a brave charge." The Dutch on their side had three killed and six wounded. By this important victory twenty-two Christian prisoners were recovered by the Dutch, and thirteen or fourteen Indians fell also into their hands. Among the latter was a very old man who, after accompanying his captors about half an hour, refused to advance any further. "We carried him," says Krygier, "a little aside, and then gave him his last meal." The different wigwams were now plundered of all their contents; bearskins, deerskins, blankets, elk-hides and peltries, "sufficient to load a shallop." Most of these were destroyed, with a quantity of kettles and eighty-five guns. Forty rolls of zeawan, and twenty pounds of powder, fell also into the hands of the Dutch, who now turned homeward, where they arrived after a march of a Sep. 7. day and a half, diffusing great joy among the settlers by their success. The remainder of the month was employed in sending out small scouting parties, and in protecting the farmers whilst ploughing their ground and saving the har-

¹ Stuyvesant states (Alb. Rec. xii., 331,) the number of Indians killed on the spot at twenty-seven, besides those who were swimming across the creek, and were killed and swept away by the stream. "Praise," he adds, "is due to the Lord our God for this salvation."

BOOK vest. The Esopus Indians were now virtually annihilated.
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1663. "Not more than twenty-seven or twenty-eight warriors, fifteen or sixteen women and a few children survived," and these were "without houses or huts." Yet in this desolate state, the Warynawoncks showed no sign of submission; and a new expedition was therefore determined on.

This party was composed of one hundred and two soldiers, forty-six Marespincks and six freemen. After a
Oct. 2. march of about twenty hours, they reached the scene of their late victory. All was solitude and silence. Squaws and papooses lay unburied around, partly devoured by wolves and ravens; and nine or ten holes were discovered, filled with dead savages, on whose bodies the wild beasts had been feasting; but no sign of a living human being was to be found. Two days were now spent cutting down the maize crop, which was thrown into the kill. On the
Oct. 4. third day the fort was razed. The palisades and wigwams were piled together and the whole set on fire.² About ten o'clock in the forenoon, the party left, and after bivouacking one night, arrived at their quarters in the evening of
Oct. 5. the following day. The march was fatiguing in the extreme. Continual rain had swollen the creeks, several of which had to be waded, breast-high. The road was bad, being generally mountainous, though in some parts the country was beautiful. All the captured savages, twelve
Oct. 9. in number, were shortly after sent to the Mannhattans, whither Krygier returned, and an armistice having been agreed upon, all the remaining Christians in the hands of the Indians, except three, were some time after recovered.

In the beginning of this year, New Netherland was visited by a smart shock of an earthquake, which was felt very severely inland, both in Canada, New England, and

¹ Alb. Rec. xii., 331; xvi., 239-253, 256; xxi., 294. Hol. Doc. xii., 347. A writer in the New York Christian Intelligencer, Vol. XVI., No. 42, undertakes to give an account of the above battle "according to tradition." It is altogether different from that given in the Records, and does great injustice to the Indians. It is only referred to here, for the purpose of guarding those who read it against being misled by that, or similar misstatements.

² Alb. Rec. xvi., 257-259, 270; xviii., 248. The forts referred to in the text, are said to have stood on what is now the Shawangunk kill, in the town of the same name, at the south-western extremity of Ulster county

Acadia, over an area of twenty thousand superficial leagues, and in the course of the summer, the country around Fort Orange was submerged by a freshet which caused considerable damage. The grain was mostly cut; the harvest had been fully as heavy as in the first ten years of the settlement; but the flood came down unexpectedly like an avalanche, and swept all away.¹ To increase the public misfortunes, the small pox broke out soon after among the Whites and Indians. In one week twelve persons died of the distemper at Beverwyck, whilst the loss among the Five Nations is computed at one thousand.²

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Advices were now received from Holland announcing that all hope of obtaining in Europe a settlement of the limits between New Netherland and New England must be abandoned; and that any arrangement to be made must be effected in America. The Director-general, therefore, proceeded to Boston to endeavor, if possible, to come to some agreement on this vexed question.<sup>3</sup> But he had scarcely departed when fresh troubles broke out on Long Island. Capt. Talcott having completed his mission in Westchester, crossed over to Middleburgh, and thence dispatched one James Christie, a Scotchman, to Gravesend, Flushing, Heemstede, and Gemeco, to announce to the people thereabout that they were no longer under the Dutch government, but under that of Hartford.<sup>4</sup> Arrived at

<sup>1</sup> Jeremias van Rensselaer's letter, 7th August, 1663; Relation, 1662, 1663., 6-18; also Charlevoix, *Nouv. France; Hist. du Canada depuis sa découverte jusqu'à nos jours*, par F. X. Garneau, Quebec, 1845, i., 291.

<sup>2</sup> Alb. Rec. vi., 409, 428. Relation, 1664-5., 92.

<sup>3</sup> Alb. Rec. iv., 424; xii., 329; xxi., 287-290.

<sup>4</sup> John Talcott here mentioned, emigrated with his parents, John and Dorothy Talcott, to Massachusetts, from Colchester, (England,) in 1632. He filled many offices of responsibility in Connecticut, was one of the patentees mentioned in the charter to that colony from King Charles, which was subsequently entrusted to his and two others' care, when removed beyond Andros' reach and deposited in the Charter Oak. He served with much success in the wars against the Indians, and died at Hartford, July 23, 1688, O. S., leaving a property valued at over £2000, colonial currency. He was married twice and had fourteen children, one of whom, Joseph, was Governor of Connecticut in 1724, and held that office seventeen years. His (John's) brother Samuel, was one of the original proprietors of Wethersfield, Conn., and is the lineal ancestor of Col. George Talcott, who removed to the State of New York in 1808, entered the U. S. Army in the war of 1812, and is now, and has been for several years, Chief

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 1663. Sep. 23. Gravesend, the whole village was called together to hear the letters read; but Christie had not well commenced when he was arrested by Sheriff Stillwell. The magistrates summoned this officer to answer for his act, who immediately sent a messenger to the Manhattans with a report of his critical position. A sergeant and eight soldiers
- Sep. 24. came at once to his aid, and Christie was committed to the charge of this guard. News was now received that a large force was collecting to rescue the prisoner. He
- Sep. 25. was therefore removed, at two o'clock the next morning, to Fort Amsterdam. The following night, about nine o'clock, an armed mob, estimated at one hundred and fifty men, some on horseback, some on foot, surrounded Stillwell's house, vociferating that they should have him dead or alive. He succeeded, fortunately, in gaining, in the dark, his son-in-law's residence. In the mean time, the multitude ransacked every corner of his house, "emptied two ankers of brandy," and then dispersed, without committing any further depredation. Stillwell, thereupon, proceeded to New Amsterdam, whither the people of
- Sep. 26. Gravesend immediately wrote, throwing all the blame on the sheriff, whom they accused of having acted in a violent manner, and causing "a great hubbub in the town." They admitted themselves subjects of the Dutch government, but not of Stillwell, "who is the greatest disturber of the peace that ever came among them." The armed men who visited the village "came in search of one of the King's subjects, who was arrested in the King's land." Those of Middleburgh were more excited. They threatened retaliation, if Christie were not released. The Council
- Sep. 27. replied in soothing terms. The dispute was merely about words "of no intrinsic value." They approved of Stillwell's conduct; addressed circulars to all the English villages, requiring them to arrest and send to New Amsterdam any seditious persons who might visit their towns; and then dispatched an express to the Director-general at

of the Ordnance Bureau at Washington. Col. George Talcott intermarried into the Bogaert family, and his descendants reside at present in Albany.

Boston, in order that he might place the whole matter before the General Assembly.<sup>1</sup>

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The result of Stuyvesant's mission was not satisfactory. He had duly complained of the non-observance of the treaty of 1650, and demanded of the Commissioners if they considered that agreement still in force. The latter equivocated. They acknowledged that they held the treaty to be binding, saving his Majesty's rights and those of Connecticut under their recent charter. But they suggested that the whole controversy should undergo, next year, a full hearing before the Commissioners; that, meanwhile, all things should remain according to the above-mentioned agreement. The decision was a triumph for those of Hartford, who obtained all they demanded—delay. "It was as clear as the sun at noon-day," says Stuyvesant, "that these were but frivolous expressions borrowed from the letter of Governor Winthrop and his Court." He, however, expressed his willingness to submit the whole question to any arbitrators mutually chosen, and promised, in that event, neither to wrong nor injure any of the inhabitants of Westchester. But in this, too, he was unsuccessful. "In his grief he was necessitated to refer the matters unsettled to both their superiors." He next proposed a continuation of trade on the same terms as it was permitted in Europe, and an alliance offensive and defensive against the savages. The Commissioners were willing to agree to mutual commerce not contravening the late trade act. The proposal for a union against the Indians they would submit to their respective General Courts.<sup>2</sup>

Meanwhile the English towns on Long Island were seriously endeavoring to form a junction with Connecticut. To effect this purpose, Sergeant Hubbard (forgetting the promise of good behavior he had given in 1655) proceeded to Hartford with a petition from certain of the inhabitants of Gemeco, Middleburgh, and Heemstede, praying the General Court of that place to "cast over them the skirts

<sup>1</sup> Alb. Rec. xxi., 303-309, 315, 319, 322-325. Aitzema, iv., 1121.

<sup>2</sup> Hazard's State Papers, ii., 479-486; Trumbull, i., 253.

BOOK VI. of their government and protection.” Hubbard demanded, at the same time, that measures be adopted for the reduction of the adjoining Dutch towns.<sup>2</sup> This was followed by a descent on Midwout (or Flatbush) of a party of armed men, headed by one Richard Panton, “whose commission is his sword and whose power is his pistol,” with the intent to bring the Dutch villages under Hartford, threatening the people with plunder of their property, if they should refuse to take up arms against the government at the Mannhattans. It was to learn this disastrous state of the country that Stuyvesant returned from Boston. To counteract the designs of the disaffected, and to put an end, if

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<sup>1</sup> The humble petition of vs the Inhabitants [of] Jemaico, Middelborow and Hemstead upon Long Island, (whose names are subscribed,) to the Honored General Court to be assembled at Hartford 8th Octob. 1663, humbly sheweth:— That forasmuch as it hath plesed the aldisposing Providence who determines the times before appointed and the bounds of men’s habitasion to apoint unto vs our dwellings in these parts of the cuntry under the Dutch gouernment; in which gouernment we mete with severall inconvenyances that doe much trubble vs, and which we finde verry uncomfortable, and forasmuch as we haue received informaton how it hath plesed the highest Magesty to move the hart of the King’s majesty to grant vnto your colony such enlargements as comprehends this whole lland thereby opening a waye for vs (as we hope) from our presant bondage to such liberties and inlargements as we ar informed your patten affords; and seeing your Worships were pleased the last yere to manefest your respect to vs and care of vs by Capt. John Youngs and since by letters; shewing your willingness to accept of vs and that we may be true to the comforts of ourselves and these concerned in vs, we make bould to become petitioners to yr. Worships, and accordingly our humbel petision is, that as we ar alruddy according to our best information under the scurts of your patten, so you would be plesed to cast over vs the scurts of your gouernment and protecktion, for assuredly if you should leaue us nowe, which we hope we haue not cause to feare, our liues comforts and estates will be much indangered; as wo full experiance makes manefest, yt a contryman of ours for caring a mesage to a neighbor plantasion from sum of yourselues have bin imprisoned for several weks and how long it will be continued we know not. Our petition therefor is yt your Worships will be plesed seriously to consider our condision and giue vs such an answer as your wisdums shal judg mete with as much speed as may bee: and leaue the full declarasion of things to our trusty messenger and thus we shall for the present take leaue of your Worships, comiting ourselves and concernes to the supream disposer and remaine your humbel petitioners as aforesaid. Sept 29, 1663. Robart Coe, John Stickland, Zachariah Walker, Thomas Bennydict, John Baylis, William Smith, Abraham Smith, Nehemiah Smith, Alexander Smith, henery Whitne, Ralph Keeler, Gorge Comons, luke Watson, Edward Rouse, John hinds, fulk Dauis, Gorge Mills, Samwell Mills, Zacaria Mills, Benjamin Coe, John Gorton, Thomas Bennydict, Junior, Anthony Waters, Joseph Thirston, francis Smith, John Skidmore.” Book endorsed “Towns and Lands,” in Secretary of State’s Office, Hartford, i., 18.

<sup>2</sup> Hubbard’s request is in last mentioned Book, 13.

possible, to all this disorder, he deputed Secretary Van Ruyven, Burgomaster Van Cortland, and Mr. John Lawrence, merchant, to Hartford, to endeavor to obtain from Governor Winthrop and his council a settlement of the boundary question, "so that all further disputes may, for the welfare of our mutual subjects, be prevented." Stuyvesant in the mean time drew on the Company for four thousand guilders, but, so low was the public credit, no person could be found to discount the bill without collateral security. He succeeded finally in obtaining the loan, only by pledging four brass guns in the fort for the repayment of the debt.<sup>2</sup>

Four days' weary travelling by water and by land, brought the Dutch deputies to Hartford. They found Governor Winthrop close and incommunicative. The Court, on being made acquainted with the purport of their visit, appointed a committee to confer with them, of whom the delegates enquired whether they would conform to the recommendations of the other three colonies as to the limits of 1650, and permit these to remain undisturbed, until the next meeting of the Commissioners in 1664; if not, would they appoint some persons to treat further on the various differences between them, or refer the whole matter to the respective governments in Europe, leaving everything, in the mean time, in statu quo? To the first of these propositions they gave a negative reply. They held the King's patent; by that should they be regulated, and not by any advice the Commissioners from the other colonies might give. The second question they evaded, and in reply to the third, they expressed a willingness to refer the matters in dispute to Europe, provided that Westchester and the English towns on Long Island should remain, in the interim, under Connecticut. This, the delegates replied, "would be allowed

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<sup>1</sup> The commission of these delegates is in the Book endorsed "Letters in Governor Stuyvesant's time," in the office of the Secretary of State, Albany; also in Book endorsed "Colonial Boundaries," ii., 6, in the office of the Secretary of State, Hartford.

<sup>2</sup> Alb. Rec. xxi., 331, 335, 336, 341.

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 1663. neither now nor never." The members of the committee answered; in that case, they could not prevent those towns repairing under his Majesty. Ye are the cause of this, rejoined the delegates; by your deputations ye have excited them to it. The Hartford men justified their conduct; they were bound to make the King's grant known. True, it was replied, to the King's subjects, but not to those of their High Mightinesses. "They were his Majesty's subjects," retorted the committee, "since they dwell in his Majesty's territory." In what light, then, is the settlement of 1650 to be regarded? it was asked. In contradiction to their recorded signatures, and in violation of their solemn promises, they shamelessly declared—As an absolute nullity; of no force.

In these and such like fruitless discussions passed this conference. Finding now that those of Hartford "only sought to put a spoke in the wheel," and to keep matters in agitation, until the English towns revolted; considering, further, that it was probable such an occurrence would soon happen; the delegates thought it best, with a view to prevent the effusion of blood, to renew the proposal that, if they would respect the treaty of 1650, and refrain from assuming any jurisdiction over the English settlements on Long Island, until the King and States General should agree on a boundary line, the Dutch would, on their part, abandon all control over Westchester. This  
 Oct. 20. proposition was rejected. The English insisted that not only Westchester, but also Middleburgh, Rustdorp, Heemstede and Flushing should be annexed. If the Dutch would consent to these terms, then the Hartford authorities would proceed no further until another convention. If, however, this offer were refused, they would not prevent the towns in question betaking themselves under their protection, and should protect them in case they were attacked. It was in vain represented, that his Majesty was too prudent to include in the Connecticut patent, land possessed for so many years under the authority of his allies, the States General; that the lands they obtained were in New England, and not in New Netherland; that

Governor Winthrop so understood it; and that, finally, their case was the same as that of the Massachusetts patent, which covered only lands not already in the possession of any other power. "What amicable arguments soever we used, we could not proceed any further with them." They insisted that their patent not only included Long Island, but extended westward to the Pacific Ocean. "Where then lies New Netherland?" Forgetful that they had, only thirteen years previously, solemnly recognized the Dutch province, they now replied:—We know not, unless you can produce a patent. The Company's charter was invoked. That charter was merely for commercial purposes. If you have no patent for the land, it must fall to us. But the Dutch were the first discoverers; they had acquired the soil by purchase from the Indians, and were the oldest in possession. "The Dutch then may hold what they actually occupy; the unlocated lands are ours."<sup>1</sup>

After considerable additional debate, the Hartford deputies gave in their ultimatum. Westchester and the country to Stamford were to belong, until otherwise arranged, to Connecticut, who would forbear exercising any authority over Heemstede, Rustdorp, &c., if the Dutch would, during the same time, abstain from the exercise of any coercive power over these plantations. The other differences were to be left to arbitrators. The Dutch, on the other hand, were willing to allow Westchester and Stamford to remain under Hartford, on condition that the English towns on the western section of Long Island were to be absolutely under New Netherland. This was as unpalatable to the English, as the former was to the Dutch, and the delegates departed with a letter to Stuyvesant, by the superscription on which the English "refused to the Director-general and Council, the title accorded to them by their High Mightinesses' commission for the last

<sup>1</sup> The unsoundness of the argument brought forward on this occasion by the Hartford commissioners, in pleading that the charter to the West India Company was merely for purposes of trade, is most palpable. The second clause of that Grant conferred on the Company all the powers necessary for planting colonies. See the charter in the Appendix to Vol. I.

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 1663. forty years."<sup>1</sup> In keeping with the determination above expressed, the General Court resolved to forbear exercising any authority over the English on the west end of Long Island for the present, until they should hear from the Manhattans; but they declared, at the same time, that in case the Dutch should molest them, they would not "see his Majesty's natural born subjects interrupted or injured." They would then use all such just and lawful means as God in his wisdom might offer for their protection, until their sovereign Lord the King should declare his pleasure for their future settlement.<sup>2</sup>

The situation of the country was now really alarming. An expensive war was being waged against the Indians; the Company's territory was invaded by Connecticut; the English villages were in a state of revolt, and the public treasury was exhausted. The Burgomasters and Schepens Oct. 22. therefore requested the Director and Council to convoke a meeting of the magistrates of the several towns and colonies, to take into consideration the state of the province. The season was, unfortunately, too far advanced to admit of the attendance of any delegates from Wiltwyck, Fort Orange or Rensselaerswyck.<sup>3</sup> New Amsterdam, Haerlem, Breukelen, Midwout, Amersfoort, New Utrecht, Boswyck and Bergen only, were therefore represented. Nov 1. sented.<sup>4</sup> After due deliberation, they agreed to the following Remonstrance:—

<sup>1</sup> Alb. Rec. xvi., 292-315; Colonial Boundaries, ii., 3, 4, in Secretary of State's Office, Hartford; Aitzema, v., 64; Hazard, ii., 623-633; Trumbull, i., 260, 261.

<sup>2</sup> Book endorsed Towns and Lands, Hartford, i., 15.

<sup>3</sup> New Amsterdam Rec.

<sup>4</sup> The following was the power of attorney granted on this occasion, to the delegates from Boswyck:—"Whereas a letter has been sent by order of the Lords General and supreme councillors of New Netherland to the magistrates of Boswyck, whereby they are enjoined to send two delegates from their town to the Manhattans furnished and provided with proper authority, Therefore the aforesaid magistrates have chosen and named two persons from the same, with the knowledge and consent of the majority of the inhabitants, viz.: Rykous Leydecker and Guysbert Teunissen, to whom they give full power, authority and special command to protect, defend, uphold and vindicate and determine in their name and on behalf of their constituents, the matters affecting the aforesaid town of Boswyck which shall be laid before them, as needs may require, and to do in every respect therein as their constituents might and could do, if they were all there before their eyes, holding the same to be affirmed, good, fast and

"To the Noble, Great and Respected Lords the Directors of the Privileged West India Company, Department of Amsterdam :—

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"The undersigned authorized Delegates of the City of Amsterdam and the respective villages of New Netherland, are compelled to remonstrate most humbly to your Honors, their Mayors, in the name and on the behalf of the inhabitants of this province, your faithful and obedient subjects, that in these times of perplexity and distress, arising from the depreciated value of returns, which not only renders the prices of imported wares excessively high, but even causes the departure of several families, and a consequent reduction in rents and real estate, so that nothing remains but agriculture ; they have been impatiently expecting from day to day, in reply to their repeated solicitations, the salutary and necessary means for the conservation of the good people of this province.

"By the exemptions which your Honors granted and published, which principally encouraged the people to leave their dearly beloved Fatherland, and to transport themselves hither, you publicly bound yourselves to preserve your remonstrants in the peaceable possession of their property and of the lands they selected, settled, and occupied ; and to protect them and the other inhabitants against all civil or foreign war, usurpation, and open force. To accomplish this, your Honors were bound to obtain from their High Mightinesses the States General, our supreme sovereign, commissions and patents, in due form, establishing and justifying your real and legitimate jurisdiction over this province and its territory, so far as it extended.

"In consequence whereof the aforesaid High and Noble States would, through their influence with his Royal Majesty of England, have effected a definite division of the limits between us and his subjects, the English nation, our neighbors here, and obtained the full ratification and

true, the aforesaid constituency promising the deputed to aid, uphold, and bear all costs, losses, charges, &c., herein, they the constituents hereunto pledging their persons and goods, and submitting the same to the constraint of all courts and judges. In witness whereof this is subscribed this last of October, 1663. In presence of me, B. Manout, secretary." Boswyck Rec. 30.

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approbation thereof, together with the protection and defence against all civil and foreign wars; against all vexatious and open violence of your faithful subjects, so exemplarily submitting to all imposts and taxes with which they are burthened: so that this province might have been secured and strengthened by your Honors, with a sufficient number of good soldiers and those other necessary means which constitute the principal and universal foundation on which, next to God, quietly repose the tranquillity, safety, and security of this province and its people. Yet, in the one and in the other, have we, your remonstrants, been grievously disappointed and abused, and now, consequently, experience—what have so often been made known to you—the licentious, bloody and impending ruinous effects thereof.

“These have, first, manifested themselves in the still to be deplored and tragical massacre by the savages of the honest inhabitants of that excellent and fruitful country, the Esopus, occasioned by the premature, and at this conjuncture, totally indefensible reduction of the soldiery in this province, at a time they ought rather have been increased and reinforced. Such a reduction, as regards the state of the colony, was utterly contrary to all sound views and maxims of state and policy; especially when it is recollected that your remonstrants stand here between a barbarous nation on the one side, and a powerful and quarrelsome neighbor on the other. So that the good people are, thereby, reduced to a state nearly as deplorable as a flock without a shepherd—a prey to every one who will seize his advantage and attack it. And, lastly, are they visible in (what is of considerable importance) the actual encroachments and aggressions committed by the neighboring English nation, in divers parts of this province, of which your Honors, no doubt, have been advised by the Director-general and Council.

“This English nation hath, in the meanwhile, as your remonstrants have learned by experience, at a moment when it was not watched by your Honors, lately obtained an unlimited patent and commission from his Majesty of

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England, which they enforce according to their own interpretation, proving, as experience teaches us, by manifold examples, that the most powerful are usually justified whilst the feeble must succumb. There is no question, then—at least the apprehension is very strong—that we must expect the total loss of this province; or that it shall be circumscribed within such narrow limits, that it will resemble only a useless carcass, devoid either of limbs or form—divested of all its internal parts—its head separated from its trunk, and your remonstrants, consequently, so closely cooped up, if not entirely crushed, that they shall, at last, be compelled, to their irreparable ruin, to abandon this country in despair, and become outcasts with their families.

“The English, to cloak their plans, now object that there is no proof, no legal commission or patent from their High Mightinesses, to substantiate and justify our rights and claims to the property of this province, and insinuate that through the backwardness of their High Mightinesses to grant such patent, you apparently intended to place the people here on slippery ice; giving them lands, to which your Honors had no right whatever; that this, too, is the real cause of our being continually kept in a labyrinth, and of the well intentioned English, settled under your government, being at a loss how to acquit themselves of their oaths.

“Wherefore your remonstrants are compelled, in their anxiety, and intricate and extreme danger, to throw themselves on your Honors’ gracious consideration, and to solicit, with all humility, that you should place us in a proper position, and provide us with those essential means whereby we, your Honors’ faithful subjects, might directly and effectually be maintained, or enabled to maintain ourselves, in the real possession of those lands, properties and dependencies granted and actually conveyed by the aforesaid exemptions, and which have been preserved and cultivated so long a time, at the expense of so much toil, bloody fatigue, and the sweat of our brows; that your Honors may be further pleased to take under your fatherly care

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 1663. and protection so many hundred families—so many thousand afflicted souls, and apply, in the shortest way, the most efficacious means to relieve us from our calamitous and distressing condition. If, however, we are unsuccessful in our petition; if we cannot obtain a redress of our grievances, so fully detailed, the reasonableness of which is so palpable and conspicuous; then do we declare, with all due respect, that we shall, by an imperious necessity, be compelled, in order to save ourselves and families, to address ourselves to the College of Deputies from the respective Departments—the Assembly of the XIX.—to obtain their favor and support, so that we may, through their efficacious intercession and powerful influence, be qualified and encouraged to make application to their High Mightinesses, our supreme sovereigns.

“Wishing, nevertheless, that when reflecting on our just demands and alarming situation, you will be moved to interest yourselves in our behalf, by speedy and effectual aid, so that any further application may become unnecessary, we pray from our souls, that ALMIGHTY God may mercifully bestow on you additional blessings and salutary success.”

This remonstrance was expressed to Holland, where Jeremias van Rensselear and Jacob Bakker were authorized to support it, and Stuyvesant took occasion to urge again on the Directors, the necessity of settling the limits. He recommended, also, that their High Mightinesses address the English and Dutch towns on Long Island, commanding the first to return to their allegiance under pain of condign punishment, and the latter, to remain loyal to the government under which they lived. To meet the objections of those who denied that the Dutch had any patent for the country, he suggested that a public act confirming the original grant to the Company, be issued by the States General, under the great seal, “which an Englishman usually worships like an idol.”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Alb. Rec. xxi., 351-355, 357, 361, 369-376; Hol. Doc. xii., 291.

<sup>2</sup> “Waeraen een Engelsman als een afgod gemeenlyk vergaapt,” Hol. Doc. xii., 363.

The English towns on the west end of Long Island were now the scenes of renewed disorder. For Anthony Waters and John Coe, "miller of Middelburgh," having raised a force of nearly a hundred men, roved through these places, convoked the people; told them that the country belonged to the King, and that they should henceforth pay neither taxes nor customs; removed the magistrates, appointed others in their stead; and finally threatened the Dutch towns if they did not also pronounce in favor of his Majesty. This revolution was completed by proclaiming the King, establishing the laws of England, and changing the names of several of the settlements. Gemeco became "Crafford;" Flushing, "New-warke;" Newtown, "Hastings;" and Oyster Bay, "Folestone."

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1663.  
Nov.  
7-9.

The intelligence of this outbreak awakened the Director-general to the danger of inaction. He dispatched De Sille with an armed force to protect the Dutch villages, and wrote to Hartford, accepting the terms already offered by that colony. Westchester thereby became annexed to Connecticut, and the English towns on Long Island, hitherto belonging to New Netherland, were left altogether to themselves.<sup>2</sup> This was followed by a descent on the west side of the Hudson, by a number of persons belonging to the east end of Long Island and Gravesend, who secretly proceeded to Nevesing, "behind Rensselaer's hoeck," with a design to purchase the lands thereabout from the Indians, notwithstanding they had already been bought and paid for, ten or twelve years previously, by the Dutch. Capt. Krygier, Govert Loockermans, and some others, were immediately dispatched with a small armed force to stay these illegal encroachments. On arriving at the mouth of the Raritan River, they learned that the English had gone up the creek to meet the savages. A runner was, thereupon, started to advise the

Nov. 15

Dec. 6.

Dec. 8.

<sup>1</sup> I am not perfectly satisfied that the name Folestone applied to Oyster Bay, but as those of Hempstead and Gravesend remained unchanged, I know not any other English town on Long Island claimed by the Dutch, to which it could apply.

<sup>2</sup> Alb. Rec. xxi., 382-385. Colonial Boundaries, Hartford, ii., 8.

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Indians that the English had come "in silence," without acquainting "the Dutch sachems on the Manhattans."

1663. This interference arrested the sale.

The Gravesend men now finding themselves estopped, proceeded further down the bay. Messrs. Krygier and

Dec. 10. Loockermans followed, and having obtained an interview, told them they ought not to purchase any lands from the savages, as most of these had already been bought by the Dutch. They insisted that they had as good a right to trade, and look after land in that quarter, as any others. Loockermans told them they were a pack of traitors, acting as they did against the government. "The King's patent," they replied, "was of quite another cast." The expedition

Dec. 11. now returned to the Manhattans, whither some Indian chiefs followed, next day, to sell the Director all the land at the Nevesing, not already disposed of; and in ratification of the bargain, which they promised to complete on the return of some sachems then absent, they received a present of eight red blankets, besides some frieze "for their great chief Passachynon."

<sup>1</sup> Alb. Rec. xxi., 418, 431-435; Hol Doc. xii., 369; Whitehead's *East Jersey*, 177-179.

## CHAPTER VI.

Captain John Scott—His previous history—Intrigues in England—Returns to America—Is commissioned by Hartford—Invited to the west end of Long Island—Elected President of the English towns—Proceeds against the neighboring Dutch villages—Consequent collisions—Delegates from the Dutch towns meet at Midwout—The Burgomasters and Schepens of New Amsterdam raise funds to fortify the city—Meeting of the English towns at Heemstede—Stuyvesant proceeds thither—Enters into a convention with Scott—A general Representative Assembly held in New Amsterdam—Its deliberations—Efforts in Holland to engage the States General to uphold the rights of the Company—The result—Peace with the Esopus Indians—Scott arrested by order of Hartford—Gov. Winthrop visits Long Island—Manifests the greatest hostility to the Dutch—Abets the designs of the Duke of York.

PROMINENT among the agitators whom the difficulties on Long Island brought out, was Captain JOHN SCOTT, a man of much boldness, but not of much principle. Originally an officer in the army of Charles the First, in whose cause his father lost both fortune and life,<sup>1</sup> he was detected in the act of cutting the girths of some of the Parliament's horses at Turnham Green, for which he was seized, brought before the Committee of State, mulcted in the sum of five hundred pounds, and banished to New England, in charge of one Downing, by whom "he was most perfidiously dealt." He thence passed over to Long Island, nearly one-third of which, according to his own statement, he subsequently purchased. His sufferings in the royal cause did not prevent him, however, co-operating with the Cromwellians in the difficulties of 1654, in the spring of which year he was arrested by Van Tienhoven, and arraigned with others before the Council at Fort Amsterdam.<sup>2</sup> With these varied claims he sailed, in 1660, on receiving news of the Restoration, in the Oak Tree, from the Manhattans;

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<sup>1</sup> Col. Scott fell at Alford, Hampshire, according to Lloyd's Memoirs of the Sufferers under Charles I., London, 1698. It is stated that he advanced £14,300 to the King.

<sup>2</sup> New Amst. Rec., 16th March, 1654.

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went to England and petitioned the King to be invested with the government of Long Island, or that the people thereof be allowed to choose yearly a governor and assistants. Satisfied of the petitioner's loyalty and great sufferings, as well as of his ability to serve his Majesty, and inclined to encourage him in his desires, the King referred Scott's request to the Committee of Foreign Plantations, with instructions to inquire if there were any other claims to the island in virtue of former grants, so that his Majesty might know what was proper to be done to gratify his petitioner. Scott took this occasion to complain of the "intrusions" of the Dutch at the Mannhattans, Long Island, and on the main land of New England, by whose practices the intentions of the Navigation Act were in great part prostrated, and many frauds committed on the customs.<sup>1</sup> The council thereupon ordered him, with Messrs. Maverick and Baxter, to lay before them a report as to his Majesty's title to the premises; the intrusions of the Dutch; their deportment; management of the country; strength, trade and government; and lastly, of the means necessary to induce, or force, them to acknowledge the King, or if necessary, to expel them altogether from the country.<sup>2</sup> Having done thus much to hasten the downfall of New Netherland, Scott returned to America with a royal letter recommending his interests to the protection of the New England Governors, bringing also instructions from the King directing the observance of the navigation laws. He was immediately commissioned by Connecticut, conjointly with Talcott, Young and Woodall, to incorporate Long Island with that colony.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Alb. Rec. xviii., 168; Hutchinson's Coll. 380, 381. The farmers of the customs estimated the loss to the revenue by the trade between the Dutch and English in the colonies, at £10,000. Lond. Doc. i., 130.

<sup>2</sup> Lond. Doc. i., 128, 129. Hazard's State Papers, ii., 498.

<sup>3</sup> New Haven declared that he had been in England a good friend to that colony and to some of its principal persons; voted him a remuneration for his services, and went so far as to endeavor to engage him to obtain for them a patent for the lands they claimed on the Delaware. New Haven Rec. He promised to improve his best skill and industry to bring all the plantations upon Long Island under the Connecticut gov't, especially the western end,

Meanwhile, Stuyvesant having accepted the ultimatum of Hartford, the English on the west end of Long Island found themselves in a peculiar position, belonging neither to one colony nor the other, and in a measure defenceless in the midst of Indians. Considerable discontent and division consequently broke out. Those who were in favor of annexation, complained that they received nothing from Connecticut, "who sounded the trumpet" in their ears, but "if-so-bees and doubtings," whilst those who inclined to the principles of the Baptists, Quakers or Mennonists, dreaded falling into the hands of the Puritans. In this dilemma, the discontented sent an invitation to Scott, then resident at Ashford, now Brookhaven, requesting him to come and arrange their difficulties.<sup>1</sup> On his arrival among them, the people enquired what disposition had been made of the island. They were told his Majesty had granted it to the Duke of York, who before long would manifest his intentions regarding them. The towns of Heemstede, Newwarke, Crafford, Hastings, Folestone and Gravesend, thereupon entered into an agreement or "Combination," as they termed it, to manage their own affairs irrespective of Connecticut, and resolved to elect deputies in each town to draw up laws for their government, choose magistrates, and "did, further, fully impower

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Dec. 23.

1664.

Jan. 4.

which was under the Dutch; upon which the Council appointed him to be a commissioner within the town of Ashford, and he was invested with magisterial power throughout the Island, and accordingly took an oath (being administered to him by the Governor,) to the faithful discharge of his place according as he was commissioned. In order to effecting what he had promised, he was commissioned with several other gentlemen to go to Long Island to settle the government there. Towns and Lands in Secretary of State's Office, Hartford, i., 30.

<sup>1</sup> Dec. 13, 1663. Dear Sir: In the behalfe of sum hundreds of English heer planted on the west end of Long Island wee address ourselves unto you; the business is that wee ware put uppon proclaiming the King by Capt. John Youngs who came with a trumpet to Heemstede and sounded in our eares that Conecticot would do great things for us, which hath put us to greate trouble, and extramely divided us. We beseech you, noble sir, come and settle vs; we beseech you think of our condition. The Dutch treaten vs; our neighbors abuse vs; and nothing from Conecticot but if so bees and doubtings, and yet at first they sayed wee ware part of thaire patent, and this is our case which we intreate you to consider in hope of which wee subscribe ourselves yours ever to be commanded, &c Addressed—"For the worthy Capt. John Scott at Ashford these presents." Towns and Lands, i., 21.

BOOK VI. the said Captain John Scott to act as their PRESIDENT,  
 1664. until his Royal Highness the Duke of York or his Majesty  
 should establish a government among them." "Our dreade  
 sovereign, Charles the Second, was then proclaimed by  
 the said Captain," who forthwith set out at the head of  
 a hundred and fifty followers, horse and foot, to reduce  
 Jan. 11. the neighboring Dutch towns.<sup>1</sup> The first halt was made  
 at Breukelen. Here Scott addressed the settlers, told  
 them the soil they occupied was the King's, and ab-  
 solved them from further allegiance to the Dutch govern-  
 ment.

His appeal was met by an invitation from Secretary Van Ruyven to visit the Director-general. Scott declined accepting the invitation. "Let Stuyvesant come here with a hundred men; I shall wait for him and run a sword through his body." Turning next to a lad, a son of Burgomaster Krygier, he ordered him to doff his hat to the King's flag. The boy refused; Scott struck him; a Dutch bystander remarked that he ought to strike men, not boys. Four of Scott's followers thereupon set on the man, who at first defended himself with an axe, but was eventually obliged to fly. The English called for his surrender, and threatened to fire the village if he were not given up. Proceeding next to Midwout, they caused the British ensign to be hoisted in front of the sheriff's house. Scott, uncovering his head, then addressed the people in English at considerable length.<sup>1</sup> The land they occupied belonged to his Majesty King Charles, the right and lawful lord of all America, from Virginia to Boston, under whom they would enjoy more freedom than they ever before possessed. Henceforward they should pay no more tenths, nor obey Peter Stuyvesant. He was no longer their governor, and they were not to acknowledge his authority. If they refused to submit, they knew what to expect. The Dutch, however, refused to acknowledge the King, and asked Scott for his com-

<sup>1</sup> Towns and Lands, i., 25.

<sup>2</sup> "He jabbered away in English like a mountebank"—als ofte hy een quackselver hadde geweest.

mission. They told him these were matters which he ought to settle with their Director-general; but he replied, he was a General no longer, and as for his commission he should return in April, and then produce it. He would go with a hundred men to the Manhattans, and proclaim his Majesty under the very walls of the fort. On the next day, Amersfoort and New Utrecht witnessed a repetition of these disorders. At the latter, Scott took possession of the block-house, in the King's name, caused his men to remove the cannon from the port-hole it occupied, to another which he called "the King's port," and fired a salute in commemoration of the event. Those who refused to uncover their heads before the flag, were here also assaulted and beaten; considerable confusion ensued, and mutual dislikes were engendered.<sup>1</sup>

The authorities at Fort Amsterdam, on learning these transactions, sent Van Ruyven, Burgomasters Van Cortland and Krygier, and one or two other gentlemen, to Long Island, with a view to enter into some arrangement with Scott for the termination of these disorders. The parties met at Gemeco, where, after considerable discussion, the basis of an arrangement, to be submitted to the Director-general, was agreed to, and on taking leave, Scott informed the Dutch deputies that the King of England had granted the island to his brother, who, being informed that it would yield him a yearly revenue of thirty thousand pounds sterling, was determined, if not surrendered peaceably, to possess himself not only of it, but of the whole province. With these consoling tidings Van Ruyven and his friends returned to New Amsterdam.<sup>2</sup>

The inhabitants of the Dutch towns continued, meanwhile, to suffer from their English neighbors. Threats were held out that their magistrates should be deposed and Englishmen appointed in their stead. Collisions occurred, besides, with the more violent of Scott's rangers, whose prejudices, no doubt, impelled them to acts which, under

<sup>1</sup> Hol. Doc. xii., 308-319, 327; Alb. Rec. xx., 374. Stephanus van Cortlandt to Jeremias van Rensselaer, 20th January, 1664. Renns. MSS.

<sup>2</sup> Hol. Doc. xiii., 83.

BOOK other circumstances, they would not have committed.  
 VI. Several Dutch families were obliged, during these troubles,  
 1664. to abandon their homes more than once. The magistrates  
 Feb. 21. were, at length, constrained to request the Director-general  
 to call a meeting of delegates from the several Dutch  
 settlements on Long Island, for the purpose of sending a  
 deputation to Holland to lay before the Company and the  
 States General a report of their sufferings. This meeting  
 Feb. 27. was held at Midwout, in the course of the following week,  
 and was attended by the sheriff and magistrates of the five  
 Dutch towns,<sup>1</sup> who voted a remonstrance to the Directors,  
 in which were detailed the outrages committed by Scott,  
 of which they were all eye-witnesses.<sup>2</sup>

But the Burgomasters and Schepens of New Amsterdam  
 Feb. 20. took up, in the mean time, the general state of the country  
 and its defenceless condition; addressed a memorial to  
 the authorities, in which they recommended additional  
 fortifications for the city and the enlistment of an increased  
 armed force. The object of the English was, in their  
 opinion, to seize and plunder the city, well knowing it was  
 abundantly stocked with merchandise, and if they had that,  
 the rest of the province would follow. "This capital is  
 adorned with so many noble buildings, at the expense of  
 the good and faithful inhabitants, principally Netherlanders,  
 that it nearly excels any other place in North America.  
 Were it duly fortified, it would instil fear into any envious  
 neighbors, protect both the East and North Rivers, the  
 surrounding villages and bouweries, as well as full ten thou-  
 sand inhabitants, both Dutch and French, who, in the course  
 of a few years, if it pleased God, might become a mighty  
 people in this happily situated province, where thousands  
 of acres of land remain wild and uncultivated, and where

<sup>1</sup> Adriaen Hegeman, Schout; Elbert Elbertsen, Pieter Claessen, Roeloff Martensen, Amersfoort; Willem Bredembent, Albert Cornelisz. Wantenaar, Joris Gysbertsen Bogaert, Breukelen; Tomas Verdonck, Willem Jacobs van Boerum, Hendrik Jorissen, Midwout; Jan Snediker, Jacob Pietersen, B. Vosch, François de Bruyn, Utrecht; Pieter Jansen Witt, Barent Joosten, Boswyck.

<sup>2</sup> Alb. Rec. xxii, 68, 69; Hol. Doc. xi., 253-259; xii., 303-326; Bushwick Records, 35-39.

our Netherlanders would find a safe retreat, should they be visited with foreign or civil war. It would become the granary of Fatherland, for even in these troublesome times more than eight thousand schepels of winter grain have been planted, besides an immense quantity of summer grain, rye, peas, oats, barley, buckwheat, and others yet to be sown. Yea, if permitted to abide in peace, this land will become an emporium to Fatherland, by its growing plantations of tobacco, hemp, flax, and other necessities, more of which may be cultivated with success." To secure these blessings, forts and soldiers were required. "With two hundred men in separate vessels, we could sack and destroy all the English settlements to Cape Cod, as all their villages are open and entirely defenceless." But the treasury was exhausted by the Indian war. To remedy this, the city fathers engaged to devote all the city revenues, and further to raise such funds as were required, if the tavern-keepers' excise, within the city, were appropriated to pay the debt and interest. The Director and Council accepted these propositions; the excise, from May, 1665, was surrendered, on condition that the authorities enlist two hundred men and maintain besides one hundred and sixty soldiers. Thirty thousand guilders, at ten per cent. interest, were immediately subscribed, and sealed letters were deposited in the hands of the Burgomasters surrendering the excise from the above date, to repay the debt.<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
VL  
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1664.

Mar. 6.

As the time approached for the occurrence of Captain Scott's threatened visit, Director Stuyvesant felt all the responsibility of his position. Public opinion was considerably divided as to the policy already pursued towards "the usurper." "Some extolled the forbearance exhibited; others, losing sight of the consequences, denounced this non-resistance and abstinence from hostility as a disgraceful and contemptible cowardice in the nation." Under these circumstances, the Director-general deemed it his duty, before taking any proceedings, to ask his Council and the city fathers, whether they should advise

<sup>1</sup> New Amst. Rec. anno 1664.

BOOK VI.  
 1664. forcible measures, and, if so, on what scale. The authorities admitted that it was insufferable that such a mob should not only revolt but seek to impose rebellion also on peaceable subjects; but they added that the Lords Directors were mainly responsible for all this disorder. Instead of expending the revenues of the country in Holland, they ought to have employed them in the defence of the country, and the protection of its inhabitants. The burghers maintained that they were bound to guard only their city, and that the Company should protect all other places. The question then recurred—what was to be done in regard to the articles drawn up at Gemeco? They left it to the Director to determine whether ratifications should be exchanged, to gain time, or whether the paper should be repudiated and annulled.<sup>1</sup> It was wisest to ratify the agreement. The delegates from the several English towns were to assemble with their “President” at Hempstead in the beginning of March, and thither Director Stuyvesant  
 Mar. 3. proceeded, escorted by a guard of ten soldiers.<sup>2</sup> By the terms of the convention now concluded, all the English towns on the western part of Long Island were to remain unmolested under the King of England for the term of twelve months, and until his Majesty and the States General determined all differences about the said island and places adjacent, during which period they were to have free access to the Mannhattans and the other places possessed by the Dutch; who, on their side, were to have like liberty to visit the English towns for trade or justice, “according to the laws of England.”<sup>3</sup> The Dutch towns and bouweries, “His Majestie’s Royalties excepted,” were to abide, without molestation, during the same time, under the States General. The commissioners on this occasion, on the part of the Dutch, were Burgomaster Van Cortland, and Messrs. Lawrence and Bakker; on the side of the English, Captain Underhill, Daniel Denton and Adam Mott.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> New Amst. Rec.

<sup>2</sup> Hol. Doc. xii., 230.

<sup>3</sup> It appears by an entry in the Town Rec., that Jamaica formally assumed “the laws of England,” on Dec. 1, 1663.

<sup>4</sup> Alb. Rec. xviii., 240; xxii., 138. Letters in Stuyvesant’s time. For the agreement above referred to, see Appendix K.

One after another the Dutch had now abandoned every point their enemies had assailed. The Connecticut river was gone, Westchester was relinquished, and, now, Newtown, Flushing, Gemeco, Heemstede and Gravesend were surrendered. It was at this gloomy conjuncture, when it became evident that the country was held only on sufferance, and authority felt itself utterly powerless, that the principle of popular REPRESENTATION was, for the first time, fully recognized in this province. At the request of the Burgomasters and Schepens, a GENERAL ASSEMBLY of delegates from the several towns was convoked, to take into consideration the state of the province.<sup>1</sup> This important meeting was held in the City Hall of

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1664.

<sup>1</sup> Election holden on the 31st March, 1664, by plurality of votes, for two deputies to be sent from this village, Wiltwyck, to the Manhattans to form a General Assembly, (*eene Laenddagh*.)

Whereas, on the summons of the Director-general and Council of New Netherland addressed to the sheriff and commissaries here, it is required that two deputies be sent from our village, Wiltwyck, to a General Assembly in form of a *Landdach*, the sheriff and commissaries have called us the undersigned inhabitants in Wiltwyck together, on the day underwritten, to elect from the commonalty two proper persons, and to authorize the same as deputies to the said Assembly, which shall be on the 10th April next. We have, therefore, by plurality of votes, chosen the worthy persons Thomas Chambers and Gysbert van Imbroeck, to whom we hereby give full power and authority to conclude whatever may be for the good of the common weal, and the strengthening of this place, and also to do whatsoever shall by them be found wise in the premises, promising to confirm what the said deputies shall have decided in the premises to be best for the public good, under pain of punishment as contraveners; to which end we have subscribed these with our own hands. Done in Wiltwyck, this 31st March, 1664. (Was signed) The mark of Albert Gysbertsen, Tjerk Claessen De Witt, Cornelis Barents Slecht, Evert Pels, Albert Gerritsen, the mark of Juriaen Westphael, the mark of Jan Willemsen Hoochtylingh, Aert Jacobs, the mark of Aertsen Gereetsen van Vliet, the mark of Aert Martensen Doorn, the mark of Pieter Jacobsen, the mark of Matthys Roeloffsen, the mark of Jan Broersen, the mark of Jacob Barents Cool, Hendrik Jacobsen. Agrees with its principal, which was signed MATTHEUS CAPITO, Secretary. Kingston Rec. Tax for the deputies and other expenses for the General Landdach at the Manhattans, April, 1664, fl. 280.12. Each of the above delegates was allowed 112 fl. in beavers by the town, for his expenses. Ibid. "3d April, 1664. On the summons of the Lords Director and Council of New Netherland for a General Assembly dated 19th March, to be held on the 10th of this month of April, their Honors of the Court of this Colonie have thereunto deputed Mr. Jeremias van Rensselaer, Director, and Dirck van Schelluyne, Secretary of said Colonie, to advance the contents of the letters of credence placed in their hands, to the advantage of this Colonie and the country, as they shall find necessary." Resolutie Boek van de Gecommitteerde der Colonie Rensselaerswyck.

BOOK VI. New Amsterdam, and the members then in attendance  
 ~~~~~ were,

1664.

| | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| New Amsterdam. | Breukelen. |
| Cornelis Steenwyck, | Wm. Bredembent, |
| Jacob Bakker. | Albert Corn. Wantenaar. |
| Rensselaerswyck. | Midwout. |
| Jeremias van Rensselaer, | Jan Strycker, |
| Dirck van Schelluyne. | Wm. Guilliams. |
| Fort Orange. | Amersfoort. |
| Jan Verbeck, | Elbert Elbertsen, |
| Gerrit Slechtenhorst. | Coert Stevensen. |
| Wiltwyck. | New Utrecht. |
| Thomas Chambers, | David Jochemsen, |
| Gysbert van Imbroeck. | Cornelis Beekman. |
| New Haerlem. | Boswyck. |
| Daniel Terneur, | Jan van Cleef, |
| Johannis Verveeler. | Gysbert Teunissen. |
| Staten Island. | Bergen. |
| David de Marest, | Engelbert Steenhuysen, |
| Pierre Billou. | Herman Smeeman. |

- April 10. The first question which engaged the attention of this assembly was that of the presidency. New Amsterdam claimed the honor as the capital; Rensselaerswyck as the oldest colonie. The right of the latter was admitted, and the Honorable JEREMIAS VAN RENSSELAER took the chair under protest.¹ The convention then demanded of the government, protection against the Indians and "the malignant English." If it were not able to afford such protection, they wished to be informed to whom they were to address
- April 11. themselves. They were told, that they were not called together to dispute, but to consult on the mode of protecting the country from its enemies, both barbarian and civilized. The Director and Council maintained that they never failed to protect the people as far as their means admitted. Nay, they could prove that they exceeded their powers, in enlisting and maintaining for that purpose

¹ Hon. Jeremias van Rensselaer's letter to his brother Jan Baptist van Rensselaer, dated 25th April, 1664.



Jeremias Van Renselaer

two hundred soldiers, besides a train of artillery. The delegates were now called on for supplies. A force of one hundred and fifty soldiers would require thirty thousand guilders per annum. If this could not be furnished, every third man should take up arms. But this would not be exacted. Every fifth or sixth man would suffice. With these and the present soldiers, the Indian war could be terminated in a year. If these were refused, then the responsibility would not rest on the Director and Council. As regards the English, every one knew what the Director had done. The question, "If the Director and Council could not protect us, where shall we address ourselves?" is too frivolous to be noticed. "The snare and the loop are too palpable." The scenes of 1653 were on the eve of being again renewed, when the delegates wisely explained. They wished only to know whether their application should be addressed to the Company or to the States General. This explanation was satisfactory, and a long communication from the Director-general followed. The inhabitants of New Netherland had, he insisted, never contributed to the support or defence of the province. On the contrary, the West India Company had expended the sum of twelve hundred thousand guilders over and above the customs, excise, revenue of the weigh-scale and tithes. Danger impended now over the country from two points—the Indians and the English. He wished the convention to decide if the war should be continued, or peace made with the former. If war were decided on, should the allies of the Indians also be included? Should the English summon the country to surrender, were they to be resisted? If so, by what force? Was every sixth man to be enrolled? Over two hundred men besides the soldiers were required. He proposed a tax on mills and cattle. Were supplies refused, the military force now under pay would be reduced.

The political system which commercial monopoly had so long been endeavoring to construct, collapsed at the moment when its powers were tested. The convention refused supplies, and adjourned for a week to

CHAP
VI.
1664.

April 12.

April 15.

BOOK VI. consider the propriety of again appealing to the home authorities.¹

1664. Meanwhile, the remonstrance of November, and the accompanying dispatches from the provincial government, satisfied the Chamber at Amsterdam, that Connecticut aimed ultimately at usurping the whole of New Netherland. Uniting, therefore, with the Burgomasters of that

Jan. 21. city, they presented a memorial to the States General, in which they laid before their High Mightinesses a detailed account of the aggressions committed on their territory, and the manner their overtures for a settlement had been treated at Boston and Hartford. Out of respect for the alliance recently entered into with the King of England, they had abstained hitherto from hostilities. If these were now to be resorted to, they demanded such aid as the occasion required. In conformity with Stuyvesant's suggestions, they asked also an act under the great seal, confirming their original charter, together with letters to the several towns on Long Island, requiring these, under the severest penalties, to return to their allegiance. They finally required that the whole of the aggressions of which they complained, be communicated to his Britannic Majesty, that he may command his English subjects to restore on the instant, the places they had seized, and abstain from all further invasions, pending the negotiations for a boundary line.²

Jan. 23. These requests were complied with. An act under the great seal was issued declaring that the West India Company was empowered by its original charter to plant colonies in any unoccupied lands in America, from Newfoundland to the Straits of Magellan, as well on the North as on the South Sea, and more especially in New Netherland; and again confirming the boundaries of the latter province, agreeably to the treaty of 1650. Letters were addressed to Oostdorp, Gravesend, Heemstede, Vlissingen, Middleburgh, Rustdorp, Amersfoort, Midwout, New Utrecht, Breukelen and Boswyck, and the required instructions were given to the ambassadors at

¹ Alb. Rec xxii., 78-90, 105, 106, 145-167, 179-182.

² Holl. Merc. 1665. Ryckdom van Holl. ii., 146; Ebeling, iii, 31.

the British court. In transmitting these papers, the Directors instructed Stuyvesant to continue the Esopus war until the whole of that tribe be exterminated, and sent out an additional military force, to check the English, reduce the revolted villages, and replace the removed magistrates.¹

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When the convention re-assembled, the Director and Council immediately laid the above information before it. All further remonstrance to the West India Company was now considered unnecessary, and the assembly proceeded to deliberate on the measures proper to be adopted towards the Indians and the English towns. It was found useless to attempt to execute the orders of the Directors in regard to the latter. "The English rebels were as six to one; and with aid from Hartford would easily overcome and massacre the few Dutch soldiers that could be brought against them." It would be impossible to subdue them. The province would be thrown at once into their hands, or delivered up a prey to the savages. These were disposed for peace, and the situation of the province rendered it desirable that a treaty be concluded, for it was discovered that the English of Connecticut were tampering with them.² Already the Minquaas, the Mohawks, and the various River tribes had been urging the Dutch to terminate hostilities against the Warynawoncks, and the general feeling throughout the colony approving of the policy, the several sachems³ assembled at the Council chamber in Fort

¹ Alb. Rec. iv., 454, 455, 456, 459, 463, 465; xxii., 182; Hol. Doc. x, 1-21; Aitzema, v., 64, 65; Groot Placaet Boek, ii., 3153. Ebeling, (iii., 31,) referring to the Act of 1664, says that the States General missed their mark, if that was to prove the soundness of the Dutch claim to New Netherland, and the limits thereof; because they went so far in the last section, as to extend its bounds from Cape Cod to fifteen miles south of Cape Henlopen, "whereby they themselves disturbed the agreement of 1650." Now, the treaty of Hartford was in no way "disturbed;" on the contrary, it was again acknowledged and confirmed by the Act of 1664, which went only to say on this point that the West India Company had full power to make such a treaty. See Appendix L. for the paper in question, as well as for the letter from the States General to the several towns above mentioned.

² Alb. Rec. xviii., 238-240; xxii., 119, 180, 227.

³ Sewackenamo, Onaghtin, Powsawagh, chiefs of Esopus; Tsees-sagh-gaw, chief of the Wappingers; Megetsewackes, chief of Kightawanc; Sessegehout, chief of Reweghnome, of Haverstroo; Sawenacoque, chief of Wechquaes-

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Amsterdam, in the presence of the Director-general; the Hon. Nicasius de Sille; Burgomasters Steenwyck and Van der Grist; Capt. Martin Krygier; Lieut. Van Couwenhoven; Schepens Bakker and Loockermans; Thomas Chambers, commissary of Wiltwyck, and Abraham Wilmerdoncx, junior, of the West India Company; Saartje, or Sarah, Kierstede acting as interpreter.¹ The usual preliminaries being disposed of, Sewackenamo, chief of the Warynawoncks, arose, and calling several times in a loud voice on his God—BACHTAMO—prayed unto him for aid to conclude something good with the Dutch, and that the treaty about to be negotiated, in the presence of the sachems now assembled, should be, like the stick he grasped in his hand, firmly united, the one end to the other. All the neighboring chiefs were rejoiced that peace was about to be made with the Dutch, and that the Marespinck savages were included in the treaty. This was all he had to say. He came with his brother sachems to act on behalf of the Esopus Indians, and to conclude a peace as firm and as compact as his arms, which he folded together; and thereupon, presenting his right hand to the Director-general, he added: "What I say is from the fullness of my heart; such is my desire and that of all my people."

May 16. A solemn treaty—the last which Stuyvesant concluded with the Red man—was signed on the following day amid salvoes of artillery. By its terms all that had passed was to be forever forgotten and forgiven. The land already given to the Dutch as an indemnity, and now again "conquered by the sword," the two forts belonging to the Indians included, became the property of the Christians.

queeck; Oratany, chief of Hackingkesacky and Tappaan; Mattheno, chief of Staten Island and Nyack; Siegpekenano, brother of Tapusagh, chief of Marespinck and Reck-he-weck, with twenty other savages of different tribes.

¹ This lady, daughter of the celebrated Annetje Jans, and wife of Surgeon Kierstede, acted on divers occasions as interpreter for the Indians. In return for her services, Oratany, sachem of Hackingkesacky, made her a present of a large neck or tract of land on the west side of the Hudson, somewhere around the Hackingsack River. After her death, Jannetje Loockermans became the wife of Dr. Kierstede, who died about 1710, leaving Ariantie, Hans, Cornelis, Jacobus, and Maria, whose descendants are still numerous and influential in this and the neighboring States.

The savages were not to return thither to plant, nor to visit the village, nor any remote Dutch settlement, with or without arms. But as it was not intended to expel them altogether the country, they were permitted to plant near their new fort, and for this year only by their old castle, as they had already placed some seed in the ground there. But the lands in the neighborhood of these forts, having been conquered, were to belong to the Dutch. To prevent all future collision, no savage should hereafter approach the place where the Christians were ploughing, pasturing, sowing, or engaged in agricultural labor; and the violation of this article was to subject them to arrest. They might sell meat or maize at the Ronduit, in parties of three canoes at a time, only on condition that they sent a flag of truce beforehand to give notice of their approach. For their accommodation, on such occasions, a house was to be built beyond the kill. Should a Dutchman kill an Indian, or an Indian a Christian, no war was to be declared. A complaint was to be lodged against the murderer, who should be hanged in the presence of both the contracting parties. All damages by the killing of cattle were to be paid for, and this treaty ratified annually by the Esopus Indians; on such occasions they were to bring suitable presents, which were to be reciprocated by the Director-general. The Hackingsack and Staten Island sachems were securities for the faithful performance of this contract, and were bound to co-operate against either the Esopus Indians or the Dutch, whichever might violate its terms.

The termination of the war caused universal satisfaction, and in gratitude to Heaven for the event, a general day of thanksgiving was proclaimed throughout the province.¹ May 31.

Resolved Waldron and Claes van Elsland were, in the mean time, dispatched, in conformity to the recommendation of the convention, with their High Mightinesses' letters, and an address from the Director-general and Council to the several towns on Long Island. The English refused to read them; some returned them unopened; others sent

¹ Alb. Rec. xxii., 214-226, 245. Hol. Doc. xii., 234.

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them to the authorities at Hartford, who, unwilling beforehand to admit, now boldly denied, their authenticity. "The letters were fabricated either by the Company in Holland, or by their officers at New Amsterdam." The Dutch had no concern whatever with the country. It belonged to the King, who had granted it to them. In keeping with this conclusion, they now purchased from the Indians all the land between Westchester and the North River, including Spuyten Duyvel creek, which the Dutch had bought fifteen years previously from the natives. They next determined to enforce their right to Long Island, and for this purpose proceeded to send agents thither.

The Court at Hartford, on being made acquainted with Scott's actions, had already, in the month of February, sent their Secretary, Mr. Allyn, to Hempstead to confer with the deputies of the English towns, then assembled at that place. Scott hesitated not to repair thither, and then stated that he resigned the commission which Connecticut had given him, adding that those, in whose presence he stood, were a faction without authority from the people. Allyn returned to Hartford and reported these facts. A proclamation was immediately issued by the Assembly of Connecticut, charging Scott with various high crimes and misdemeanors, and he was shortly afterwards arrested by a company of soldiers and thrown into Hartford jail, from the authorities of which place he experienced much harsh usage.¹ Governor Winthrop came soon after to Long

¹ "We whose names are subscribed being commanded by authority to seize on the body of John Scott, do give unto the Honorable Court, the certaine passages that passed betweene us as we are able to expresse:—*Inprimis*. When that we came within the sight of the howse of John Scott, we saw him draw forth these men which came from New Haven to aid him with some others unto a body; when we came up towards the howse within twenty or thirty rods thereof, John Scott commanded us in his Majestie's name for to stand upon our perill. 2d. John Scott charged us in his Majestie's name to gett off from his land. 3d. John Scott desired to know what our business was. Then it was replied by Nathaniel Seely that he desired a parle; John Scott granted a parle, and we meet each of us with a couple of musketeers. Then Nathaniel Seely told him he was come to arrest him. 4th. John Scott demanded our business. Then Nathaniel Seely read the commission unto him, and when it was read, Seely demanded of him whether he would surrender himself according to commission. 5th. John Scott replied he would sacrifice his heart's blood on the ground before he would yield to him or any of Connecticut jurisdiction; with

Island to induce the people to submit, without any more opposition, to Connecticut. He visited Gravesend, Hempstead, and the other English towns; deposed Scott's magistrates; appointed others whom he swore to be faithful to the King, promising them protection against all their June. enemies. Stuyvesant, accompanied by Van Ruyven and several respectable burghers, went hereupon to the English Governor; reminded him of the rights the Dutch acquired by first discovery, legal purchase and long possession, all which had been solemnly guarantied by the treaty of 1650. All he could adduce was of no avail. The country was the King's; the people his subjects. When priority of title from the Indians was invoked, those from whom the Dutch had purchased were, it was replied, not the right owners, and had no right to sell. But when deeds which the English held from natives happened to be older than those of their opponents, then the title could not be gainsayed. All must be received without contradiction.¹ The truth is,

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that the New Haven men made answer and said, So will we. 6th. John Scott said, Stay awhile and I will fetch you a letter from under Gov. Winthrop's hand, that he did not question much but that it would fully satisfy. So he went into the howse and fetcht it forth and read it before us, bearing date as he said, March 25, 1664. It was concerning the Governor's desiring him to meet him to end some difference in the Narragansett country about a tract of land. John Scott said, If you will return to your body, I will fetch a commission under his Majestie's hand and seale which shall command you all. Whereupon he made a flourish and said he would go down unto the face of the company and read it, and he would see if the proudest of them all darest to lay hands on him; and he said, let them take me if they dare. Then he came down to the head of the company and read the commission which he said had the seale manuall on it, whereupon he renewed his challenge that he would see if the proudest of them all darest to lay hands on him or take him if they dare. Then Nathaniel Seely arrested him in his Majestie's name to go with him according to [law.] It was then demanded of John Scott if he would release those whom he had taken prisoners of the contereys officers; John Scott replied, he would not release them, but charged New Haven men to look to their prisoners which he had commanded them with and to carry them to New Haven. The men that are imprisoned by John Scott, are Mr. Woodhall of Seatockett and the constable thereof, as we were informed, and two other men of the same towne. Captain Scott ownes all above written except the date of the letter, which he says was March 14 or 15, and that he would sacrifice his heart's blood on the ground before he would yield to him or any of Connecticut. March 8th, 1664. Seyt Seely made oath to what is written in this paper in Court. John Allyn, Secretary." Towns and Lands, i., 31.

¹ "According to the proverb:—Sic volo, sic jubeo, stat pro ratione voluntas." Alb. Rec. xviii.. 233.

BOOK VI. the Directors in Holland were mistaken in their reliance
1664. on Winthrop's friendship. He now manifested the greatest hostility to the Dutch, and was the head and front of all the opposition they experienced.¹ He was, no doubt, well advised of the designs of the Duke of York and of his brother the King of England, which were about to develop themselves against this province.

¹ Alb. Rec. xviii., 256-258, 276-289 ; Trumbull's Conn. i., 261

CHAPTER VII.

Causes of the ill-will in England towards the Dutch—The Duke of York's motives—Obtains a grant of New Netherland—Sends an expedition against New Amsterdam—Intelligence received by Stuyvesant, who is thrown off his guard—Repairs to Fort Orange—Arrival of the English fleet under Nicolls—Stuyvesant returns to New Amsterdam—Progress of affairs there—Citizens demand communication of the letter of summons—Difficulties between them and the Director-general—Another letter sent in by the English—Burgomasters demand a copy thereof—Stuyvesant indignantly refuses their request—Is obliged, however, to comply—Citizens abandon the works—Stuyvesant vindicates the Dutch title to the country—Nicolls orders the fleet to take up a position before the fort—Stuyvesant inclined to fire on the ships—Is dissuaded therefrom—Remonstrance of the citizens—Commissioners appointed to negotiate—The surrender—Reduction of Fort Orange and the South River—Conduct of the English at the latter place—Name of the province changed.

THE commercial jealousy against the Dutch, which gave existence to the Navigation Act under Cromwell, experienced no abatement on the restoration of the Stuarts, but the prudence of Clarendon prevented an immediate rupture, and under his auspices a treaty of peace and alliance was concluded between Holland and England, at Westminster, on the 4th September, 1662. Friendly relations might, possibly, have continued, had not private interest and private pique combined with the malign influence of powerful individuals, to counteract such a result. To Sir George Downing and James, Duke of York, belong all the reproach of having effected that object. The former was envoy at the Hague; keen, bold, subtle, active and observant, but imperious and unscrupulous, naturally preferring menace to persuasion, reckless of the means employed or the risk incurred in the pursuit of a proposed object, disliking and distrusting the Dutch, and forearmed with a fierce determination not to be foiled or overreached. He had been resident at the Hague under Cromwell and his son, and foreseeing the certainty of the King's restoration, had offered his services to Charles before that event

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BOOK VI. took place, and now pursued the regicides who had been
 1664. excepted from the royal clemency, with all the rancor of
 an apostate. The whole bent of this man's mind was
 constantly to hold up before the eyes of his countrymen
 the growing power of Holland and her commercial
 companies, their immense wealth and ambition, and the
 danger to England of permitting these to progress onward
 unchecked.¹

The Duke of York had various motives to actuate his
 conduct and policy. He disliked the Dutch as strongly
 as Downing, and he had private interests to subserve.
 He had been libelled in Holland, but though reparation
 had been obtained, the libellers were not punished as
 promptly as he desired. His dispositions were warlike,
 and he was weary of having nothing to do. He was
 likewise pecuniarily interested. He was Governor of the
 Royal African Company. The Dutch were competitors
 with the latter, in the trade of the Gold Coast, and had,
 by a series of operations, monopolized almost the whole
 of the commerce of that region. James became the
 mouth-piece of the Company in placing their complaints
 before Parliament, putting forth claims which even Down-
 ing considered doubtful. To enforce these, he had re-
 course, in times of profound peace, to the hazardous
 expedient of dispatching a fleet which committed aggres-
 sions against the Dutch on the African coast, "without,"
 as Lord Clarendon emphatically expresses it, "any shadow
 of justice."²

It was to such a man, of such principles, and with such
 Mar. 22. strong motives to wrong-doing, that Charles II. gave a
 grant of the whole of Long Island, and of all the adjoining
 country at the time in possession of the Dutch. Avarice
 on the one hand, and hate on the other, impelled him to
 adopt early measures for the conquest of the district in

¹ "J'eusse cru (says Count d'Estrades) qu'après avoir été tiré par Cromwell
 de maître d'école, et choisi par lui pour déchirer la maison royale en Hollande,
 le Roi d'Angleterre l'aurait plutôt placé sur une potence que dans ses conseils."
 Lettres et Memoires du Comte d'Estrades, ii., 364.

² Lister's Life of Lord Clarendon, (Lond. 8vo. 1838,) ii., 258, 328.

question; and with this design he borrowed four men-of-war of the King, on board of which were embarked a force of four hundred and fifty men, the major part troops of the line, under the command of Col. Richard Nicolls, an old officer, and one of the grooms of his bedchamber, whom the Duke had appointed his Deputy Governor. Conjoined to this expedition were Sir Robert Carr, Sir Geo. Cartwright, and Samuel Maverick, Esq., who, with Nicolls, were to act as commissioners to take possession of the country, settle boundaries, &c. Further to ensure success, letters under the sign manual were addressed to the several Governors of New England, enjoining them to unite with and assist the commissioners in recovering the country, and reducing its inhabitants under his Majesty's obedience.¹

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April 12.

May 3.

The first intimation the government of New Netherland received of these designs, was from Boston. A young man, named Lord, brought intelligence that a fleet was daily expected from Portsmouth to compel the surrender of New Amsterdam, and Capt. Thos. Willett communicated this information to Stuyvesant. The Burgomasters and President of the board of Schepens were summoned, and in conjunction with these, it was decided to fortify the city. Some vessels, then on the point of sailing with supplies for Curaçoa were countermanded; agents were sent to New Haven to purchase provisions; spies to Westchester and Milford, to look out for the enemy, as his approach was expected from the Sound; a requisition was made on Rensselaerswyck, for a loan of five or six thousand guilders, and on New Amstel for a supply of powder. At this critical conjuncture, when every hour was more precious than gold, and the safety of the country depended on the most untiring energy, all vigilance was put to sleep by a dispatch from the Chamber at Amsterdam, stating that no apprehension of any public enemy or danger from England need be entertained. The King was only desirous to reduce the

¹ Book of Patents, i., 109-121; Hol. Doc. x., 149. Hazard's State Papers, ii, 636, 639, 640.

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 1664. colonies to uniformity in church and state, and with this view was dispatching some commissioners, with two or three frigates, to New England, to introduce Episcopacy in that quarter. It was the opinion of the Directors that such policy would only benefit and strengthen Dutch interests in America. Willett, fearing now that he had compromised himself by his communications, thought proper to contradict the statement he had already made, and alleged that commissioners were appointed in England to settle the limits, that the troops were disembarked, and the frigates discharged, and that all danger had passed away. Suspicion was thus dispelled; a most fatal sense of security pervaded the public mind. "Neither the Director nor Council, nor any other individual, anticipated any difficulty." The provisions were exported to Aug. 6. Curaçoa, and Stuyvesant most imprudently proceeded to Fort Orange.<sup>1</sup>

The truce entered into between the Mohawks and Onakouques (or Abenakis) in 1662, had not been followed by any permanent good, and their wars continued to disturb the country, dragging the Soquatuck Indians on the upper waters of the Connecticut, in what is now the State of New Hampshire, into hostilities, also, against the Mohawks. In the hope of terminating this mischievous May 19. quarrel, the authorities at Fort Orange dispatched Jacob Loockermans and Jan Davits, with some Mohawks and Mohegans, to the head of the Connecticut, to re-establish friendly relations among the contending parties. After a tedious journey over the precipitous and snow-clad Winter-May 22. berg, or Green Mountains, they arrived at an English settlement called Narrington, where they met delegates May 24. from the north, with whom they succeeded in concluding

<sup>1</sup> Alb. Rec. xx., 377; xxii., 271-273, 276; Hol. Doc. xi., 219, 221, 236-239; xii., 92-96; 117-119; New Amst. Rec. "Les Lettres de l'ambassadeur van Goch de ce même date assurent que le Roi d'Angleterre persiste toujours dans les premières protestations qu'il a faites, de ne vouloir en rien blesser l'alliance qu'il a avec MM. les Etats. . . . De peur de l'interrompre, MM. les Etats ont refusé à la Compagnie des Indes Occidentales trois navires de guerre qu'elle leur a demandé pour aller à la rencontre de ses vaisseaux." Comte d'Estrades, ii., 459, 460.

a treaty,<sup>1</sup> to ratify which, Saheda, principal Sachem of the Mohawks, proceeded with some of his people in the course of the following month, with presents to the northern tribes. Whilst engaged in this mission of peace, the Mohawk ambassadors were treacherously set upon by some Abenakis, instigated thereto, it is alleged, by the English, and perfidiously murdered.<sup>2</sup> The Mohegans, who were privy to this perfidy, now overran the country east of the Hudson, killed a number of cattle at Greenbush, and then fired a house at Claverack, belonging to Abraham Staets, in which they burnt his wife and two servants.<sup>3</sup> Proceeding, next, in a body one hundred strong, against the Mohawks, they gave these battle, but the latter being more numerous, routed their assailants. The Mohawks, elated by success, pursued the foe, with whom they renewed the fight next morning at break of day; but fortune was again fickle. The Mohegans repelled the enemy with great loss.<sup>4</sup> The colonists around Fort Orange, seeing the flames of war thus suddenly raging in their midst, and full of alarm for their lives and property, sent, hot haste, to request the presence and advice of the Director-general, who, with the consent of his Council, proceeded thither, to put an end to all this excitement and misunderstanding.

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June 21.

July 7.

July 11.

<sup>1</sup> Alb. Rec. vi., 394, 395, 404, 423-427. Journal kept by Jan Davits and Jacob Loockermans of their Journey to the North, to effect a Peace between the Maquaas and the Mohegans, and the Northern Indians.

<sup>2</sup> "Brothers! we will conceal nothing from you, as ye lived among us a very long time, and had your wives and children among us, and ye understand our language perfectly well. The English did say, and commanded the savages to fight and kill the Maquaas and the Dutch; and the English threatened them—if ye do it not, then we shall kill you. They further did say that forty vessels are coming from Europe to wage war, and demand the surrender of the country, and if we decline the surrender, they will kill us to the last man, and then the English shall fight against the Dutch, as now the Southern savages ought to do against the Maquaas. They say further that when the ambassadors of the Maquaas came with their presents to the Fort Paconthetuck, to confirm the peace, several Englishmen were in the fort who endeavored to persuade the Indians to kill the Maquaas, as they now are killed. They say further that it was said to kill the Dutch, too, which may be a warning." Speech of certain Indian chiefs to the authorities at Fort Orange, 12th July, 1664. Alb. Rec. vi., 429.

<sup>3</sup> Jeremias van Rensselaer's letter to his brother, in Rensselaerswyck MSS. Hol. Doc. xi., 238; Alb. Rec. vi., 431.

<sup>4</sup> Relation, 1663, 1664, 162, 163.

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 1664. The English fleet, consisting of the *Guinea* of thirty-six guns, commanded by Capt. Hugh Hyde; the *Elias*, thirty guns, Capt. Wm. Hill; the *Martin*, sixteen or eighteen, Capt. Edward Groves; and the *William and Nicholas*, ten guns, had, in the meanwhile, been some time at sea, but July 30. separating in a fog, the flag ship arrived at Boston, whilst the others were obliged to put into *Piscataway*. The commissioners soon after called on *Massachusetts* and *Connecticut* for aid. The latter willingly assisted, but those of the Bay were not well disposed towards the *Stuarts*, and therefore not over anxious to second operations which could, at best, only throw additional embarrassments in the way of that unshackled commerce they had hitherto enjoyed.

Aug. 25. The news of the enemy's approach had, by this time, reached *New Amsterdam*. An express was immediately dispatched for the Director-general, who, having lost three most precious weeks, returned to the *Manhattans* only twenty-four hours before the *Guinea*, and three days before the remainder of the English fleet cast anchor in *Nyack bay*.<sup>1</sup> Every third man was now ordered to repair, either in person or by substitute, "with spade, shovel, or wheel-barrow," to work at the city defences. A guard was placed at the city gates, and the brewers were forbidden to malt any more grain. A requisition for eight completely mounted guns was made on the Director and Council, so that the number of pieces on the works might be increased to twenty-two; and every disposition was manifested to meet the enemy in a becoming manner.<sup>2</sup> The latter, in the meanwhile, established a strict blockade at the mouth of the river; cut off all communication between *Long Island*, *Bergen*, *Achter Cul*, and the *Manhattans*; took possession of the block-house on *Staten*

<sup>1</sup> Hol. Doc. xii., 98. "In de bocht van Nyack." N. A. Rec. Trumbull, Hist. Conn. i, 267, says, "The tradition is, that Stuyvesant on learning the designed attack of the English in 1664, came to Hartford to negotiate a new treaty with Connecticut, and that he was there when the news came of the arrival of the fleet at Boston. The story has been that he made his departure in the night, and returned with the utmost expedition." This is a mistake.

<sup>2</sup> New Amst. Rec

Island,<sup>1</sup> and captured a couple of yachts and a lot of cattle and negroes which Peter Alrichs was conveying across the river to New Amstel. The farmers were, at the same time, forbidden to furnish any supplies to the Dutch garrison, on pain of having their houses fired; and proclamations were scattered abroad throughout the surrounding villages, promising all who quietly submitted to his Britannic Majesty the safe and undisturbed possession of their property, threatening those who should otherwise demean themselves with all the miseries of war.<sup>2</sup>

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Aug. 30.

From the moment Nicolls cast anchor before New Amsterdam, that city might be said to have been virtually surrendered. Stuyvesant's demand on Rensselaerswyck for aid was answered by the excuse that they were in hourly danger from the savages, and could not spare a man. The Dutch boors on Long Island had their wives and property to protect, and they, also, refused all succor. In the trying hour which was now approaching, Stuyvesant had only ninety or one hundred soldiers and the loyalty of the citizens to depend on. Having ordered the soldiers in from the Esopus and other outposts,<sup>3</sup> he sent down to enquire of the English commanders the reason of their arrival and continuance in the harbor without proper explanations. The reply was, a formal summons

Aug. 29.

<sup>1</sup> "Staten Island is two good (Dutch) miles from the fort, (Amsterdam.) It was settled on the south side, behind the hill, out of sight of the fort, by ten or twelve men capable of bearing arms, who, for their protection against a sudden attack of the savages, erected about a year ago in the midst of their houses, which were slightly built of straw and clapboards, a small and light wooden block-house, about eighteen or twenty feet square, and were loaned by Cornelis Steenwyck a small piece carrying a one pound ball, and by the Director and Council a small stone gun, and had for a garrison six old soldiers unfit to pursue the Indians. The aforesaid block-house and hamlet lay in sight of Nyack, where the frigates rode at anchor, not a (Dutch) mile distant, unable to be supported or to send a shot thither, unless backed by a naval force." Hol. Doc. xii., 141. The distance between Staten Island and New York is precisely 5.35 English miles; and between Staten and Long Islands, 3,700 yards.

<sup>2</sup> Alb. Rec. xx., 307, 385; Hol. Doc. xi., 242-244; xii., 99, 100, 102, 103, 121, 143, 144, 153; xiii., 24, 50.

<sup>3</sup> "Wiltwyck, 1st September, 1664. By the court in Wiltwyck it is resolved that the burghers and inhabitants shall again form a watch, because the soldiers of the Director-general and Council are ordered away in consequence of the approach of the English." Kingston Rec.

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 Aug. 30.

to surrender the country to the King of Great Britain, accompanied by a copy of the proclamation already distributed.¹ The Schout, Burgomasters and Schepens, the officers of the Burgher Guard, and several of the citizens assembled at the City Hall to learn how matters stood. Non-resistance was at once openly avowed. The city was to be brought into a state of defence, to prevent a surprise, so that when the enemy observed the vigilance of the citizens, "we might obtain good terms and conditions." It was further resolved to demand of the Director-general an authentic copy of the communication he had received from the commander of the English fleet. The

Sep. 1. meeting to receive the reply to this demand was held on the following Monday, when the Burgomasters stated that a copy of the paper had been refused them, and then explained the terms of the summons. This reply did not satisfy the citizens. They insisted on being furnished with a certified copy of the letter. The Director-general, thereupon, proceeded to the meeting in person, and endeavored to convince those present of the impropriety of their demands. "Such a course would be disapproved of in Fatherland; it would discourage the people, and he should be held responsible for the surrender." But all was in vain, and Stuyvesant found himself under the necessity of

¹ "By his Majesty's command. Forasmuch as his Majesty hath sent us by commission under his great seal, amongst other things to expell or to reduce under his Majesty's obedience all such foriners as have, without his Majesty's leave or consent, seated themselves amongst any of his dominions in America to the prejudice of his Majesty's subjects and the diminution of his royal dignity: We his Majesty's commissioners, declare and promise, that whosoever, of what nation soever, will, upon knowledge of this proclamation, acknowledge and testify themselves to submit to this his Majesty's government, as his good subjects ought to do, shall be protected by his Majesty's laws and justice, and peaceably enjoye whatever God's blessing and their own honest industry hath furnished them, with all other privileges with his Majesty's English subjects. We have caused this to be published, that we may prevent all inconveniences to others, if it were possible; however, to clear ourselves from the charge of all those miseries that any way may befall such as live here and will not acknowledge his Majesty for their sovereign, whom God preserve. In his Majesty's frigate the Guinea, August 20, 1664. Richard Nicolls, George Cartwright, Samuel Maverick. It is desired that as many of the inhabitants of Oyster Bay as conveniently can, would meet the commissioners at Gravesend on Thursday next, the 23d August, where [those] of the Island are summoned to be. George Cartwright." Oyster Bay Rec. Lib. A. 19.

complying with the popular will, protesting, however, that he should not be held "answerable for the calamitous consequences."¹

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Two commissioners from the New England colonies had joined the fleet, and now, in the hope of making a favorable impression on the minds of the citizens, visited New Amsterdam under a flag of truce. They came, they said, to offer very favorable conditions, in the King's name, to all the inhabitants. Should these be refused, they must be held guiltless of any cruelties which might follow. Thereupon Governor Winthrop placed a sealed letter in the Director-general's hands, and the commissioners took their leave. On his return to the fort, Stuyvesant opened this communication in the presence of the Council and the Burgomasters.² The latter demanded permission to communicate this paper to the other city magistrates; but as it was considered "rather disadvantageous than favorable to communicate such letters to the inhabitants," the Director-general refused the request. The Burgomasters declared, on the other hand, that "all which regarded the public welfare ought to be made public." The Director remonstrated, and endeavored to explain the pernicious effects of such a course. The Burgomasters would not be convinced, and Stuyvesant in a fit of indignation "tore the letter in pieces." The city fathers thereupon protested against "the consequences of dilacerating that paper," and took their departure in high dudgeon.

The citizens now collected in numbers around the City Hall. "Suddenly the work of setting palisades on the land side of the city ceased," and three of the principal burghers presented themselves before the Council and

¹ Alb. Rec. xviii., 312-315.

² "MR. WINTHROP: As to those particulars you spoke to me, I do assure you that if the Manhadoes be delivered up to his Majesty, I shall not hinder, but any people from the Netherlands may freely come and plant there, or thereabouts; and such vessels of their owne country may freely come thither, and any of them may as freely retorne home, in vessels of their owne country, and this, and much more is contained in the privilege of his Majesty's English subjects; and thus much you may, by what means you please, assure the Governor from, Sir, your very affectionate servant,

RICHARD NICOLLS."

August 22d, 1664, O. S.

Book of General Entries, i., 12.

BOOK VI. demanded a copy of the letter, "not without a sinister and
 1664. covert hint at something worse happening." They were deaf to all reason, and dissatisfied with the plea that the paper was destroyed. Stuyvesant, seeing the critical state of affairs, hastened in person to the City Hall "to animate the burghers to return to and continue the public work." "It would only create disgust to repeat what was said—the disrespectful language on all sides—the complaints and curses uttered against the Company for having disregarded the people's representations, neglected to furnish any succor, and induced the colonists to expose themselves to slaughter by settling in a country to which they never possessed any right or title. All this had to be listened to in patience." A general cry was now raised for "the letter!" It was impossible to defend the place; "to offer resistance against so many would be as idle as to gape before an oven." Fearful of a mutiny, Stuyvesant retired and reported to the Council what he had witnessed. To prevent all further difficulties, the pieces of the torn letter were collected and a copy of the communication made out, and delivered to the Burgomasters.¹

Though the power the Director-general exercised for seventeen years had now evidently passed away, and the truncheon he had so long wielded was shivered, he still considered it his duty to vindicate the right of his superiors to the country. In answer to the summons of Nicolls he, therefore, returned a lengthy manifesto, in which he traced the history of the country from its first settlement to the present time, deducing the Dutch title from the three great principles of discovery, colonization and possession. He repudiated, in direct terms, the pretence now put forth in the name of his Britannic Majesty to "an indisputable right to all the lands in the north parts of America," and added that he was confident that had his Majesty been well informed in the premises, he had too much judgment

¹ Alb. Rec. xxii., 314-317; Hol. Doc. xii., 147-163. Dunlap (Hist. N. Y. i., 116,) represents Stuyvesant as tearing "the summons." But in this he is incorrect.

to authorize the present hostile demonstrations, "it being a considerable thing to affront so mighty a state" as the Republic of the United Provinces. In case, however, "you will act by force of arms, we protest and declare, before God and men, (he concluded,) in the name of our said Lords the States General, that you will act an unjust violence, and a breach of the articles of peace so solemnly sworn, agreed upon, and ratified by his Majesty of England and my Lords the States General, the rather inasmuch as to prevent bloodshed we treated, in the month of February last, with Captain John Scott, (who reported that he had a commission from his Majesty,) touching the limits of Long Island, and came to a conclusion thereupon for the space of a year. . . . Again, for the hindrance and prevention of all difference and the spilling of innocent blood—not only here, but in Europe—we offer unto you a treaty by our deputies. . . . As regards your threats we have nothing to answer, only that we fear nothing but what God (who is as just as merciful) shall lay upon us; all things being at His gracious disposal, and we may as well be preserved by Him with small forces as by a great army."¹

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Nicolls now perceiving that the Dutch Governor was averse to the surrender, ordered two of his ships to disembark the troops below Breukelen, where a company of cavalry and a party of volunteers had already taken up a position. Hyde, the commander of the squadron, was directed, at the same time, to lay the other two frigates broadside before the city.² Stuyvesant was standing on one of the points of the fort, when he perceived the frigates approaching. It was the critical moment on which hung the fate of the city and the lives of its inhabitants. The gunner stood by with burning match, prepared, on being commanded, to fire on the foe, and the

¹ Alb. Rec. xxii., 317, et seq.; Book of General Entries, i., 15-20; from which Smith copies, i., 20-26.

² Rev. Dominie Drisius' letter; letter of the Schout, Burgomasters, and Schepens to the West India Company, Chamber at Amsterdam, dated 16th September, 1664; N. Y. Rec.

BOOK VI. Director seemed inclined to give the necessary orders.

1664. The Reverend Messrs. Megapolensis interfered at this important conjuncture, and besought the Director not to be the first to shed human blood, but to permit the enemy to begin hostilities. Stuyvesant thereupon left Councillor De Silles, with fifty men, in charge of the fort, whilst he himself repaired to the city with a hundred others, to resist, and if possible, to repel the English, in case they attempted a landing.¹ Though resolute to defend his post, he still hoped that some accommodation could be agreed

Sep. 4. upon. With this expectation, he wrote again to Nicolls declaring that he felt obliged, in obedience to orders, to stand the storm, though he doubted not a great deal of blood would be shed on the occurrence of the assault. To prevent this, he now sent Councillor De Decker, Secretary Van Ruyven, Burgomaster Steenwyck, and Schepen Cousseau to find, if possible, some means to come to an understanding.² Nicolls would only execute his mission; to accomplish that he hoped to have further conversation with them on the morrow at the Mannhattans. "Friends," he was told, "would be welcome, if they came in a friendly manner." He should approach, he said, with ships and soldiers, and that would be a bold messenger indeed, who should dare to come on board, when his ships

¹ Evert Willemsen Munnik declares that when the aforesaid frigates passed the fort, Director-general Stuyvesant acted as if he would have ordered the constable to fire on them. But the ministers Megapolensis, father and son, led him aside and persuaded him to depart. Hol. Doc. xii., 25, 145; xiii., 54, 55, 94. The Directors in Holland subsequently censured Stuyvesant severely for his conduct on this occasion. "It is an act which can never be justified, that a Director-general shall stand looking between the gabions whilst two hostile frigates pass the fort and the mouths of twenty pieces of cannon, among which were several demi-cartoons, and give no order to prevent it; but, on the contrary, lending an ear to preachers and other chicken-hearted persons, demeaning himself as if he were willing to fire, yet notwithstanding, allow himself to be led in from the bulwark between the preachers; and when the frigates had sailed past, became so troubled that he must then first go out to prevent their landing. The excuse that it was resolved not to begin hostilities is very poor, for the English had committed every hostile act."

² Book of General Entries, i., 13, 14; Smith, i., 27. English writers designate Cousseau as former "sheriff;" this is an error. He was one of the former Schepens or Aldermen.

were near the fort, to demand an answer or solicit terms. What then is to be done? was asked. "Hoist the white flag of peace at the fort, and then something may be considered." CHAP.
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The greatest consternation prevailed throughout the city, when this answer became known. Many of the inhabitants, with their wives and children, implored the Director, with tears, to submit. But Stuyvesant was obdurate. "He had rather be carried a corpse to his grave."² The civic authorities, the clergy, and the commanders of the Burgher Corps now assembled at the City Hall, to hear the report of the commissioners. All further resistance was considered not only useless but rash, and, on motion of the Reverend Joannes Megapolensis, it was resolved to present the following

REMONSTRANCE TO THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL AND COUNCIL.

"RIGHT HONORABLE! We, your sorrowful commonalty Sep. 5. and subjects, beg to represent, with all humility, that, having, beforehand, for their own vindication before God and man, in these sad and difficult circumstances, maturely considered and deliberately weighed what was necessary to be done and concluded at this critical and urgent conjuncture, they cannot conscientiously foresee, for this fort and city of Manhattans, (as your Honors must be convinced,) aught else than misery, sorrow, conflagration, the dishonor of women, murder of children in their cradles, and, in a word, the absolute ruin and destruction of about fifteen hundred innocent souls, only two hundred and fifty of whom are capable of bearing arms.

"Your Honors are in the first place better aware than we, that four of the English King's frigates are now lying in the road at Nyack with six hundred soldiers, not only ordered hither by his Majesty, but having also commissions to all the Governors of New England, (a

¹ Alb. Rec. xviii., 320.

² Doch de Requirant (Stuyvesant) het selve tot het laeste toe hadde geweygert, seggende dat hy veel liever daeruyt gedragen wilde werden. Hol. Doc. xii., 279.

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populous and thickly inhabited country,) to impress troops, in addition to the forces already on board, for the purpose of reducing New Netherland to his Majesty's obedience. In compliance with that commission, the English General hath sent divers letters to your Honors, summoning this city and Fort Manhattans, promising, in case we should voluntarily submit, that we shall not experience the least loss or damage, but on the contrary, should we prove obstinate and headstrong, we must expect all the aforesaid miseries and misfortunes.

"These threats would not have been at all regarded, could your Honors, or we your petitioners, expect the smallest aid or succor. But (God help us!) whether we turn us for assistance to the north or to the south, to the east or to the west, 'tis all in vain! On all sides are we encompassed and hemmed in by our enemies. If, on the other hand, we examine our internal strength, alas! it is so feeble and impotent, that, unless we ascribe the circumstance to the mercy of God, we cannot sufficiently express our astonishment that the foe should have granted us so long a reprieve, inasmuch as he could have delivered us a prey and plunder to the soldiery after one summons.

"We shall now examine your Honors' fortress. You know in your own consciences, that it is incapable of making head three days against so powerful an enemy. Granting even that it could hold out and contend against its assailants one, two, three, four, five or six months, (which to our sorrow it cannot,) it is still undeniable that it cannot save the smallest portion of our entire city, our property, and (what is dearer to us) our wives and children from total ruin, for, after considerable bloodshed, even the fort itself could not be preserved. Wherefore, to prevent and arrest all the aforesaid misfortunes, we humbly, and in bitterness of heart, implore your Honors not to reject the conditions of so generous a foe, but to be pleased to meet him in the speediest, best, and most reputable manner. Otherwise (which God forbid!) are we obliged, before God and the world, to protest against, and call down on

your Honors the vengeance of Heaven, for all the innocent blood which shall be shed in consequence of your Honors' obstinacy, inasmuch as the commissioners have to-day informed us, that the aforesaid English General hath stated and threatened that he shall not wait longer than this day.

"We trust your Honors will not question that to God, who seeks not the death of the sinner, belongs obedience rather than to man. We feel certain, therefore, that your Honors will exhibit yourselves, in this pressing exigency and sorrowful season, as men and Christians, and conclude, with God's help, an honorable and reasonable capitulation, which may the Lord our God in his great mercy be pleased to grant us! Amen."¹

¹ Hol. Doc. x., 139-148; xi., 164-274; xii., 57-64, 282-290. The following are the names attached to the above representation:—

| | | |
|--|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| P. L. Van der Grist, B. | Tomas Hal, | Abram Klock, |
| Cornelis Steenwyck, B. | Jochim Beekman, | Isaacq Bedloo, |
| Jacob Bakker, S. | Juriaen Blanck, | Pieter Winster, |
| Isaac Grevenraat, S. | Jan Janss. Preste, | Jan Gerrits van Buyten- |
| Timotheus Gabrie, S. | Johannes de Peyster, | Jonas Bartels, [huysen, |
| Nicolaus de Meyer, S | Oloff Stevensen van Cort- | Meyndert Barents, |
| Pieter Tonneman, Sh. | Lodewyck Pos, [landt, | Luycas Dircks, |
| Balthazar Stuyvesant, | Govert Loockermans, | Cornelis Janssen, |
| Hendrik Kip, | Conraet Ten Eyck, | Tousein Bryel, |
| Abram Wilmerdoncx, | Cornelis Clopper, | Jan Cornelis van Hoorn, |
| Martin Krygier de Jonge, | Anthony de Mill, | Jacob Leyseler, |
| Stephanus van Cortlandt, | Hendrik van de Water, | Claes Janss. Bakker, |
| Cornelius Pluviers, | Gerrit Janssén, | Guilliam D'Honeur, |
| Hendrik Bosch, | Jan Hendricksz , | Isaacq Coustrier, |
| Hend. Janss. van der Vin, | Hendrik Hendricksz., | Isaacq Kip, |
| Jeronimus Ebbingh, | Dionys Isaacqs, | Fredrick Guysbertse, |
| Isaac de Foreest, | Jan Brouwer, | Barent Kowrs, |
| Arent Janss. Moesman, | Arent Isaacqs, | Jan Dircks Meyer, |
| Symon Janss. Romeyn, | Jacob Teunissen, | Jacob Leunens, |
| Willem Raassenburgh, | Allard Konninck, | Jacob van Couwenhoven, |
| Tomas Davits, | Andries Rees, | Jacob Hugens, |
| Reymout Reymouts, | Jan Vinge, | Lambert Huyberts Mol, |
| Balthazar de Haert, | Pieter Stoutenbergh, | Jan Jansz. van St. Obyn, |
| Evert Duyckingh, | Hendrik van Dyck, | Egbert Meynderts, |
| Boele Roeloffs, | Nicolaus de la Plaine, | Paul Richard, |
| N. Varleth, | Cornelis Gerloff, | Daniel ver Veele, |
| Johannes van Brugge | Warnaer Wissells, | Johannes Nevius, |
| Allard Anthony, | Hermen Wissells, | Hans Kierstede, |
| Jacob Kip, | Alexander Hulter, | Ambrosius de Weerhem, |
| Cousseau, | Tomas Lamberts, | Abram Verplanck, |
| Hendrik Obe, | Frerick Arents, | Abel Hardenbroeck. |
| B. Burgomaster; S. Schepen; Sh. Sheriff. | | |

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The position of Stuyvesant was one, now, of extreme difficulty. In front a determined foe, backed by constantly increasing numbers from New England ; in his rear a disaffected burghery, headed, as it were, by his own son. The condition of the city was such as forbade all hope of withstanding a siege. It was open along the banks of both rivers ; at the northern, or land side, its only defence was a hastily erected fence, composed of "old and rotten palisades, in front of which was thrown up a small breast-work, about three to three and a half feet high and scarcely two feet wide." The only point where a stand might be made, under less desperate circumstances, was the fort, but a council of war had pronounced this untenable.¹ Originally erected, at the first discovery of the country, to serve as a retreat against the savages, it was never calculated to withstand the assault of a European army. It was surrounded by a single wall of earth, from eight to ten feet high and three to four feet thick, mounted with twenty-four pieces of cannon, unprotected by any ditch or palisades, but commanded "on the Heerewegh," as Broadway was then called, on the north and west, at less than pistol-shot distance, by hills so high that from their summits men "could see the soles of the feet of those walking in the squares within or on the corners of the battlements." It was, moreover, completely encircled by dwellings of private citizens, which overlooked the walls in many places, whilst cellars ran from these buildings to within a rod of the fort, which could thus, in a moment, without much trouble, be escaladed and captured, or undermined and blown up.

Were the works, however, of such a character as to justify a defence, it was impossible that the place could stand a three days' siege. There were not two thousand pounds of powder in store, and of this not more than a fourth was sound. "The gunner declared that if the firing was opened in the morning, the supply of ammunition would be exhausted by evening." The stock of provisions was equally low ; there were not much more than a thou-

¹ Hol. Doc. xii., 272.

sand schepels of wheat in store ; the supply of meat and peas was much smaller, and, as for water, there was not a well in the fort.¹ To add to these difficulties, disaffection spread from the citizens to the soldiers, for the latter, finding that the burghers would no longer mount guard, cared little for the issue, and were heard speculating on the opportunities for plunder they should shortly have. "Now we hope to pepper those devilish traders who have so long salted us ; we know where booty is to be found, and where the young women live who wear gold chains." Under all these circumstances, there was but one course to adopt, and that was to capitulate,² Nicolls having already voluntarily promised to deliver the fort and city back to the Dutch, in case the differences regarding the limits in America should be arranged between his Britannic Majesty and the States General.³ The Hon. John de Decker, Captain Varleth,

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¹ Hol. Doc. xi., 217, 219, 222 ; xii., 104, 127-131, 197, 241, 271, 272-277 ; New Amst. Rec.

² "According to the precept (says Stuyvesant) of the all-wise Luke, xiv. 31." Hol. Doc. xii., 126.

³ Smith, i., 27, and all the English writers after him, represent that "the Dutch Governor agreed to a treaty and surrender, on condition the English and Dutch limits in America were settled by the Crown and the States General." Now this, on the face of it, is most arrant nonsense, for every one must perceive, at first sight, that after a surrender of the country, there would not be any question about "English and Dutch limits in America." The text corrects the blunder. The condition was that the premises should be restored to the Dutch, on the King and their High Mightinesses agreeing about the limits, as is further corroborated by the capitulation, and Gov. Stuyvesant's commission under the town seal, to treat on the articles of surrender: "The Governor-general and Council of New Netherland hereby make known, to prevent the effusion of blood, plundering, murders, and for the good of the inhabitants, we are moved by the summons made by the Honored Lord Richard Nicolls, General of his Majestie of England, being come with his men of warr and souldiers before the port, promising freely (by his owne proposition made) to re-deliver the ffort and city of Amsterdam in New Netherland, in case the difference of ye limits of this province be agreed upon betwixt his Majestie of England and the High and Mighty States General; likewise upon other equal and answerable conditions to surrender and deliver, We have committed and do committ by this John de Decker Councillor of State, Capt. Nicholas Verlett commissary concerning matters of traficque, Samuel Megapolensis, Doctor of Physick, Cornelis Steenwyck Burgomaster, Oloff Stevensen van Cortlandt old Burgomaster, and James Cousseau old Schepen of this city, to agree with the aforesaid Lord General Richard Nicolls or his deputies upon further articles, by these open lettres promising that we will faithfully fulfill, whatsoever shall by our forenamed commissioners, concerning these businesses be promised and agreed upon. In testimony of this, its confirmed by our seale, in the ffort of Amsterdam in

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 1664. Dr. Samuel Megapolensis, (nominated by the Council;) Burgomasters Cornelis Steenwyck, Oloff Stevensen van Cortland, and Schepen Cousseau (nominated by the city)
- Sep. 5. were therefore appointed to meet similar commissioners on the part of the English, and Stuyvesant promised faithfully to ratify whatever these persons should agree to.
- Sep. 6. The parties met at the Director-general's bouwerie, at eight o'clock on the following morning.¹ Though the basis of a treaty was soon settled, considerable difference of opinion existed as to the disposal of the capitulating garrison. The Dutch commissioners insisted that the English should conduct them back to Holland free of expense; it would be unjust to the West India Company, and cruel to the soldiers, to oblige them to surrender and then refuse them means to return to their native country. Nicolls' deputies refused to accede to this proposal. Finally, Messrs. Steenwyck, Cousseau and Varleth, "fearful that the commissioners would separate without effecting anything," bound themselves to transport to Holland, at their private expense, such of the soldiers and Company's servants as had been engaged in Europe, and would not consent to remain under the English.² All difficulties having been thus removed, the respective parties concluded the following

ARTICLES OF CAPITULATION.

"I. We consent that the States General, or the West India Company, shall freely enjoy all farms and houses (except such as are in the forts) and that within six months, they shall have free liberty to transport all such arms and ammunition, as now does belong to them, or else they shall be paid for them.

"II. All publique houses shall continue for the uses which they are for.

"III. All people shall still continue free denizens, and shall enjoy their lands, houses, goods, wheresoever they

New Netherland, the 5th day of September, new stile, 1664." Alb. Rec. xviii., 322, 323; Book of General Entries, i., 30, 31.

¹ Book of General Entries, 33.

² Alb. Rec. xviii., 325.

are within this country, and dispose of them as they please. CHAP.
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“IV. If any inhabitant have a mind to remove himself, he shall have a year and six weeks from this day to remove himself, wife, children, servants, goods, and to dispose of his lands here. 1664.

“V. If any officer of state, or publique minister of state, have a mind to go for England, they shall be transported fraught free, in his Majesty’s frigotts, when these frigotts shall return thither.

“VI. It is consented to, that any people may freely come from the Netherlands, and plant in this colony, and that Dutch vessels may freely come hither, and any of the Dutch may freely return home, or send any sort of merchandise home, in vessels of their own country.

“VII. All ships from the Netherlands, or any other place, and goods therein, shall be received here, and sent hence, after the manner which formerly they were before our coming hither, for six months next ensuing.

“VIII. The Dutch here shall enjoy the liberty of their consciences in divine worship and church discipline.

“IX. No Dutchman here, or Dutch ship here, shall upon any occasion, be pressed to serve in war against any nation whatsoever.

“X. That the townsmen of the Manhattans shall not have any soldiers quartered upon them, without being satisfied and paid for them by their officers, and that at this present, if the fort be not capable of lodging all the soldiers, then the Burgomasters, by their officers, shall appoint some houses capable to receive them.

“XI. The Dutch here shall enjoy their own customs concerning their inheritances.

“XII. All publique writings and records, which concern the inheritances of any people, or the reglement of the church or poor, or orphans, shall be carefully kept by those in whose hands now they are, and such writings as particularly concern the States General, may at any time be sent to them.

“XIII. No judgment that has passed any judicature here,

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shall be called in question, but if any conceive that he hath not had justice done him, if he apply himself to the States General, the other party shall be bound to answer for the supposed injury.

“XIV. If any Dutch living here shall at any time desire to travaile or traffique into England, or any place, or plantation, in obedience to his Majesty of England, or with the Indians, he shall have (upon his request to the governor) a certificate that he is a free denizen of this place, and liberty to do so.

“XV. If it do appeare, that there is a publique engagement of debt, by the town of the Manhatoes, and a way agreed on for the satisfying of that engagement, it is agreed, that the same way proposed shall go on, and that the engagement shall be satisfied.

“XVI. All inferior civil officers and magistrates shall continue as now they are, (if they please,) till the customary time of new elections, and then new ones to be chosen by themselves, provided that such new chosen magistrates shall take the oath of allegiance to his Majesty of England before they enter upon their office.

“XVII. All differences of contracts and bargains made before this day, by any in this country, shall be determined according to the manner of the Dutch.

“XVIII. If it do appeare, that the West India Company of Amsterdam do really owe any sums of money to any persons here, it is agreed that recognition and other duties payable by ships going for the Netherlands, be continued for six months longer.

“XIX. The officers military, and soldiers, shall march out with their arms, drums beating, and colours flying, and lighted matches; and if any of them will plant, they shall have fifty acres of land set out for them; if any of them will serve as servants, they shall continue with all safety, and become free denizens afterwards.

“XX. If, at any time hereafter, the King of Great Britain and the States of the Netherland do agree that this place and country be re-delivered into the hands of the said States, whensoever his Majestie will send his

commands to re-deliver it, it shall immediately be done. CHAP.
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“XXI. That the town of Manhattans shall choose deputies, and those deputies shall have free voyces in all publique affairs, as much as any other deputies. 1664.

“XXII. Those who have any property in any houses in the fort of Aurania, shall (if they please) slight the fortifications there, and then injoy all their houses as all people do where there is no fort.

“XXIII. If there be any soldiers that will go into Holland, and if the Company of West India in Amsterdam, or any private persons here will transport them into Holland, then they shall have a safe passport from Colonel Richard Nicolls, deputy governor under his Royal Highness, and the other commissioners, to defend the ships that shall transport such soldiers, and all the goods in them, from any surprizal or acts of hostility, to be done by any of his Majestie's ships or subjects. That the copies of the King's grant to his Royal Highness, and the copy of his Royal Highness's commission to Colonel Richard Nicolls, testified by two commissioners more, and Mr. Winthrop, to be true copies, shall be delivered to the Honourable Mr. Stuyvesant, the present governor, on Monday next, by eight of the clock in the morning, at the Old Miln, and these articles consented to, and signed by Colonel Richard Nicolls, deputy governor to his Royal Highness, and that within two hours after the fort and town called New Amsterdam, upon the isle of Manhatoes, shall be delivered into the hands of the said Colonel Richard Nicolls, by the service of such as shall be by him thereunto deputed, by his hand and seal.

JOHN DE DECKER,

NICH. VARLETH,

SAM. MEGAPOLENSIS,

CORNELIS STEENWYCK,

JACQUES COUSSEAU,

OLOFFE S. VAN KORTLANDT,

ROBERT CARR,

GEO. CARTERET,

JOHN WINTHROP,

SAM. WILLYS,

JOHN PINCHON,

THOMAS CLARKE.

“I do consent to these articles.

RICHARD NICOLLS.”

<sup>1</sup> Book of General Entries, 22-26; Alb. Rec. xviii., 324; Hol. Doc. x., 129;

BOOK VI. These articles were ratified by the English commander  
 ~ immediately. The day following being Sunday, and the  
 1664. papers requiring examination, the ratification on the part  
 of the Director-general and Council, did not take place  
 Sep. 8. until the succeeding Monday.<sup>1</sup> The Dutch forces led by  
 Stuyvesant then marched out of the fort with all the  
 honors of war, and proceeding down Beaver street,  
 embarked on board the *Gideon* for Holland, the English  
 having previously taken possession of the citadel with a  
 corporal's guard. Col. Nicolls' and Sir Robert Carr's  
 companies, one hundred and sixty-eight strong, formed  
 into six columns of about thirty men each, next entered  
 the capital, whilst Sir George Cartwright occupied with  
 his men the city gates and town hall. The volunteers  
 from New England and Long Island remained at Breu-  
 kelen ferry, "as the citizens dreaded most being plun-  
 dered by them." Finally, the Burgomasters having pro-  
 claimed Nicolls Governor, Fort Amsterdam became Fort  
 James, and the name of the city was changed to that it  
 now bears.<sup>2</sup>

The next step was to reduce Fort Orange and New  
 Amstel. Cartwright was sent against the former, to the  
 surrender of which De Decker attempted to excite some

Smith, i., 28. "The reason why those of Boston and Conecticot were joyned in the treaty was because those two colonies should hold themselves the more engaged with us if the Dutch had beene over confident of their strength, and if upon their conclusions I committed an errour, I hope it is very pardonable." Gov. Nicolls to the Secretary of State, 31st July, 1665. Lond. Doc. ii., 53.

<sup>1</sup> "The Director-general and Council of New Netherland, to all who shall hear or see this, Greeting. Be it known, that we hereby ratify and confirm the conditions agreed on and concluded on the sixth of this month, between our commissioners the Hon. John de Decker, member of our Council, Capt. Nicholas Varleth, commissary of wares and merchandises, Rev. Samuel Megapolensis, Hon. Cornelis Steenwyck, Burgomaster, Oloff Stevensen van Cortlandt, old Burgomaster, and Jacques Cousseau, old Schepen of this city, with the commissioners of the Hon. Governor Richard Nicolls, commander of his Britanick Majesty's frigates of land forces, who besieged this fortress and city; namely, Sir Robert Carr, George Cartwright, Johan Winthrop, Samuel Willis, John Pincheon, and Thomas Clarke, and we promise to execute the same. Done in Fort Amsterdam in New Netherland, on 8th September, 1664. Signed, P. Stuyvesant, N. de Sille, Martin Krygier, Paulus Leendertsen van der Grist, Pieter Tonneman, Jacob Bakker, Thimotheus Gabrie, Isaac Grevenraat, Nicolaus Meyer." Alb. Rec. xviii., 326.

<sup>2</sup> Bushwick Rec. 8th September, 1664; Hol. Doc. xii. 153; xiii., 51, 53.

opposition, but in vain.<sup>1</sup> For the reduction of the latter, the Guinea, the William and Nicholas, were placed with a body of troops under the command of Carr, who was instructed to offer the planters on the Delaware, whether Dutch or Swedes, on their quiet submission, the peaceable possession of their property, on the same terms as they had previously held it; also liberty of conscience and freedom of trade according to the acts of Parliament. The magistrates in office were not to be changed for six months, nor were the laws of the country to be altered for the present. If these terms were not accepted, the place was to be reduced by force, and Maryland was to be called on to assist if additional aid became necessary.<sup>2</sup> On the appearance of this force, New Amstel hastened to accept these terms, and a treaty was agreed to, embracing all the proffered privileges.<sup>3</sup> But however sacred its stipulations, the people were not afforded that protection which was so solemnly guaranteed. The place was no sooner surrendered than Carr appropriated to himself the farm occupied by D'Hinoyossa, whilst his brother Capt. John Carr took possession of Sheriff Van Sweringen's, and Ensign Stock, of Peter Alrichs' land. "From the city of Amsterdam and the inhabitants thereabout were taken one hundred sheep, and thirty or forty horses, fifty or sixty cows and oxen, between sixty and seventy negroes, the brewhouse, stillhouse, and all the materials thereunto belonging; the produce of the land for that year, such as corn, hay &c., were seized for the King's use, together

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1664.

Oct. 10.

<sup>1</sup> "Colonel Cartwright's commission to goe to Fort Orange. These are to will and require you and every of you to bee ayding and assisting to Col. George Cartwright in the prosecution of his Majesty's interest against all such of what nation soever as shall oppose the peaceable surrender and quiet possession of the ffort Aurania, and to obey him the said Col. George Cartwright according to such instructions as I have given him in case the Mohawkes or other Indyans shall attempt anything against the lives, goods or chattells of those who are now under the protection and obedience of his Majesty of Great Brittain; whereof you nor any of you are to fayle as you will answer the contrary at your utmost perills. Given under my hand and seale att ffort James in New Yorke on Manhatans Island, this 10th day of September, 1664. R. Nicolls. To the present Deputy Governor, the magistrates and inhabitants of ffort Aurania." Book of General Entries, 35.

<sup>2</sup> Book of General Entries, 58, 59.

<sup>3</sup> Appendix N.

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with the cargo that was unsold and the bills of what had been disposed of, all to the value, as near as can be remembered, of four thousand pounds sterling, not including arms and a great quantity of ammunition. . . . The Dutch soldiers were taken prisoners and given to the merchantman that was there in payment of his services, and they were transported into Virginia to be sold. . . . All sorts of tools for handicraft, tradesmen, and all plough gear and other things to cultivate the ground, which were in store in great quantity, were likewise seized together with a saw-mill ready to set up, and nine sea buoys with their iron chains.<sup>1</sup> Even the inoffensive Mennonists—though thoroughly non-combatant from principle—did not escape the sack and plunder to which the whole river was subjected by Carr and his co-marauders. A boat was dispatched to their settlement, which was stripped of everything, “to a very naile.”<sup>2</sup>

Thus was fitly consummated an act of spoliation which, in a period of profound peace, wrested this province from its rightful owners, by means violating all public justice and infringing all public law. “In the history of the royal ingrates by whom it was planned, and for whose benefit it was perpetrated, there are,” says the eloquent Butler, “few acts more base; none more characteristic.”<sup>3</sup> The only additional outrage that remained, was to impose on the country the name of one unknown in history, save as a bigot and tyrant—the enemy of religious and political freedom wherever he ruled. New Netherland was accordingly called **NEW YORK**.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lond. Doc. ii., 95; iv., 178-180. This is corroborated by Stuyvesant, who says, (Hol. Doc. xi., 230, 231,) “At New Amstel on the South River, notwithstanding they offered no resistance, but demanded good treatment, which however they did not obtain, they were invaded, stript bare, plundered, and many of them sold as slaves in Virginia.”

<sup>2</sup> Outline of the Constitution of the State of New York, by the Hon. B. F. Butler, 8vo., New York, 1848, p. 20.

<sup>3</sup> It has been often proposed to alter this appellation, and the name “Niagara” has been suggested as thoroughly American, and typical, at the same time, of the great energies and commanding power of the State.

## CHAPTER VIII.

Recapitulation—Immigration—Population—Trade—Duties—Domestic industry—Currency—Revenue—Provision for the poor—Schools—Reflections on Director Stuyvesant's administration and character—Review of the progress of popular liberty—Subsequent histories of Van der Donck—Jeremias van Rensselaer—Captain Scott—Baxter—Krygier and D'Hinoyossa—Conclusion.

THE administration, the chief incidents of which have been detailed, was one of trouble and anxiety. Discontents and broils were its sponsors; clamors and disaffection its pall-bearers; whilst scarcely an hour of its existence was free from menace or danger from its neighbors, whether savage or civilized. Lacking those impulses which filled other colonies so rapidly, whatever advantages the Dutch province possessed from nature were seriously counterbalanced by the vicious system under which it was colonized, and the institutions under which it was governed, which would convert settlers into serfs, and by constant petty intermeddling, hamper their exertions and paralyze their energies. In no department were these baleful influences more palpable than in the settlement of the country. From the commencement of this administration to the close of 1652, not a single new *bouwerie* had been planted on the Manhattans.<sup>1</sup>

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Van der Donck and the Nine Men gave, in 1650, the most decided impulse to colonization, for they brought the country, known previously only to interested traders and commercial speculators, prominently before the public of Holland. Immigration, on a somewhat extensive scale, followed, but it was unfortunately interrupted by the breaking out of the war. On the re-establishment of peace, a renewed and more vigorous effort was made for its encouragement. Mechanics and farmers, "who could prove that they were able to earn a living in New Netherland,"

Immigration.

<sup>1</sup> Hol. Doc. vi., 227.

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were allowed a free passage for themselves and families, whilst others were offered the same inducements on condition of serving in the colony as soldiers one year, after which period they were entitled to their discharge and a farm of land.<sup>1</sup> In 1656 and 1663 a large body of Waldenses and other colonists, with some orphans, were sent to the South River by the city of Amsterdam; and a considerable number of Huguenots, originally from Rochelle, arrived in the country in the course of the latter year, in addition to those who, for similar reasons, had already emigrated from Savoy and settled on Staten Island.<sup>2</sup>

Popula-  
tion of  
the pro-  
vince;of New  
Amster-  
dam.

From these and natural causes the population of the province quintupled in seventeen years. At the commencement of Stuyvesant's administration, the number of persons capable of bearing arms is stated to have been between two hundred and fifty and three hundred, in and around the capital.<sup>3</sup> Including Rensselaerswyck, this would give a population of two thousand souls. In 1664, the number is estimated at "full ten thousand."<sup>4</sup> New Amsterdam contained, in 1656, when first surveyed by Capt. de Koninck, one hundred and twenty houses, and one thousand souls. The former increased in 1660, when a map of the capital was made, to over three hundred and fifty,<sup>5</sup> whilst the population augmented, in 1664, to fifteen hundred. Of these, not quite two hundred and fifty were male adults; the balance, between twelve and thirteen hundred, consisted of women, and children below eighteen years of age.<sup>6</sup> The same city now numbers four hundred

<sup>1</sup> Alb. Rec. iv., 185, 187, 208, 245, et seq., 285. 374; viii., 145.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. iv., 425, 437, 457, 461; xxi., 49.

<sup>3</sup> Hol. Doc. xi., 213.

<sup>4</sup> Address of Burgomasters and Schepens to the Director and Council.

<sup>5</sup> Alb. Rec. xviii., 138; Hol. Doc. xvi., 221. This map was sent to Holland by the Burgomasters and Schepens to be engraved; but it is now lost. A perspective view of New Amsterdam, sketched by Augustine Heermans in 1656, was added, which, having been also affixed to Van der Donck's map of the province, has come down to us. It will be found at the bottom of that map which accompanies this volume.

<sup>6</sup> Farewell Address of the Burgomasters and Schepens to the West India Company, New Amst. Rec.; Hol. Doc. xii. 131. In April, 1665, a list of the rateable inhabitants of the city of New York was made out, from which it appears that there were two hundred and fifty-four householders, fifteen of whom were females.

thousand. New York has doubled its population, on an average, every twenty-three years.

Commerce was the great stimulus of population. Its regulation became, therefore, of major importance. In 1645-6, the damages incurred by the West India Company in Brazil, estimated at one hundred tons of gold, rendered measures necessary to retrieve its condition. The trade to that country was, therefore, opened in 1648 to residents of New Netherland, who were allowed to send their produce thither and return with slaves, the subsequent exportation of whom from the province was forbidden.<sup>1</sup> The monopoly of the carrying trade between Holland and this country, heretofore in the hands of the Amsterdam Chamber, was abolished in the same year, when, "for the first time," private ships were entered at Amsterdam and publicly advertised for New Netherland.<sup>2</sup> Four years after, the province obtained the privilege of trading to the coast of Africa for slaves and other articles,<sup>3</sup> and in 1659, of exporting its produce to France, Spain, Italy, and the Caribbean Islands. The markets of the world, save those of the East, were thus opened to New Netherland ships. From this regulation furs alone were excepted; these were to be sent exclusively to Amsterdam.<sup>4</sup>

By the tariff of 1638 the duties were fixed at ten per centum on imported and fifteen on exported goods. Some difference existed in favor of English colonial bottoms, which caused goods to be sent first to New England, and thence imported at a low rate into New Netherland. To obviate this, the duties on such goods were raised in 1651 to sixteen per cent., tobacco excepted, the eight per cent. duty on which was taken off. In 1654 the following rates were imposed in lieu of a provincial duty of one per cent.: Frieze, per ell, two st.; a frieze coat, eight st.; blankets, per dozen, four gl. (these were for the Indian market;) kettles, three gl. per hundred pounds; brandy, Spanish wine, and spirits, three gl. per anker; French wine, six gl. per hhd.; foreign beer, three gl. per tun, and salt twenty

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Trade.

Duties.

<sup>1</sup> Hol. Doc. iii., 235-256, 349-351. Alb. Rec. iv., 2, 64; x., 79.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. iv., 6.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. xxiv., 193.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. iv., 290, 291.

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st. per bushel. But in 1655 the duties on imports were again reduced to ten per cent., and in 1659, owing to the demand in the colony for the article, to serve ostensibly for window frames, lead was placed on the free list.<sup>1</sup>

Domes-  
tic in-  
dustry.

The colonial system which controlled New Netherland was not the most favorable to the development of its resources; yet the industry of the colonists did not lie altogether dormant. The productions of the soil and the forest obtained for them not only whatever European goods they required, but furnished, also, a surplus for investment in other branches of industry. The art of ship-building was introduced at an early period; and at the close of this administration a number of breweries, distilleries, and some potasheries were in operation; they possessed, in addition, several manufactories of tiles and brick,<sup>2</sup> whilst their earthenware, it is asserted, was fully equal to that of Delft.<sup>3</sup> In 1657, an attempt was made to introduce the culture of silk, and in 1659 mulberry trees were exported to Curaçoa.<sup>4</sup> An effort was afterwards made to introduce the manufacture of salt. Dirck de Wolff, an Amsterdam merchant, obtained, in 1661, the exclusive right, for seven years, to make that article in New Netherland. To facilitate the project, he received a grant of Conyen Island, but his agents had scarcely commenced operations and erected their salt pans, when the inhabitants of Gravesend, who claimed the island under their patent, enforced their pretensions by laying waste his improvements, burning his fences, and threatening to throw his people into the flames. It became necessary to dispatch a military force to the island to prevent any further outrage or destruction of property, but De Wolff's operations were completely arrested, to the great injury of all concerned.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Alb. Rec. iv., 59, 63, 180, 284; ix., 72.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. iv., 396. Mde. de Hulter leased her "Steen Backery" (brick kiln) at Fort Orange for 1100 gl. a year, and her tile kiln for 3717 gl. Fort Orange Rec.

<sup>3</sup> Les Hollandois avoient etablis dans l'Isle Longue des potteries de terre qui n'étoient pas moins estimé que celles de Delft. Hist. Gen. de Voy. xxi., 285.

<sup>4</sup> Alb. Rec. iv., 234, 328; xii., 296. An unsuccessful attempt was made in 1661, to cultivate silk in Virginia.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. iv., 375, 411, 412; viii., 319, 320; N. A. Rec. January, 1662.

Zeawan, or wampum, was almost exclusively the medium of circulation at this period, but beaver was the standard of value.<sup>1</sup> In the year 1651-2, Stuyvesant endeavored to introduce a specie currency, and with that view applied to Holland for a supply of Dutch shillings and fourpenny pieces, to the amount of 25,000 to 30,000 gl. But the Directors disapproved of the project, and it was dropped.<sup>2</sup> The community became thus entirely dependent on wampum, which being "abundantly imported from New England," the value of wages, property, and all commodities was in consequence seriously disturbed. Passing at first at the rate of four black beads for one stiver, it was next ordered to be lowered to six, and in 1657 to eight, and then to be considered a tender for gold and silver. But Stuyvesant objected. It would bring the value of property to nought.<sup>3</sup> In 1659, the white wampum was reduced from 12 to 16 and the black from 6 to 8 for a stiver. The only effect of this was to oblige the holder to give more wampum for any article he might require from the trader, who in return allowed the natives a larger quantity for his beavers; "so that little or no benefit accrued." Prices nominally advanced; beavers which sold for 12 to 14 gl. (zeawan) rose to 22 and 24 gl.; bread from 14 to 22 st. the 8 lb. loaf; beef 9 to 10 st. per lb.; pork 15 to 20 st.; butter 30 st.; common shoes from 3½ gl. to 12 gl. the pair; coarse stockings from 36 st. to 4 or 5 gl. the pair; and wrought iron 18 to 20 st. the lb. Beaver and specie were all this while of equal value, and the difference between these and wampum was 50 per cent. The effect on wages was almost ruinous. "The poor farmer, laborer and public officer, being unable to obtain beaver, and being paid in zeawan, are almost reduced to the necessity of living on alms." Those in the employ of the Company asked to be paid their salaries in beavers, but this was refused. Much popular clamor was caused by this depreciation of the

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~  
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Cur-  
rency

<sup>1</sup> "Zeawan is the source and mother of the whole beaver trade. No beavers can be obtained from the savages for the most valuable goods, unaccompanied by zeawan." Alb. Rec. xviii., 85.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. iv., 49, 89.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. iv., 233, 280, 362.

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 1664. currency, and the consequent disturbance of prices.<sup>1</sup> Various expedients were resorted to, with a view to amend this state of things. The Directors would have the colonists consider wampum as "bullion," yet would receive only beavers in payment of duties and taxes. Stuyvesant raised the value of whatever specie was in the country 20 to 25 per cent., "to prevent its exportation," and called on them to imitate the policy of New England, and establish a mint at New Amsterdam. To this they would not consent.<sup>2</sup> Finally the price of beaver fell in 1663, from eight guilders (specie) to four and a half guilders; white wampum from sixteen to eight, black from eight to four for a stiver; and this was the state of the currency when the English came into possession of the province; a mudde and a half of wheat, being worth at the same time only one beaver, or about thirty cents a bushel.<sup>3</sup>

Provincial revenue.

The public revenue was of two descriptions, provincial and municipal. The former consisted of the export duty on furs, import duties on European goods, and the tenths of the agricultural produce, butter, cheese, &c.; the latter of an excise on liquors and slaughtered cattle. The duty on exported furs is stated, in 1654, to have seldom exceeded 20,000 to 22,000 gl., or \$8,000;<sup>4</sup> in 1655 it far exceeded 28,000 florins.<sup>5</sup> In 1656, the duties on furs, wines and other liquors were farmed and realized 51,400 fl.<sup>6</sup> The troubles with the Indians broke out shortly after this. The indebtedness of the citizens of New Amsterdam was estimated at 100,000 gl., which from these causes they were unable to pay;<sup>7</sup> the public receipts were in consequence seriously affected, and in 1660, amounted only to 36,000 gl. Sixteen thousand of this were for furs, between twenty-five and thirty thousand of which were traded that year.<sup>8</sup> In 1661, the revenue increased to

<sup>1</sup> Alb. Rec. iv., 359, 362; xviii., 3, 177, 205. Prices of Bread, 1656: 8 lb. coarse loaf, 14 st., 4 lb. 7 st., 2 lb. 3½; 2 lb. white loaf 8 st., 1 lb. 4 st., ½ lb. 2 st.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. iv., 387, 388.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. iv., 417; xiii., 219, 221.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. ix., 223.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. iv., 176.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., iv., 220; x., 354.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. xxiv., 41.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. xviii., 127.

40,000 gl.;<sup>1</sup> in 1662, it fell back to 33,594, whilst the expenses of the government amounted to 55,174 guilders.<sup>2</sup> The Minquaas and Senecas, the Mohawks and Canada Indians, those of Esopus and the Dutch were now at war. The supplies of furs were consequently cut off to a great degree, and the revenue again fell, in 1663, to 30,000 fl., (not including that of the South River, which amounted to 12,000 fl.) whilst the public expenditure rose to the unprecedented sum of 60,000 fl., which in 1664 ran up to 80,000 guilders, leaving a deficit of 50,000 florins or \$20,000.<sup>3</sup> Such was the dilapidated state of the public treasury at the close of Stuyvesant's administration. The prospects of the Company in Holland were equally unpromising. To promote the settlement of the country, they had already expended twelve tons of gold over and above the recognitions, excise, and all other public receipts,<sup>4</sup> and now when some return might be expected for this serious outlay, foreigners stepped in and possessed themselves of all the advantages to accrue from such an expenditure.

The municipal revenue consisted of a liquor excise, which was of two descriptions, the tapster's and burgher's. The first paid a duty of four florins a tun on home-brewed, and six florins a tun on foreign beer, eight florins a hogshead on French, and four florins the anker on Spanish wine, brandy or other ardent spirits. These rates were more than doubled in 1662.<sup>5</sup> By an edict of 1657, the burgher excise was fixed at a dollar a tun on strong, and ten stivers a tun on small beer, six guilders the hogshead on French wine, and two guilders the anker on Spanish wine, brandy or other liquors. There was, besides, an ad valorem tax of one stiver on the guilder on cattle slaughtered within the precincts of the municipality, a baker's and grocer's tax or license of one pound Flemish per quarter, and the proceeds of the public scales, one-

<sup>1</sup> Alb. Rec., xviii., 178.<sup>2</sup> Ibid. xxi., 59.<sup>3</sup> Ibid. xviii., 252. The revenue of the South River was from furs fl. 6000; from tobacco fl. 6000; Hol. Doc. xv., 102.<sup>4</sup> Alb. Rec. xxii., 160.<sup>5</sup> Ibid. vi., 67; viii., 328; Fort Orange Rec

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1664. fourth of which was estimated at four thousand guilders in the year 1659. The income of the city of New Amsterdam, from these sources alone, (without counting fees on the transfer of property,) may be estimated at 25,000 gl. ; that of Fort Orange, (including Rensselaerswyck, Kattskill and Schenectady,) at 10,000.

Provis-
ion for
the poor The claims of the poor to a legal support, and of the youth to education, were not neglected. An assessment of the twentieth penny on all houses, and the tenth penny on land under cultivation, formed a fund for the former ;¹ the representations of the clergy in 1656 in favor of the latter, had a decidedly beneficial influence, for the records

Schools afford evidence that schools existed in almost every town and village, at the close of this administration. A Latin or High School was established in 1659 in New Amsterdam, under the superintendence of Doctor Alexander Carolus Curtius, previously a professor in Lithuania. A misunderstanding arose, unfortunately, between this gentleman and some of the parents. These complained that he did not enforce proper discipline among his pupils, "who beat each other, and tore the clothes from each other's backs." He retorted by stating that "his hands were tied, as some of the parents forbade him punishing their children."² The result was, the school changed rectors ; Doctor Curtius returned to Holland, and the Rev. Ægidius Luyck, who had been brought over specially to superintend the education of the Director-general's sons, became principal of the High School. Under the charge of this gentleman, it attained so high a reputation that children were sent from Virginia and the Delaware, to receive a classical education at New Amsterdam.³ In the year 1652, a quantity of Bibles, Testaments and other books were imported, the most of which were disposed of three years after by public lottery. In palliation of this question-

¹ Alb. Rec. iv.. 206.

² Ibid. 68, 268, 303, 341, 373 ; viii , 202, 321, 322 ; x., 6, 30 ; xviii., 19. Dr. Curtius' salary was fl. 500 per annum, with a house and garden. He was allowed to give private instruction, provided it did not interfere with his public duties. He also practiced medicine.

³ New Amst. Rec.

able proceeding, one-third of the sales were given to the poor.¹ The spirit of trade and those depressing influences, common to all colonies and young countries, checked, if not stifled, literary enterprise. From the pens of Van der Donck, Megapolensis, and others, we have, notwithstanding, some valuable works on the country; and were the reports and other papers diffused through the provincial records, published, they would afford, we hesitate not to say, ample proof that the clergy, the members of the government, and many of their agents, were men of learning, observation and industry.

Director STUYVESANT was recalled to Europe soon after the surrender, to vindicate his conduct. He found Holland divided between the partisans of the House of Orange, and the supporters of the Dewitts. The loss of New Netherland seriously embarrassed the latter, and Stuyvesant, in consequence, found himself the object of serious charges and most virulent attacks.² He returned to this country in 1668, and died on his bouwerie in 1672. His public acts afford the best means of estimating the merits of his administration. He was thoroughly conservative in church and state. As he insisted on conformity in the one, so he looked for passive obedience in the other, and the enforcement of these principles brought him repeatedly into collision with the colonists, both Dutch and English. Unfortunately for his own peace, he, as was usual with the majority of Governors sent from Europe to America, took sides, on his arrival, with the clique of office-holders whom he found in the country, and who had already inflicted so much injury on the province. He thus became separated from the mass of his countrymen, and was forced to derive support and sympathy from the English of Long Island, whose education and principles

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Stuyve-
sant.

His ad-
minis-
tra-
tion.

¹ Alb Rec. x., 24; N. A. Rec.

² See papers entitled "A Deduction or Account of the Circumstances preceding the Surrender of New Netherland," addressed by Stuyvesant to the States General, Hol. Doc. xi., 262; "Considerations of the West India Company on Stuyvesant's Report," Ibid. xii., 12; "Nader Bericht," or Answer to the latter by the late Director, Ibid., 79; Further Rejoinder of the Dutch West India Company to the Answer of Peter Stuyvesant, Ibid. xiii., 2.

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 1664. were the direct antagonists of his. The colonists were, in consequence, divided into two parties, and their powers of resistance proportionately diminished. The course pursued in negotiating the treaty of Hartford only tended to perpetuate these divisions. It gave rise to the order issued subsequently by the home authorities, by which race, for the first time, was made the test of fitness for public employment. From the date of this order Dutch power steadily waned on this continent, for it threw those who were loyal, when all others were discontented, into the arms of New England, and left the province powerless when its very existence was at stake. The close of his administration was, like its commencement, troubled and clouded. When the difficulties of his position at New Amsterdam demanded his undivided attention and all his energy; and when the British fleet was preparing to summon him to surrender, he suffered his mind to be diverted from the major to the minor danger, and hurried to Fort Orange to parley with the Indians, when he should have spent night and day in strengthening his position on the Mannhattans. The sole apology for such an oversight was, that he was thrown off his guard by information received from Willett and the West India Company. New Netherland would, notwithstanding all precautions, have doubtless fallen, but it would at least have been in a better state of defence, and the Director would not have furnished his enemies in Holland with a pretext for their bitter aspersions and repeated attacks.

His  
 character.

Throughout his chequered life he exhibited a character of high morality, and in his dealings with the Indians, an energetic and dignified deportment, which contributed, no doubt, considerably to the success of his arms and policy. Alike creditable to his talents are his negotiations with the neighboring English colonies. His vindications of the rights of his country, on these occasions, betoken a firmness of manner, a sharpness of perception, a clearness of argument and a soundness of judgment, combined with an extent of reading, which few of his contemporaries could equal, and

none surpass; and were no other evidences of his civil capabilities extant, the records he has left of these negotiations would suffice to command respect for his abilities, as they confer credit on his memory. Violence, it is true, for a season prostrated right, yet truth has no less been vindicated by time, and posterity has done him ample justice, for it has thoroughly sustained every position he assumed, whether with Massachusetts, Connecticut, or Maryland.

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It would afford pleasure were we justified in pronouncing a like panegyric on other parts of his administration; but none can review his treatment of Van der Donck, Melyn, and the Nine Men; his course towards Slechtenhorst and Van Dinchage, and his persecution of the Lutherans and other Nonconformists, without rebrobing his tyranny, and regretting that a character, so faultless in other respects, should be stained by traits so repulsive as these, and that the powers of a mind so strong should be exerted in opposing, rather than promoting civil and religious freedom. The hostility this part of his public conduct evoked, redounds most creditably to the character of the settlers, whose struggles for freer institutions cannot fail to win for them our sympathy and regard, independently of all interest they awaken whilst contemplating the gradual development of popular power during the contest. The privileges thus acquired were peculiar, it is true; yet they afford not the less evidence, on that account, of a people's triumph, nor the less encouragement to the friends of rational progress, in their contests for popular liberty. Seventeen years elapsed from the establishment of the Nine Men to the meeting of a Representative Assembly in 1664; but this only proves the great strides the colony had, in the mean time, taken towards constitutional government; and it is not unwarrantable to conclude, that such a government would, in a short time, have been in operation, had not force stepped in to stop the movement by wresting the country from its lawful owners, and deceiving the people by promises, made only to be broken. The principle of Representative government which was conceded

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Van der
Donck.

and acted on by the Dutch in 1664, was not admitted by the English until after a lapse of twenty long years.

ADRIAEN VAN DER DONCK, to whom the credit belongs of having contributed the most to bring this country before the public and to improve its institutions, having obtained a degree of Doctor of Laws at Leyden, was admitted an advocate of the Supreme Court of Holland. He then prepared to return with his family to his colonie, but on the eve of sailing, the Amsterdam Directors instructed their commanders not to receive him on board any of their vessels. In vain he procured the interference of influential friends, and represented the cruelty of separating him from his wife and children, who had already embarked; in vain he pleaded the ruin that should overtake him were he not permitted to proceed. He was told, "he could not go," and "without process of law he could not obtain satisfaction." He, thereupon, applied to the States General; was by them referred to the different departments of the West India Company, but that of Amsterdam persisted in the persecution. His family was obliged to sail without him, and he returned to the Hague. He had already published, in 1650, the Remonstrance of the Commonalty, and now prepared his principal work, entitled "A Description of New Netherland, as the same is at the present time, &c.," in which he treated of the natural history, products, physical appearance and advantages of the country.¹ The Company was pleased with the book, and recommended it to the States General on the 14th May, 1653. In the following July, he obtained a fifteen years' copyright of this publication, and returned, in the fall of that year, to America, with leave to practice his profession "as far as giving advice." The Directors, however, "could not see what advantage his pleadings before the courts would have, especially as there were, no doubt, some lawyers already in New Netherland who could be engaged on the other side." His request to be permitted to consult the records and papers in the Council office at New Amsterdam, for

¹ A translation of this work by the Hon. Jer. Johnson, is in N. Y. Hist. Coll. of 1841.

historical purposes, was referred to Stuyvesant, but without any result, and thus posterity lost all chance of obtaining an account of the administrations of Peter Minuit or Wouter van Twiller. On arriving in this country, he applied (Dec. 1653) to the Burgomasters and Schepens for protection as a burgher, against, we presume, the refusal to admit him to plead. He died in the year 1655, leaving to his wife the colonie of Colen Donck, or Yonkers.¹

JEREMIAS VAN RENSSELAER succeeded his brother, Jan Baptist, as Director of the colonie in 1658, and administered its affairs for sixteen years with great prudence and discretion. He was much respected by the French, and

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Jer. van
Rensse-
laer.

¹ Van der Donck's widow having married Hugh O'Neal, Esq., and a new patent was taken out, in their joint names, for the colonie on the 8th October, 1666, which they sold on the 30th of the same month to Elias Doughty of Flushing, (Mrs. O'Neal's brother.) O'Neal and his wife returned subsequently (1671) to Maryland, "the place of their abode." On the 1st of March, 1666-7, John Archer of Westchester purchased a portion of the colonie from Doughty, which was erected by Lovelace, on the 13th November, 1671, into "the manor of Fordham." John Heddy of Westchester bought 320 acres of the land in June, 1668, for a horse and £5, and William Betts and George Tippet, "who are in possession of a part of the same land formerly owned by old Younker van der Donck," acquired an additional section in July following. On the 18th August, 1670, Margaret, wife of Frederick Phillips, on behalf of her husband and Thomas Lewis, mariner, purchased one half the river of Nepperhan, with milling privileges and 300 acres of land, for £150, the other half having been previously sold to one Dirck Smith. On the 1st December of the same year, Francis French and Ebenezer Jones of Annehooksneck, and John Westcott of Jamaica, purchased what afterwards went by the name of "the mile square." The residue of Doughty's interest in the colonie, amounting now to 7708 acres, was purchased conjointly on the 29th September, 1672, by Thomas Delaval, Frederick Phillips and Thomas Lewis, each of whom held one-third. Delaval bequeathed his share on the 10th June, 1682, to his only son, John, who with Phillips and Geesie Lewis, widow, obtained a patent for the property on the 19th February, 1684. Delaval sold out to Phillips on the 27th August, 1685, who also purchased on the 12th June following, the share belonging to Mrs. Lewis and her five children; and having, in the meanwhile, acquired the Indian tracts of Potanteco or Wachandico, Wechquaesqueeck and a number of other Indian lands, the whole was erected on the 12th June, 1693, by Gov. Fletcher, into "the manor of Phillipsborough," with the feudal appendages of Court Baron and Court Leet. Van der Donck's original colonie became thus cut up and destroyed, and the only portion of it that perpetuates his memory now, is the town of YONKERS, which derives its name from "Jonkheer," or gentleman, a Dutch title of courtesy which he held in common with several others of the early colonists. Agatha his mother, and Daniel his brother, came to New Netherland in 1652. Guisbert, Daniel's son, was born in Holland, in 1634. These are the ancestors of such of the name as are now to be found in this country, though the family is called Vandunck or Verdunck. They live principally on Long Island.

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 1664. exercised an influence over the Indians surpassed only by that of Van Curler. On the change of government and the breaking out of the war, considerable difficulty was experienced in obtaining a patent for the manor from the Duke of York. To obviate this, some persons of influence advised him to take out one in his own name, he being qualified, as a British subject, to hold real estate. To his great honor, it is recorded that he rejected the offer, for he was only co-heir, and could not thus defraud his brothers and sisters. He was a man of great industry, and communicated to Holland an account of various occurrences in this country, under the name of "the New Netherland Mercury." His correspondence, from 1656 to his death, still in good preservation, affords a valuable and interesting commentary on private and public affairs, and contains a relation of facts and incidents which otherwise would be irreparably lost. He died on the 12th October, 1674, and was followed to the grave by a large concourse of mourners.<sup>1</sup>

Captain  
 Scott.

Captain SCOTT, "who was born to work mischief as far as he is credited or his parts serve him,"<sup>2</sup> remained in duration until the arrival of the fleet. His arrest created much dissatisfaction among many of the Long Island towns, and a remonstrance signed by one hundred and forty-four inhabitants of Flushing was, in consequence, sent to Hartford, testifying that he had acted by desire of the people, and that, "in their silence, the very stones might justly rise to proclaim his innocence." As these were considered Quakers, their representations had no weight. The Governor and Council of Massachusetts took up the matter very warmly, and not only wrote to those of New Ply-

<sup>1</sup> His wife died 29th January, 1689, N. S. in the 44th year of her age, leaving five children, the eldest of whom, Kiliaen, was the first Lord of the manor of Rensselaerswyck, which he represented in the Provincial Assembly from 1691 to 1703, when he was called to the Council. In the following year he conveyed Claverack, or "the lower manor," as it was called, with the Cralo estate at Greenbush, to his younger brother Hendrik. From these two proceed the numerous members of this wide-spread family in this country. Jan Baptist van Rensselaer survived his brother four years, having deceased 18th October, 1673; Dom. Nicolaus van Rensselaer died the month following.

<sup>2</sup> Lond. Doc. ii., 60.

mouth and New Haven to urge their interference, but sent Major-general Leverett and Captain Davis to Connecticut to remonstrate against the harsh proceeding. New Haven likewise sent delegates with similar instructions, and Governor Prince of New Plymouth wrote to Governor Winthrop in behalf of Scott, "of whom they have heard nothing but that he is a gentleman well deserving of the country, and one that his Majesty hath been pleased to employ in his service." Two of the assistants were bearers of this letter. Scott shortly after addressed "an humbell petition to the Court at Hartford," setting forth that "having run himself into a labrinth of misery by the evil advice of bad instruments, as well as his corrupt nature, and knowing you sit in God's stead, who delights in shewing mercie, do, for His sake, beseech your favorable report, which shall be deemed by your poor suppliant a signal kindness never to be forgot, and shall endeavor, if his present estate and future service (in the meanest capacitie) may make a compensation, never to be wanting whilst he remaines, and shall ever pray." He was soon after released and took a part in the subsequent operations under Nicolls. His residence was at Ashford, now Brookhaven, L. I. He was, besides, owner of other extensive tracts on that island, where there is abundant evidence to show that he exercised at one time great influence, and where, it appears, he was proprietor of "the manor of Hope."<sup>1</sup> He was doomed, like many others, to be disappointed in his expectations from the Stuarts, and failing to obtain, as he wished, a grant of Long Island, he considered himself injured, and in revenge on the Duke of York, urged Carteret and Berkely to secure New Jersey for themselves.<sup>2</sup> He quarrelled with Nicolls, who seems to have been prejudiced against him by Connecticut, and repaired to Barbadoes, whence it was intended to send him a prisoner to England on a charge of forging the sign manual to a grant in his favor of Long Island.<sup>3</sup> What became of him afterwards is not known with cer-

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<sup>1</sup> Hempstead Rec. i., 78.

<sup>2</sup> Lond. Doc. ii., 60.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 156.

BOOK VI. tainty, but it is presumed he passed over to Holland and obtained a commission of major in the Dutch service.<sup>1</sup>

1664. BAXTER, the predecessor of Scott in the career of trouble and disorder, returned to the Manhattans with the English forces, and prosecuted Van Ruyven, the agent of the West India Company, for the sum of 1278 guilders, which he claimed as due to him. A plea was entered against this action, that he had "rebelled against the States General in 1655, and raised in Gravesend the standard of the Commonwealth of England." Baxter repeatedly pronounced the statement "a lie," for which "unmannerly words" the court fined him six guilders.<sup>2</sup> He arranged his affairs in the province some time after, and removed to Nevis, in the West Indies.

Martin Krygier. MARTIN KRYGIER, the first Burgomaster of New Amsterdam, having distinguished himself as a fearless warrior, and performed for many years the duties of an exemplary magistrate, retired, with his General, into private life. He finally settled at Canastagione (now Niskayuna) on the banks of the Mohawk, "where the Indians carried their canoes across the stones." In this retired and romantic spot, this brave soldier and good man laid himself down to rest in the early part of 1713. Though his descendants are numerous throughout this State, the original homestead at Niskayuna still remains in the family, a circumstance highly illustrative of the steady habits and domestic virtues of our Dutch citizens.

D'Hinoyossa. D'HINOYOSSA offered his services to the British to superintend the colony on the South River, on the same conditions that he had acted for the city of Amsterdam, but they were not accepted.<sup>3</sup> He removed to St. Mary's, and eventually returned to Holland, where he entered into the Dutch army, and served in the war between Louis XIV. and the Republic. In the course of these operations he formed part of the garrison of one of the fortresses that capitulated to the French. So much indignation did this

<sup>1</sup> Brieven van J. De Witt, iv., 925.

<sup>2</sup> N. Y. Rec. Dec. 1664.

<sup>3</sup> Lond. Doc. i., 232.

surrender excite, that the garrison (D'Hinoyossa among the rest) was ordered to be summarily punished. On further investigation, this order was either modified or withdrawn, and D'Hinoyossa, it is presumed, passed the remainder of his days in Fatherland.

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The disappearance of these men from the public stage was followed by a revolution in the Laws, Language, and Institutions of the country, which, however, was not completed for many years. To follow society through this rugged transition, until it assumed a thoroughly homogeneous character, is a study interesting both in its incidents and consequences; and in all respects worthy the investigation of the Patriot and the Philosopher.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

A.

Instructions of the Commissioners at the Assembly of the XIX. of the General Privileged West India Company, to the Director and Council of New Netherland, in conformity to which they shall have to regulate themselves provisionally and until further order.

[Holland Documents, Vol. III.]

THE Supreme Council in the countries of New Netherland shall consist of three persons, namely : the Director as President, his Vice and the Fiscal, by whom all occurring affairs relating to the police, justice, militia, the dignity and just rights of the Company shall be administered and decided, each remaining bound, nevertheless, to vindicate his commission. With this understanding, however, that in all cases in which the Advocate-fiscal shall be obliged to proceed as conservator of the rights of the Supreme Authority, or of the Company, be the same civil or criminal, the Military Commandant shall sit in his stead, and if the charge be criminal, two capable persons shall moreover be adjoined from the commonalty of that district where the crime or act was perpetrated.

As regards the promotion of the settlement of the boundaries between the people of the New Netherland and the English, it is not considered necessary to proceed therewith at present ; but the Director and Council are instructed to take care that the English do not encroach further on the Company's lands ; in the mean time they shall try if a boundary can be determined on, yonder, with the aforesaid English, and the inclination thereunto being apparent, they are instructed to send forthwith advice thereof hither, with pertinent information after due enquiry how much of the Company's lands the English possess : All, however, with the understanding that the aforesaid English, who are found at present in the Company's district, and have settled there, or shall come and settle therein, shall be subject to the Company's government there, and to that end shall take the oath of fidelity to their High Mightinesses the Lords States General and the West India Company, after which they shall not be regarded otherwise than as original subjects.

In order to re-establish peace and quietness once more in the land, they shall endeavor, by all possible means, to pacify and give satisfaction to the Indians ; and the Director and Council therein are charged to advance, on the one side, the interests of the Company, and on the other to maintain good correspondence with their neighbors, and especially with the Indians.

They shall do all in their power to induce the colonists to establish themselves, on some of the most suitable places, with a certain number of inhabitants, in the manner of towns, villages and hamlets, as the English are in the habit of doing, whereby they will dwell in greater security, according to the intentions of the Company in the granting of the already printed Freedoms, and the amplifications thereof.

The aforesaid Director and Council shall use dispatch in the repairs of Fort Amsterdam, for which purpose it is considered best, and least expensive to the Company, to build the same of good clay, earth, and firm sods, and to encourage the soldiers to that work by

some presents, and bind the same to keep it in continual repair; and whereas it is of the highest importance to the colonists to possess a good and safe retreat in case of necessity, (which God prevent!) these should be induced to aid in the work for this once; and the Director is commanded to attend closely for the future to the ordinary repairs thereof.

The persons hereinafter specified shall be maintained to garrison the fort, on such allowances as shall be found most advantageous for the Company, and for greater security, the colonists and their domestics shall be holden, under certain penalties, to provide themselves with good muskets, and other weapons for their own defence, so as to be able, in time of necessity, with the garrison, to resist a general attack, without the Director, colonists, or whosoever it may be, having the power to take into the pay of the Company any soldiers, be they few or many.

Further, inasmuch as the respective colonists have been allowed, by the Freedoms, to delegate one or two persons to give information to the Director and Council concerning the state and condition of their colonies, the same is hereby confirmed.

The Director and Council shall, first of all, establish the colonists and freemen on the Island of Mannhattans, and grant to them as much land as they shall be able to cultivate, either as tobacco plantations, or with grain and all other crops to which the soil is adapted, and from which they shall expect to derive the greatest profit.

And for the encouragement of the cultivation of the land there, it would not be found unwise to permit, at the request of the Patroons, colonists, and other farmers, the introduction there of as many negroes as they are willing to purchase at a fair price; and the Director and Council shall notify the Assembly hereof every year, when further order shall be here taken regarding the transport of negroes thither.

And although it is proposed, for the further encouragement of population, to reserve the trade with the Indians exclusively to the Patroons, colonists and free cultivators resident there, without permitting any private traders to carry on any commerce with the said Indians, it is nevertheless resolved as far as regards these, to adhere to the existing practice, but the Director and Council shall take information thereupon to serve as advice to the Assembly.

The aforesaid Director and Council shall pay strict regard that no arms nor munitions of war shall be sold by the freemen to the Indians, nor by the private traders to the freemen or Indians upon certain penalties to be enacted therefor; but the freemen who shall have to do so, may bring the same from the Company's magazine on the order of the Director and Council.

And whereas the Company hath now resolved to open to private persons the trade which it has exclusively carried on with New Netherland, and to empower the respective Chambers of the Company to give permission to all private inhabitants of these countries to sail with their own ships to New Netherland, the Virginias, the Swedish, English and French colonies, or any other places situate thereabout, according to the drafted regulation, they shall carefully observe, or cause to be observed that the contents thereof shall be attended to, as much as is in their power, acting against the contraveners in conformity to the first article of the octroy, and the tenor of the regulation already made, or to be hereafter enacted, and as regarding the receipts of the duties, tolls, and other rights already imposed or to be hereafter imposed, as well on the exported as on the imported goods, for so much thereof as shall have to be paid in that, and not in this country.

All which points and articles the Director and Council shall be holden to observe and to follow, as much as possible, regulating themselves further according to the instructions heretofore given for the direction of those countries, so far as the same are not by these presents already altered, or may not hereafter be changed, which power the Assembly reserves to itself. Thus done and resolved in the Assembly of the XIX, of the General Privileged West India Company in Amsterdam in the year 1645, the seventh of July.

B.

Vice Director Dinclage's Commission.

[Holland Documents, VI.]

The Committee of the General Privileged West India Company in the United Netherlands. Whereas We, for the direction and management of the affairs of New Netherland, have considered it proper and necessary, there to establish a court consisting of a Director, a Vice Director, and a Fiscaal, and therefore not only the office of Director, but also that of Vice, with a fit and capable person to furnish :—THEREFORE, We, reposing confidence in the good report made to us of Dr. LUBBERTUS VAN DINCLAGE, of his fitness, experience and capacity, have acknowledged, appointed, and deputed, and hereby acknowledge, appoint, and depute the said Lubbertus van Dinclage as second to, and first councillor of, the Director in New Netherland, in such quality to proceed to and reside at Fort Amsterdam, the said Director to respect as his chief, with him over all occurring questions of war, police and trade to deliberate, and to fill his place in the absence of the said Director; to attend to the preservation and increase of contracts, all alliances, friendship and commerce; to assist in the administration of law and justice as well criminal as civil; all disorders, abuses, and irregularities, which have already crept in, or may hereafter arise, to redress and remove, and further to perform all that a good and faithful Vice Director is bound to do, according to the Instructions already given or yet to be given. They desire, order and command, therefore, the aforesaid Director and all Captains, Commissaries, and Skippers, and whomsoever this may in any way concern, that they do, therefore, respect and uphold the aforesaid Lubbertus Dinclage, and in the fulfilment of these to afford him all help, support and assistance, each so far as to him appertains; on pain of the contraveners or disobedient incurring our indignation, as we have found such to be fitting to the service of the Company. Given in our Assembly of the XIX. in Amsterdam, this 5th May, 1645; was paraphured

HENRICUS VAN DER CAPELLE tho Rysselvt.

Commission of H. van Dyck, Schout-fiscaal of New Netherland.

[Holland Documents, VI.]

The Directors of the Privileged West India Company at the Chamber of Amsterdam; To all those who shall see or hear these presents read—Health. BE IT KNOWN, Whereas We, for the maintenance of all good order, regularity and discipline among the people in New Netherland, and the places situate thereabout, under the command of our beloved, faithful Director there residing, have found it necessary at the said place, to appoint a good Fiscaal, to make complaints against all delinquents and transgressors of the military laws, and all other our Instructions and commands, the same to arraign and cause to be punished; and therefor has been proposed to us the person of HENDRICK VAN DYCK, Therefore We confiding fully in his fitness and diligence for the performance of said office, have deputed, authorized, and appointed, and hereby depute, authorize, and appoint the said Hendrick van Dyck as Fiscaal over the aforesaid countries of New Netherland, and the places situate thereabout; giving him full power, charge and authority the said office to fill and attend both by land and water; to take cognizance and information on all forfeits,

excesses and crimes ; all delinquents, contraveners, and transgressors of the law martial and all other Instructions and orders, as well of the aforesaid Assembly of the XIX., as of the aforesaid Director, to summon and according to demand and circumstances to prosecute ; to proceed to definitive judgment ; to execute the same, and delinquents to cause to be punished, pursuant to the contents thereof, and moreover to do and observe all that it behooves a good Fiscaal to perform, following and observing, in his proceedings and complaints, all proper formalities in conformity to the placards and ordinances which have been promulgated here, and moreover conformably to written laws. We, therefore, order and command all officers, as well political, military as naval, together with all common mariners, soldiers, and all other inhabitants under our obedience there, or who shall hereafter come thither, to acknowledge and to respect the said Hendrick van Dyck as our Fiscaal, and him in the prosecution of his office in no way to interrupt, but in support of justice all help and furtherance by deeds to show and afford ; therein shall our earnest intention be met. Given at the Assembly in Amsterdam this 28th June, 1645.

Instructions for Hendrick van Dyck, Fiscaal of the General Privileged West India Company in New Netherland and the places thereunto adjoining.

[Holland Documents, VI.]

I. In the first place, he shall be holden with zeal, diligence, and activity to maintain, preserve, and enforce the common and Company's laws, domains, jurisdiction, dignity, and authority, as well in, as out of, Court, without dissimulation or reference to any particular favor or hate.

II. He shall, consequently, be and form a party, when necessary, in all questions of police, justice and finance, before our Director and Council resident in New Netherland, and before the military and naval councils there, or which shall resort under the authority of the aforesaid Director and Council, to any forts, roads or havens in and on the coast of New Netherland, and the places thereunto adjoining, at all which he shall have free access and a seat, but no vote, (*doch sonder stemme.*)

III. To his care are committed the direction and management of all actions, as well civil as criminal, thereabout ; to institute, defend, arrange and draw out the same, and prosecute them to a termination in such manner as he shall, on his sworn oath, find proper or think best ;

IV. Understanding always, that he shall not undertake any actions having reference to our rights, domain, or finance, except by order of those of our Council aforesaid.

V. But he shall not criminally arraign any man before the respective courts of justice, nor cause him to be arrested, but upon previous information, which however he shall not take himself, except by order as aforesaid, or in such matters as he might personally be witness to when they occurred, and wherein the delinquent might be prosecuted on the instant occurrence of the deed.

VI. In the taking informations he shall exert himself honestly and legally to scrutinize matters to the utmost with all their circumstances, to establish in writing the truth thereof in the strictest and purest manner, noting therein as well the points of defence of the prisoners and accused persons, as the accusations against them, provided always that what most concerns the interests of the Company therein must first of all be enquired into.

VII. He shall strictly cause to be observed the placards, ordinances, resolutions, military regulations and commands of the High and Mighty Lords States General and the General Privileged West India Company, and attend that nothing contrary thereto shall be done.

VIII. To this end he shall take good care, and use all diligence in finding out and obtaining information of the ill-conduct and delinquencies of officers and all persons who are in the general or special pay, by water or by land, of the General Privileged West India Company; for which purpose he shall pay strict regard when the commissaries come to the Mannhattans from their trading posts: *Item*, when the ships arrive from *patria*, or leave there for *patria*; and to the lading and unlading of the same, without any neglect in the prosecution of the confiscations, and other penalties and fines whether on the goods or persons of those who shall be at any time found guilty, according to our aforesaid resolutions, ordinances and military regulations, or in default of these, the written laws directing the proceedings, and prescribing the style and manner thereof, to the proper phraseology of all writings and proofs, until these shall be brought to a determination, after which he shall prosecute the same to a conclusion, all in the speediest manner without delay of parties.

IX. And in order to enjoy more freedom in all matters, he shall not take from any person whatsoever any salary, or pensions or gifts, and shall content himself with the civil fines or penalties which shall be adjudged to him; and as regards the criminal fines, confiscation of wages, and monthly pay and such like, he shall make no further claim than shall be permitted to him at the discretion of our before mentioned Director and Council, who should endeavor so to manage thereupon, that the Fiscaal's part according to circumstances, shall not exceed for any one person, 25, 30, or at the utmost 50 guilders.

X. But from prizes or captured goods shall nothing be enjoyed, or claimed under any pretence, by him; he shall only pertinently inform himself of all sorts of prizes, which may be captured anywhere within his jurisdiction, by the ships or yachts of the Company or private persons, of the time, place and persons, nations and causes, whereby these should be holden and declared to be good prizes, and obtain all accounts regarding the quantity and quality of the captured property, and cause the same after previous taxation, to be declared good prizes by our Director and Council there.

XI. He shall likewise aid in observing that in cases carrying with them loss of life and property, the Judges shall be duly qualified and be at least five in number, and he shall equally assist to procure that all around there where criminal judicatures shall be holden, the same rule shall obtain.

XII. In case extensive colonies shall come there, in order that all may proceed regularly, the Commanders of said colonies there around, shall endeavor, that from time to time, the judgments delivered within their jurisdiction, whether civil or criminal, with informations and descriptions taken thereupon, shall be sent to him, that he may examine and see if any excesses have been committed, and finding such, to cause the same to be corrected in future; also if particular malice shall be anywhere observed, to proceed as before, on communication, earnestly and rigorously against the malfaisors.

XIII. He shall transmit hither by ships coming here, copies as well of the sentences and informations sent to him, as of those taken and obtained by himself, and allow the institution of all judicial acts necessary to vindicate the same here.

XIV. He shall take care that the criminal matters or sentences by our said Director and Council shall, after communication therewith, be promptly executed.

XV. He shall also take care that such as are in prison with the knowledge of the Director and Council aforesaid, shall not remain long there at the expense of the Company, without special cause, but so expeditiously prosecute them, that their trials shall be dispatched, and therefore advise the Director and Council as frequently as possible what prisoners are in keep at their suit or otherwise and on what charges.

XVI. In fine, he shall be holden in all places where he shall be, and in all matters to be diligent and faithful, as a good and trustworthy Fiscaal is bound and obliged to be, in return for such allowances and emoluments as are allowed to him by the noble Company.

XVII. And for the better direction and performance of his duty and office, the Secre-

tary of the aforementioned Director and Council shall assist him, as we hereby charge him, in the taking of any preparatory information, such as judicial acts, and all other previous matters and papers *in judicio* and out of the same, which shall be necessary for the performance of his duty.

XVIII. He shall also employ a sworn or such messenger as the aforesaid Council are respectively accustomed to make use of, to serve all such summonses, citations, or any other commands or *mandaments*, necessary to the performance and management of his office and duties.

XIX. And all this provisionally, the Directors of the West India Company reserving to their General Assembly of the XIX. these Instructions, according to circumstances, to add to or diminish, or otherwise to order, as it shall be found proper. Thus given, &c.

C.

Commission of Gerrit Swart, Schout of Rensselaerswyck.

[Rensselaerswyck MSS.]

JEAN VAN RENNELAER, hereditary Patroon, and the Co-directors of the Colonie named Rensselaerswyck, on the North River in New Netherland, have accepted as their officer or Schout, in the aforesaid Colonie, GERART SWART, who also engages himself in that capacity to them, on the following conditions:—

That he shall now proceed, with his wife, maid and servant, passage and board free, in the ship which shall be provided for him, to the aforesaid Colonie, and exercise there and fill the aforesaid office, and follow and punctually observe the commission and instructions which shall now be given herewith, together with those which shall from time to time be sent, and conveyed to him by authority of the Patroon and Co-directors.

He shall use for his dwelling, the house formerly used by the former preacher, situate in Green Bush, and there reside with his family; and exercise and discharge his aforesaid office with all diligence and fidelity, according to the laws, edicts and ordinances already, or hereafter to be enacted there.

He shall also, as is the duty of an obedient officer, be and remain subject to all laws, ordinances, and edicts already made, or hereafter to be made by the Patroon and Co-directors.

Likewise, on condition that the officer there shall not trade nor barter, directly nor indirectly, by himself or others, under any pretext.

And the aforesaid Gerrit Swart shall receive yearly for his wages, to be paid there by the Commissioners, the sum of four hundred guilders, for which he shall support himself in all things. He shall, moreover, receive all fines and penalties amounting to ten guilders or under, but of all exceeding that sum, he shall retain a just third part.

And all this for the term of three years certain, commencing when he shall have arrived in that country; provided that the Patroon and Co-directors reserve to themselves to abridge the aforesaid term, and discontinue the service whenever it shall so please them, without being obliged to give any reasons, nor to convey back either him or his family.

On which condition was here furnished him the said officer Schout, in cash, the sum

of three hundred Carolus guilders, which shall be deducted from his first earned wages. [Note in original: "This article was altered by the Patroon and Co-directors."]

Finally, when circumstances demand, the Commissioners there shall accord to him a servant.

All which points are agreed to, the aforesaid Gerrit Swart promising to acquit himself in his office honorably, faithfully and honestly, and perform his trust so that neither the Patroon nor Co-directors nor their Commissioners in that quarter, shall have any reason to complain, pledging thereunto his person and goods having and to have; submitting all them and the choice thereof to the judgment of all courts and magistrates, and specially to the jurisdiction of the Court of the Colonie Rensselaerswyck.

In testimony of all which, is this, by the parties, undersigned. In Amsterdam, the 24th April, 1652, to the knowledge of the subscribing Notary Public, residing within the aforesaid city, duly admitted by the Court of Holland. Was by their respective hands signed—JOHAN VAN RENSSELAER, GIACOMO BISSEL, for the Co-directors: G. SWART.

J. VAN DE VEN, Notary.

Instructions drawn up by Johan van Rensselaer, Patroon and Co-director of the Colonie called Rensselaers-wyck, for Gerrit Swart as Officer of the said Colonie, according to which he shall, in all good faith, regulate himself.

[Rensselaerswyck MSS.]

Having arrived with God's help at the island of Mannhattans, he shall proceed by the first opportunity to the Colonie, and report himself to Jan Baptist van Rensselaer, and make known unto him his quality, by exhibition of his Commission and Instructions.

He shall, above all things, take care that Divine worship shall be maintained in said Colonie, conformably to the Reformed Religion of this country, as the same is publicly taught in these United Provinces.

He shall, in like manner, pay attention that the Lord's day, the Sabbath of the New Testament, be properly respected both by the observance of hearing the Holy Word, as well as the preventing all unnecessary and daily labor on said day.

And whereas, it is a scandal, that the Christians should mingle themselves unlawfully with the wives or daughters of Heathens, the Officer shall labor to put in execution the placards and ordinances enacted or to be enacted against the same, and strictly exact the fines imposed thereby, without any dissimulation.

He shall consequently be ex-officio a party or attorney in all matters thereunto necessary, before our Court of justice resident in the aforesaid Colonie, in which he shall have free access and seat, but no vote.

The conducting of all criminal suits, their institution, execution, description and final prosecution, as he shall deem consistent with his recorded oath, shall therefore be in his name; it being well understood that he shall commence no suit relating to our jurisdiction, domain, or finance, except by order of our Commissaries.

And he shall prosecute no man criminally, or cause him to be apprehended unless on previous information, and this he shall not himself take except by order aforesaid, or unless he be on the spot when the offence is committed, and the delinquent be arrested in the act.

He shall in taking information, conduct himself honorably and uprightously, and describe the affair with all circumstances most fully, in order to record in writing the clearest and purest truth concerning the same, as well the grounds of defence on the part of the prisoners and accused persons, as of their accusation, provided that what most particularly relates to the service of the Patroonship be first of all inquired into.

He shall sedulously cause the placards, ordinances, resolutions, contracts and com-

mands of the Patroon and Co-directors to be observed, and attend that nothing be done contrary thereto.

And in order that he may be more free in every regard, he shall not be allowed to accept any presents, pensions or gifts from any person whatsoever, nor compound or agree in any criminal matter, but prosecute all according to law, and content himself with the fines and penalties which shall be adjudicated to him.

He shall likewise take care that in matters entailing confiscation of life or property, the judges shall be qualified to the number of at least five, and also see that the same rule be followed whenever courts of criminal jurisdiction shall be held.

Copies of the judgments with the informations either sent to, or taken and obtained by him, shall be forwarded hither in the first sailing ship, and all judicial acts shall be so recorded, that whoever need may be able to be vindicated here.

Care shall also be taken that no prisoners confined with the knowledge of our Court aforesaid, shall remain long in jail at the expense of the Colonie, without special cause, but they shall be prosecuted so expeditiously that their business shall be dispatched, and with that view, shall the Court aforesaid be advised as frequently as possible what prisoners are in custody at his instance or otherwise, and on what charge.

In fine, he shall be holden to conduct himself always diligently and faithfully as a good Officer is bound to do, on such stipend as is allowed by contract to him.

And for the better dispatch and discharge of this his office and duty, the Secretary of our Court shall draft the preparatory or introductory acts of information, and all other preceding matters and minutes *in judicio*, and moreover whatever shall be necessary for the performance of his office which we hereby order.

The sworn marshal appointed by the Commissaries, he shall also employ to serve all citations and summonses, in which he is not a party.

He shall further be bound to have these Instructions and Commission enregistered by the Secretary of the Commissaries.

Finally, in all matters relating to his office not specified herein, and which cannot admit of delay, or await the Patroon's and Co-directors' advice, he shall act on the resolve of the Commissaries and Court, and advise the Patroon and Co-directors thereof, by the first opportunity, so that suitable order may be taken thereupon.

And all this provisionally, the Patroon and Co-directors reserving unto themselves, to augment, diminish, correct this Instruction according to circumstances, or therein otherwise order as shall be found proper. Thus done and concluded in Amsterdam, this 8th May, 1652.

JOHAN VAN RENSSELAER,

JOHAN DE LAET, (a) for the Co-directors.

(a) JEAN DE LAET, author of the well known "*Novus Orbis, seu Descriptionis Indiæ Occidentalis*, Lib. xviii. fol. Leyden, 1633," translated into French, Leyden, 1640, and into Dutch, 1644; also author of the "*Jaerlyks Verhael van de Verrichtingen der West Indische Compagnie*, fol. Leyden, 1644;" was born at Antwerp, towards the close of the 16th century. He was one of the Directors of the West India Company, and Co-director of Rensselaerswyck, but devoted much of his time to literature, and enriched his age with several valuable works on geography, philology and history, a complete list of which is to be found in Blake's Biog. Dict., Watts' Bib. Brit., and Biog. Universelle, t. xxiii. The first two of these authorities fix the date of his death at 1640; the last at 1649. But all these are erroneous, since the Gerechts rolle of the Colonie of Rensselaerswyck acknowledges the receipt of letters from him in 1650, and we have, above, his signature affixed to Sheriff Swart's Instructions, in 1652.

D.

The Rev. Gideon Schaets.

This gentleman, the second clergyman in Albany, was born in 1607. He was originally engaged as minister of the Colonie of Rensselaerswyck, but in 1657 he was appointed, "at the request of the inhabitants of Fort Orange and Beverwyck," minister of the latter place, at a salary of 1200 gl. "to be collected for the greatest part from the inhabitants." The following is a copy of the contract under which he first came to this country:—

"We, Johan van Rensselaer Patroon, and Co-directors of the Colonie Rensselaerswyck in New Netherland, having seen and examined the Actes granted by the Venerable Classis of Amsterdam to Dominie Gideon Schaets, so have We invited and accepted the said Gideon Schaets as Preacher in our aforesaid Colonie, there to perform Divine Service in quality aforesaid:—

"To use all Christian zeal there to bring up both the Heathens and their children in the Christian Religion.

"To teach also the Catechism there, and instruct the People in the Holy Scriptures, and to pay attention to the office of Schoolmaster for old and young.

"And further, to do everything fitting and becoming a public, honest and Holy Teacher, for the advancement of Divine service and church exercise among the young and old.

"And, in case his Reverence should take any of the Heathen children there to board and to educate, he shall be indemnified therefor as the Commissioners there shall think proper.

"And he is accepted and engaged for the period of three years, commencing when his Reverence shall have arrived thither in the Colonie Rensselaerswyck, in the ship the Flower of Gelder, his passage and board being free; and he shall enjoy for his salary, yearly, the sum of eight hundred guilders, which shall be paid to his Reverence there through the Patroon's and Co-directors' Commissioners; and in case of prolongation, the salary and allowance shall be increased in such manner as the parties there shall mutually agree upon.

"And as a donation, and in confirmation of this reciprocal engagement, one hundred guilders are now presented to the Dominie.

"And in addition, the sum of three hundred guilders to be deducted from the first earned wages in the Colonie, which moneys he hereby doth acknowledge to have received, acquitting thereof the Patroon and Co-directors.

"Finally, should the Dominie require any money to the amount of one hundred guilders to be paid yearly here, and to be deducted there, the said payment, on advice from the Commissaries there, shall be made here to the order of the aforesaid Dominie.

"Whereupon, the call, acceptance, and agreement are concluded, each promising on his side with God's help to observe and follow the same, which each has promised, and in testimony thereof have both signed this. In Amsterdam, this eighth of May XVI hundred two and fifty. Was subscribed, JOHAN VAN RENSSELAER, TOUSSAINT MUSSART, for the Co-directors; GIDEON SCHAETS, called minister to Rensselaerswyck. Under which stood, Concordat hæc copia cum suo originali quod attestor, and was subscribed, J. van de Ven, Not. Pub.

"After collation, the above was found to agree with the copy of the original, which witnesseth

D. V. HAMEL, Secretarius

of the Colonie Rensselaerswyck."

The Rev. Mr. Schaets had three children, two sons and one daughter. Reynier, the oldest, removed to Schenectady, where he was killed, with his son, at the great massacre, Feb. 10th, 1690. Bartolomeus, the second, passed over to Holland in 1670, but returned to this country and settled as a silversmith in New York, where he died in or about the year 1720, leaving a son Reynier, from whom are descended all of the name now in this country, and who are scattered through New York, Connecticut, Louisiana, &c.

Anneke S. the Dominie's daughter, married Thomas Davitse Kikebell of New York. She was by no means a favorite with some of the female portion of her father's congregation, who carried their feelings so far, at one time, as to object to approach the Lord's Supper in her company. Her father resented this. Indeed, already female gossip had been caught busy at a tea party, with even the Dominie's character; a prosecution for slander ensued, and the parties had to pay heavy damages. Out of this probably arose the ill-will towards the daughter, who was sent by the magistrates to her husband at New York. The Dominie, in consequence, resigned his charge over the church, after having preached a sermon on 2 Pet. i. 12-15. He was, however, reconciled to his flock, and Anneke returned to her father, by whom she seems to have been much loved. Dominie Schaets continued pastor of the Dutch church at Albany until 1683, a period of over thirty years. During that time he frequently visited Esopus, Schenectady, and other out settlements. His successor in the mission, was the Rev. Godefredius Delius.

E.

*Muster roll of the several Companies of the Burgher Corps of
New Amsterdam. 1653.*

[Albany Records, VIII.]

| 1. | | 3. | |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------|--|---------------------------|
| Captain, | Arent van Hattem, | Lieutenant, | Paul. L. van der Grist. |
| Sergeant, | David Provoost, | Sergeant, | Gerrit Loockermans. |
| Corporal, | Claes Carstensen, | Corporal, | Johannis Verbrugge. |
| Lance Corporal, | Willem Pietersen, | Lance Corporal, | Conrad ten Eyck, |
| Cadets, Claes Bordingh, Isaac Kip, | | Cadets, Abr. Clock, | Joris Woolsey, |
| Andries de Haes, Albert Coninck. | | Isaac Foreest, | Marcus Hendricks. |
| Privates. | | Privates. | |
| Hage Bruynsen, | | Pieter Pietersen, | |
| [Erasure.] | | Andries Edwards, | |
| Jan Gerritsen, mason, | | Cornelis Jans Seent, | |
| Hendrick Egberts, | | Barent Jacobs Crol, | |
| Hans Stein, | | Auke Jansen, | |
| Teunis Fredriks, | | Jacob Tys van Heide, | |
| Andries Hopper, | | Wynand Gongelmans, | |
| Ary Jacobsen, | | Stoffel Elbertsen, | |
| Harmen Bilderbeeck, | | Roelof Jansen Vouck, | |
| Jacob Bakker, | | Harmen Thunisz. | |
| Thomas Lambertsen, | | Cornelis Hendricksen, | |
| Geurt Coertsen. | | Jacob van den Bos, | |
| | | Dirk Jansen tot Loockermans, | |
| | | Egbert Gerritsen, | |
| | | Fredrick Hendricksen, | |
| | | Carsten Malys. | |
| 2. | | 4. | |
| Ensign, | Van Beeck, | Senior Sergeant, | Daniel Lush, [Litschoe ?] |
| Sergeant, | Arent Dircksen, | Corporal, | Pieter van Naerden, |
| Corporal, | Abr. de la Noy, | Lance Corporal, | Lodewyck Pots, |
| Lance Corporal, | Abr. Pietersen, | Cadets, J. de Peyster, Egbert Woutersen, | |
| Cadets, Nicolaes Boot, Jan de Cuyper, | | Math. de Vos, Anthony de Moor. | |
| Michl. Pouwelsen, Cors. Pietersen | | Privates. | |
| Privates. | | Pieter Jacobsen, | |
| Hendrick Hendricksen, | | Egbert van Borsum, | |
| Jan Hutsen, | | Albert Jansen, | |
| Roelof Jansen, | | Jan Dircksen, | |
| Claes Hendricksen, | | Claes Tysen Cuyper, | |
| Andries Jochemsen, | | Cornelis Willemsen, | |
| Johannes Withart, | | Claes van Elsland, | |
| Abr. Martensen, | | Jacob Vis, | |
| Pieter Loockermans, | | Harman Rutgers, | |
| Gerrit Gerritsen, | | Cornelis Jansen Coelen, | |
| Andries de Kuyper, | | Adriaen Blommaert, | |
| Hendrick Gerritsen, | | Jan Peeck, | |
| Willem Albertsen, | | Lowris Cornelissen. | |
| Lucas Andriessen, | | | |
| Bernard Wessels, | | | |
| Adam Roelantsen. | | | |

F.

Captain Underhill's deed of the Dutch land at Hartford.

[Records in Secretary of State's Office, Hartford.]

Whereas, the House of Hope and the land belonging to ye same, being neare Hartford, on ye River of Connecticut in Newe Engd, haueing beene in the possession of ye Dutchmen, for the space of twenty years, as yr proper right and estate was seized by mee Capt. John Vnderhill, on the 27th day of June, in yeare one thousand six hundred fiftie and three, being present as witnesses Willm Whetenye and John Ingersall, both of Hartford, and the witness of the sayd seizure, given in uppon oath before the Gouvernor Haynes, the 12th day of Octbr, 1653, being seized by virtue of a comsⁿ granted by ye Counsell of State, in Engd's act or acts of perliamente, for seizure of the estate of ye Dutch, as enemie to the Common Wealth of Engd, doe by these presents sell bargayne and pas over this said House of Hope wth all the lands belonging to the Dutch, wth all proffitts and emolluments whatsoever, unto Wm Gibbens and Richd Lord of Hartford, yr heires, executors, administrats, or assigns for ever, alwayse provided the state part accordinge to ye tenor of ye comsⁿ and acts of Parliament, for ye seizure of ye estate of ye Dutch as enemie to England provides giving and graunting unto ye sd Gibbens and Lord their heers, successors, administrators and assigns full power and authority to use and possesse the same and otherwise to dispose of every part and parcel thereof, as their proper land and estate, always prouided the State's part excepted to ye despose of them, [or such as are] or shall be appointed to order the same. Warranting the sd Gibbens and Lord, yr heires, ex^{rs} administrats and assigns, against the clayme of any person or persons whatsoever, from any act or acts of myne, formerly committed or done, and by these sd presents, binding myselfe, my heires, ex^{rs} adm^{rs} and assigns, to make good this my present sale, unto the sd Gibbens and Lord, their ex^{rs} administrats and assigns, having recd satisfactⁿ accordinge to ye terme of a writing made unto the sd Gibbens and Lord, bearing date ye 13th Octobr 1653. The truth hereof, I the sd John Underhill, have subscribed my hand and fixed my seale, this 16 day of July, 1655.

(Signed)

JOHN UNDERHILL.

Witnesses, Samuel Fitch, Matthw Allyn.

G.

The Second Part of the Amboyna Tragedy ; or a Faithful Account of a Bloody, Treacherous, and Cruel Plot of the Dutch in America, purporting the total Ruin and Murder of All the English Colonists in New England ; extracted from the various Letters lately written from New England to different Merchants in London.

[Translated from English into Dutch, and afterwards from Dutch into English.]

[Albany Records, VIII.]

The Colonies of New England are composed of various governments, such as Connecticut, New Haven, Rhode Island, Plymouth, Massachusetts, the Province of Maine, Pemmaquody, &c. Some of these enjoy their separate jurisdictions, while others are deliberating and associating together.

The Dutch settled to the south of these tracts, on the Mannhattans, or New Netherland, while the French took possession of the country to the north-east, all along the Great River of Canada. Between these Nations was cultivated, until very lately, an amicable correspondence and reciprocal assistance against our Common Enemy, the Cruel Indians. When about six years past, the Dutch were reduced by the Indians to the most perilous extremities, they solicited the aid and succor of the English, which we sent them without delay, under the Command of Captain John Underhill, a person of courage, experience and prudence, who valuing Christian blood higher than the Riches and Treasures of the Indians, although an offer was made to him of a Hogshead of Wampum, being their Currency, to retreat with his forces, nevertheless hazarded an attack on the Indians in vindication of the Dutch, by which, in one Night, Fourteen hundred Savages were killed, without any remarkable loss to the English. By this heroic act, they restored, with the aid of the Almighty, peace and tranquillity to the Dutch.

But the Dutch, obscuring or misrepresenting these heroic achievements, by their ingratitude, (while their Amboyna treacherous Cruelty extended itself from the East to the West Indies, and pursued thus the straight channel of Dutch blood,) searched ere long to effect the ruin of their neighbors, their friends, their noble Protectors, the English ; and canonized themselves by their worthless conduct in the rank of ungrateful, perjured, blood-thirsty, cruel men.

For they, about March, 1653, stirred by presents and promises four of the Principal Heathen Sagamores, Great Princes in the countries of the Mannhattans, Narraganses, Pequots, Massachusetts, and Pigwoequet, some of whom were fell, blood-thirsty men—the proper instruments to effect such a horrible plan—to make an assault on the English on a Sunday, when the English would be altogether in their Meeting houses, and murder and burn all which they could effect. To succeed in this their Devilish project, they supplied the Indian Wig-wams with arms and ammunition which they received from Holland—that Fountain of Treacheries—a ship load of all sorts of Implements adapted to represent THE SECOND AMBOYNA TRAGEDY. But God Almighty, who was ever a Merciful Protector to the English in these quarters, as is evident during the War with the Pequattoes, &c. suscitated, through His infinite goodness, in the fullness of time (before the determined Bloody Day had arrived) an Indian, who himself was

engaged to be one of the Bloody Bonzes, and inspired him to become a Saviour of our Nation by his discovery, when he informed the Magistrates of Boston of the Bloody intentions of the Dutch and Indians.

Hereupon several Merchants were solicited to proceed, with all possible dispatch, to the residence of the Indians, to try what they could discover. On this request, Messrs. Gardner, Huttington, [Hutchinson?] Hooper, and Severn went thither. The first cabin at which they arrived, was filled with arms and ammunition, although this had always been forbidden to the Indians, and all their muskets were loaded with powder and ball. These arms were carried off by these Gentlemen, and brought to Boston, upon which the whole country was armed in its defence, while Capt. John Leverett and Mr. Davis were commissioned from Boston to New Netherland, and accompanied by a few Indians, who did confess they were hired by the Dutch to become instruments of this unheard of and unparalleled inhumanity. When these gentlemen were returned, and fully convinced that the Dutch were guilty of the aforesaid treachery, men were soon enlisted to oppose the Dutch. Capt. Hawthorne had the drum beat at Salem for Volunteers, and obtained one hundred and fifty able-bodied men, who offered their services. A great part of the English in the south-west were compelled to leave their dwellings; and some letters assert that the French and Indians were allied in a confederacy with the Dutch, whereby the English were surrounded by their enemies. But the Lord will deliver them from the hands of all their enemies. Let all good Christians pray God for a blessing on all their enterprises, and crown these with successful victories. Amen.

The vessel that arrived at Dartmouth from New England, in six weeks, is laden with tar, and belongs to William Phillips, of Boston. This is the first ship which arrived thence since the time this Bloody Tragedy was to be represented. If any Individual desires more correct information, he may address himself to those merchants who are trading to New England, whose letters will confirm the certainty of these reports.

LONDON: Printed by *Thomas Matthys*, residing in St. Paul's Churchyard, at the sign of the Cock.

Extract of a letter from the Directors at Amsterdam, to the Director and Council of New Netherland, dated 4th Nov. 1653.

[Albany Records, IV., 121.]

"We saw with regret and surprise from your letter dated June 5, as we observed before in our letter of 18th Aug., of which we again enclose a copy, the frivolous and false accusations, broached against us by those of New England, which they only invented to cover their malicious machinations under a garb of Justice, treading in the steps of their Principals, whose government is established upon this foundation. These, informed of the ruinous and false aspersions of New England, fomented first, as is apparent, by their own suggestions, did embellish and increase this uncouth rhapsody, and published in London the most infamous lying libel, at which the Devil in Hell would have been startled, under the title of 'The Second Amboyna Tragedy, or True Account,' &c. We directly ordered the translation, and enclose a copy of it, that your Honors might see what stratagems that Nation employs, not only to irritate the populace, but the whole world, if possible, and to stir it up against us."

H.

Further Memorial delivered by his Swedish Majesty's Resident, to their High Mightinesses, in support of the good and complete Right of the Swedish Crown and its subjects, to Nova Suecia [New Sweden] in America. June, 1664.

[Aitzema, Staat en Oorlog. V., 247.]

"Summarily to deduce the said Right, in addition to the said Resident's Memorials of the 27th March, 1656, and 27th June, 1664, it is so that the district Nova Suecia, lying on the west side of the South River of Florida in America, was not taken, purchased or bought from any Netherlanders or Hollanders, to whom it never hath belonged; but from the Indians themselves, whose property it was, and that at a time when it still lay wild, vacant and waste, and never inhabited by any European nation. Which Indians as right owners of that country, delivered up and conveyed the same to the Crown of Sweden and its subjects after due purchase and treaty, and fixed and established the limits thereof by erecting the Swedish arms, as the same appears by the thereon executed documents and acts signed and ratified by the true owners and proprietors of those lands, who, though Indians, have among themselves their form of government, justice and policy, whereby they, after their manner, maintain each his own; and they being Master and Lord of their own country have also, consequently, the power to sell and alienate the same according as they thought proper. The Crown of Sweden having acquired, then, the aforesaid country by a good title, its possession thereof has therefore been lawful, without affording the West India Company here any pretext for saying that it has been injured; the intention having never been to disturb the same in its property.

"It appears by the published Maps of New Netherland, that the aforesaid West India Company are in possession on the South River, fifteen miles up from Fort Nassau, which fort will not be called in question here, it lying on the opposite, or eastern bank of the River. The West India Company may deduce (doceren) therefrom; but the said fort can, by no means, give them any jurisdiction over Nova Suecia, which is altogether separated from New Netherland by the aforesaid River, and lies on the west side thereof, where the Crown of Sweden caused Fort Christina to be built, which was the first Fortification erected there after the acquisition of that District, where the Royal Swedish Governor had always duly maintained the respect and jurisdiction of the Crown of Sweden, and even preserved good understanding and neighborhood with the Hollanders on the North River, in order the better to exclude, by united action, other nations. It were to be desired that this union continued, and that the West India Company could have been content with what they were possessing. But the said Company seeing that the west bank of the River, on Nova Suecia, was the best land, and that the Swedes had purchased the same from the right owners, and held this *justo titulo*, had recourse to divers expedients to obtain a foothold on the same side of the River, but having been informed by the inhabitants how far the Swedish limits extended, could not well accomplish their purpose, so long as the Swedish Governor maintained his right. They took their residence far down in the Bay, and acted with the Indians in wild disorder, who would repel their violence with similar violence, but were unable.

“By such and no other right, did the West India Company afterwards from time to time, render themselves more and more masters in the South River, being, besides that, also more powerful in the North River than the Swedes, especially as the Swedes had experienced some delay and inconvenience in the transportation of their ordinary garrisons and people. This gave the advantage to the West India Company, and they pressing forward into Nova Suecia, forcibly tore down the boundaries and Swedish arms far and near, and constructed a fort two miles below Fort Christina, on Swedish territory. The said place was afterwards wrested again from them, but the West India Company sending, thereupon, a ship from Amsterdam thither, with ammunition and troops, they had recourse to such extreme violence and hostility, that they seized on the whole of Nova Suecia ; stripped Fort Christina of all pieces of ammunition, forced the Swedish Colonists in those parts to swear fealty and homage, and regardless of right, dragged everything after them, wherein they still persist, and strengthen themselves more and more ; debauching not only the Swedish inhabitants who happen to be there, but even drawing and conveying from Finland and Old Sweden, additional inhabitants to be employed in their service in New Sweden, as the Swedish people are more conversant with, and understand better than any other nation, the cultivation of pasture, wood and tillage land, fishing, hunting and fowling.

“His Most Sacred Majesty could not observe without resentment, such proceedings and enormities, and hopes that they will be regarded by their High Mightinesses with such indignation, that the West India Company of this country shall be constrained to render due restitution and satisfaction in all these premises. For, hath the Crown of Sweden acquired Nova Suecia justly ? Was the same in lawful possession thereof ? Hath the West India Company here deprived the Swedish Crown thereof by force and violence ? Doth the said Company still persist in its injustice and wrong ? It is, then, proper and highly necessary, that provision should at once be made, that the aforesaid Company be brought to reason, and restore back what they are unjustly occupying, with indemnity for all caused loss and injuries, which his Most Sacred Majesty expects from their High Mightinesses without further delay.”

[The difficulties between Sweden and Holland, arising out of the seizure of Nova Suecia, were not settled until July, 1667, when a treaty was concluded, the sixth article of which provided that the controversies between the Swedish African Company, and the Dutch West India Company, relating to the damages which they severally claimed to have suffered in America, should be examined, with his Majesty's Ambassadors, according to law and equity, which being terminated, satisfaction should be given to the injured party without delay. The negotiations which preceded this treaty, are at much length in Aitzema, v. and vi.]

I.

PAPERS RELATING TO STATEN ISLAND.

Indian Deed of Sale of Staten Island to Baron Van der Capellen.

[Albany Records, VIII.]

We undersigned Natives of North America, hereditary Proprietors of Staten Island, Sachems of Tasp, Taghkospermoo of Tappaan, Temris of Gweghongh, Mattenon of Hespatingh, Waertsen of Hackingsack, Nechtan of Hackingsack, Minqualakyn of Hooghkong, Conincks of Hooghkong, Nigkanis of Gweghkongh, Mintamessesms of Gweghkongh, Acchipoor of Hoogkong, declare and certify for ourselves and our posterity, in the presence of the undersigned witnesses, that we transport, first all our Right and property, without any reserve for ourselves or our posterity, forever, to Lubbertus van Dincklage, as agent of the Baron Hendrick van der Capellen, Lord of Ryssel, the whole [of] Staten Island, called by us *Eghquaous*, for the following specified goods, to be imported here from England, and to be delivered to us, the original proprietors:—Ten cargoes of shirts; thirty pairs of Ferouse stockings; ten guns; ten staves of lead; thirty lbs. of powder; thirty ells red Dozyn's cloth; two pieces of frieze; thirty kettles, large and small; fifty axes, small and large; twenty-five chisels; a few awls; a few knives.

We engage ourselves to ally with and assist our Friends, if any other savages might insult, molest or assail the inhabitants of Staten Island. In truth whereof, we, the original proprietors, signed this Acte, with the witnesses, with submission to the Courts of Justice at Hespating near Hackingsack on Waerkimins Connie in New Netherland, on the 10th of July, 1657.

Sale and Surrender of Staten Island by Cornelis Melyn, as Patroon, to the Directors of Amsterdam.

[Albany Records, VIII.]

THIS DAY, the 14th of June, in the year 1659, acknowledges Mr. Cornelis Melyn, thus far Patroon, and enjoying the Jus Patronatus of the Colonie on Staten Island, situated at the mouth of the North River in New Netherland, for himself, his heirs and posterity, and agreed with the Lords Directors of the Privileged West India Company, and the Department of Amsterdam, voluntarily, in the following manner:—

He shall and will make a cession and transfer of all his authority, pre-eminences, jurisdictions, prerogatives, advantages, emoluments, privileges and exemptions, which he as Patroon enjoyed, in the lands and over the inhabitants of the Colonie of Staten Island, with all its consequences, appendices and dependencies, without any exception, which he obtained, as well by resolutions, acts and articles of privileges and exemptions, as by open letters, which were granted him by the Director Willem Kieft, deceased, in New Netherland; and by other letters confirming his claims, which might yet have been produced, without exception, all which he shall deliver to the aforesaid Department, both here and in New Netherland, as far as these can be discovered. *Provided*, that by the aforesaid Company and Department, shall in New Netherland to him be

reimbursed all such money as have been obtained from the sale of a dwelling house, situated on the Manhattans in New Amsterdam, near the Fort, which was sold by the Director-general Stuyvesant, by execution in behalf of Daniel Michaelsen, skipper of the ship the New Netherland Fortune, in so far this money is yet in the possession of the Company ; and besides that, shall be paid to him here in ready cash, the sum of fifteen hundred guilders ; and further that he shall enjoy the freedom and exemptions, as well here as in New Netherland, from recognitions, to the amount of about one thousand guilders in wares and merchandises, necessary articles for husbandry, or similar permitted goods, which he might conclude to transport with him to New Netherland ; and further, that he with his family and attendants shall be transported thither either in a hired vessel, or in one belonging to the Company, at the Company's expense, in conformity to present usage. Further, that he too shall as a free Colonist and Inhabitant, possess for himself and his posterity, as free and allodial property, all the lands, houses and lots which he thus far possessed, or might in future possess, (and of which no other persons had taken possession,) or to the inheritance of which he may be entitled either by a last will, codicil, donation or legacy, or by contract, or in any other manner, to dispose of these, agreeably to the articles of freedom and exemptions which were granted to the Patroons and colonists ; that whenever his oldest son shall be of age, and be competent to execute the office, and a Sheriff in aforesaid Colonie shall be wanted or shall be appointed over said Colonie, he shall be preferred by the Company and Department of Amsterdam, above all others ; and finally, that the Company shall procure him by the Director-general Stuyvesant, a full amnesty, with regard to all disputes and contentions between them, whether these regard the Company, or their Province, or whatever subject these may relate to, which existed before, and shall now be entirely obliterated, so that henceforward they shall treat one another as good friends and with respect, and assist one another whenever it shall be in their power.

For all which the aforesaid Cornelis Melyn submits his person and property, real and personal, present and future, without any exception, to the control of the Court of Justice in Holland, and to that of all other courts and judges, as well in New Netherland as here. In good faith and truth whereof, have subscribed the Directors and Commissaries, appointed and authorized by their Brethren for this special purpose, on the 10th of April last, and signed by the aforesaid Cornelis Melyn, in Amsterdam, on the day and year mentioned above. Was signed—EDOUARD MAN, as Director ; ABRAHAM WILMERDONCK, as Director ; H. BONTEMANTEL, as Director ; CORNELIS MELYN, former Patroon of Staten Island. In my presence as Notary, H. Schaaf, Not. Pub. Lower stood—Agrees with my Protocol, in truth whereof was signed, H. Schaaf, Not. Pub

Agrees with the authentic copy,

H. DECKER.

Surrender by Baron Van der Capellen to the Company, of his interest in Staten Island.

[Albany Records, VIII.]

This day, the 20th November, 1660, appeared before me, Nicolaes Listing, Not. Pub., at Amsterdam, and admitted by the Supreme Court of Holland as such, upon a nomination of the Resp. Magistrates of that city, in the presence of the undersigned witnesses, Baron Frederick van der Capellen ter Budelhoff, as Executor and Co-heir of the late Hendrick van der Capellen tot Ryssel, on the one side, and their Honors Hans Bontemantel, Edouard Man, Abraham Wilmerdonck, and Coenradt Burgh, Directors of the Privileged West India Company, Department Amsterdam, as a Committee from the other Directors, on the other side ; who declared that in their respective qualities they consented and agreed together, viz. :—

That the aforesaid Baron Van der Capellen ter Budelhoff surrenders to the other gentlemen who appeared before us, in behalf of the aforesaid Company, such a portion as the aforesaid Baron Van der Capellen pretended to be his property, in Staten Island, situated in New Netherland, with the Patronage, the Mansion, Out-houses, Tools of husbandry, Stock, with other Appendencies and Dependencies, as it was possessed by Baron Van der Capellen tot Ryssel, of which, now the Baron Van der Capellen ter Budelhoff shall deliver to the other contractants, appearing before me, all proofs, letters, documents and informations, which may be yet among the papers of the deceased, or in his own possession; and made, besides this, a transfer of the whole to the aforesaid Company, as it ought to be when the full property is understood to have been transferred to another with its actual possession. Wherefore, the aforesaid Baron Van der Capellen ter Budelhoff shall remain holden, in his aforesaid quality as executor, and in his individual capacity, to defend, in their behalf, this part of Staten Island, against any claims whatever, and indemnify the aforesaid Company against any pretensions upon this property, under what color and by whom these might be instituted, particularly that of Cornelis Melyn. Wherefore, the aforesaid Directors of the Company, shall pay to the aforesaid Baron Van der Capellen ter Budelhoff, the sum of three thousand guilders in yet unpaid discharges to the Company, for which the Province of Guiderland then remained responsible; so too the assignment of the cargo of the vessel, named the New Netherland Fortune, upon all which the aforesaid High contracting Parties declared, in their quality above mentioned, with respect to the damages which the deceased Baron Van der Capellen tot Ryssel suffered by the confiscation of said cargo, that the above Directors shall compensate it to the Baron Van der Capellen ter Budelhoff, at the sum in which the deceased Baron Van der Capellen tot Ryssel was interested in said lading; which sum too shall be considered to be paid, in discharge of the Province of Guiderland's debt as remaining yet unpaid; and this with the express stipulation that the aforesaid Baron Van der Capellen ter Budelhoff shall accept absolutely all the above mentioned discharges in payment, and endeavor to convert these at his own risk to his best advantage, as he may deem proper, without any interference of the Company. Declaring finally, the said parties concerned in this transaction, that they promise and bind themselves to a faithful execution of the above mentioned articles, submitting, the aforesaid Baron Van der Capellen ter Budelhoff, all the property of the deceased, with his own person and property; while the other party, the aforesaid Directors, submitted, in the same manner, all the goods and effects of the Company to the jurisdiction of any Court of Justice, all in good faith: And requested that an Acte of this transaction should be made and delivered, which was performed in the city of Amsterdam, in the presence of Baron Gerlach van Essen tot Eldenhoven, and Mr. Abraham Decker as witnesses, who signed the minutes with the contracting parties.

Lower stood :—

Quod attestor manu et sigillo, and was signed, N. Listingh, Not. Pub. In the margin stood the signature of the Notary in red wax, and covered with a white paper

K.

Agreement between John Scott and Governor Stuyvesant.

[Records in the Department of State, Albany.]

WHEREAS, January 4th, 1663-4, After a full debate between John Scott, Esq., President of the English of ye townes of Gravesend, Ffolstone, Hastings, Crafford, Newark and Hempsted, in ye audience and by ye free consent off ye greater part off ye said inhabitants, who declared yt it was ye minds off all their neighbours, that the said John Scott should agitate and treat wth ye Governor Stuyvesant or his Councell, in ye premised capacity, which being accordingly effected, articles of agreement were drawn between ye said John Scott in his publike capacity, and Captain John Young, who averred yt it was the desire of Conneticut to accomodate such a settlement, as was agreed vpon betweene ye English off ye townes above sayd, in relation to the Royalties off ye King off England, and the maintenance off his sayd Maiesties late disposal to his Royall Highnesse James Duke off Yorke and Albany, Earle of Vlster, Lord High Admirall off England; and the said lord Stuyvesant and Councell, having mett John Scott aforesayd according to agreement, notwithstanding some petty irregularity transacted in ye said townes, it is determined betweene John Scott, Esquire, according to the premised agreement in the name off ye King off England, Charles ye second, our dread Sovereign, and off His Royall Highnesse ye Duke off York, as far as His Highnesse is therein concerned, and flor ye preservation off ye good people off ye townes aforesayd, his Maiesties good subiects and ye maintenance of the articles betwixt England and Holland, and flor the prevention off ye effesusion off blood, yt the English off Hemstead, Newark, Crafford, Hastings, Ffolestone and Gravesend, and any other English on the sayd Long Island, shall bee and remain according to their sayd settlement, vnder the King off England, without lett or molestation from the Governor Stuyvesant and Councell, in ye name off our Lords the States Generall, and the Bewint Hebbers for the space of Twelve months, and long (viz.) vntill his Maiestie off England and the States Generall doe fully determine the whole difference about the sayd Island and the places adiacent, and that till then the sayd people his Maiesties good subiects and his Royalties bee not invaded, but have free egresse and regresse to ye Manhatans, (alias) New Amsterdam, and all other places wholly possessed by the Dutch, according to the fformer articles off January ye 4th, 1663, and that the Dutch shall have free egresse and regresse in all or any off ye sayd towns, either in negotiation or administration of iustice, according to the laws off England, wjthout any respect to persons or Nations, and that ye Dutch towns or bouweries shall remain under ye States Generall ye aforesaid term, His Maiesties Royalties excepted; and that the sayd John Scott, nor any by him, shall molest in his Maiesties name ye sayd Dutch towns.

To the performance off ye premises in publicke capacity, the parties to these presents have enterchangably set to their hands and seals, this twentie fourth off Ffebr. Ano 1663-4. In the sixteenth year off his Maiesties reign King, &c. Jo. SCOTT.

Witnesse, JOHN VNDERHILL,
DAVID DENTON,
ADAM MOTT,

O. STEVENS V. CORTLANDT,
J. BACKER,
JOHN LAWRENCE.

L.

Order for the West India Company, concerning the division of Boundaries in New Netherland, dated the 23d January, 1664.

[Groot Placcet Book, II.]

The STATES GENERAL of the United Netherlands, To all who shall hear or see these, Health:—BE IT KNOWN, Whereas, for divers and weighty reasons, We thought proper, in the year 1621, to erect and establish in our country a Company called the West India Company, through the same alone and to the exclusion of all others, to resort and trade to the coasts and countries of Africa, from the Tropic of Cancer to the Cape of Good Hope, and the countries of America, or the West Indies, beginning from the south end of *Terra Nova* through the Straits of Magellan and Le Maire, or other passages and Straits situate thereabout, unto the Strait of Anyan, as well on the North as the South Sea, and all Islands lying on the one and the other side and betwixt both, and extending to the Australian or Southern countries, and lying between both Meridians, including in the east the Cape of Good Hope, and in the west the east end of New Guinea. Granting by the second article of the Charter of the 3d June, 1621, given to them under our great seal, further and more particularly, that they in our name and by our authority may within the aforesaid limits, make and conclude contracts, treaties and alliances with the Princes and Natives of the countries contained therein, erect fortresses and strongholds there, appoint, remove and dismiss Governors, soldiers and officers of Justice necessary for all other requisite services, for the conservation of the places, the maintenance of good order, Police, and Justice, together with the promotion of trade, and others in their places to appoint, according as the same shall be found proper, and especially as it may best promote the peopling of fruitful and uninhabited countries; and the aforesaid Company having, from the beginning, by virtue of the aforesaid Charter, in conformity with our sincere intention, established their population and colonists on the coast of America, in the country called NEW NETHERLAND, notwithstanding which some persons evil disposed towards our State and the said Company, endeavor to misrepresent our good and honest meaning contained in the said Charter, as if We had privileged the said Company only to trade within the said limits, and not to colonize or to plant settlements, or take possession of lands, calling the Company's right thereto into question.

Wherefore We, desirous to assure all, each, and every one whom it may concern, of Our intention in the aforesaid Octroy, hereby Declare Our meaning well and truly to have been and still to be, that the aforesaid Company was and is still empowered to establish Colonies and Settlements on lands unoccupied by others, within the limits aforesaid, and particularly that the same (for the preservation of the right which devolved on them in virtue of the aforesaid Charter, by discovery and occupation of the Fresh River, and other places in New Netherland, situated more easterly even unto Cape Cod, and from Cape Hinlopen and fifteen miles farther south, along the coast;) could by virtue of the aforesaid granted Charter provisionally, and until further agreement on settled boundaries between the King of Great Britain and Us, adjust their limits conformably to the provisional division of boundaries concluded in America between both governments in the year 1650, and ratified by Us on the 22d Feb. 1656, which shall be as follows, to wit:—On the main land from the west side of Greenwich Bay, being about four miles from Stamford, and also to run inland in a northerly direction twenty miles, provided that

it approach not within ten miles of the North River. And further on Long Island, from the west side of Oyster Bay in a straight line south unto the sea, remaining by provision and in conformity as before, the east part of the aforesaid Island to the English, and the west to the said West India Company and the Inhabitants of this country.

Wherefore, We request all Emperors, Kings, Republics, Princes and Potentates, Friends and Allies of this State, or Neutrals, to allow the aforesaid West India Company to enjoy and possess the aforesaid limits in peace and quietness, which We shall freely reciprocate towards them on suitable occasions. We further expressly and strictly charge and command all, each, and every person in our service, and under our obedience, and especially the Inhabitants within the aforesaid limits, punctually and precisely to regulate themselves according to the tenor of this Our Acte, without opposition, or acting or allowing others to act contrary thereto, on pain of incurring Our highest indignation and displeasure, and being consequently punished as contraveners of Our commands, according as the exigency of affairs shall demand. Given at the Hague, under Our great seal, the paraphure and signature of Our Clerk, on the 23d January, 1664.

Letter of the States General to the Villages situated in New Netherland, such as Oost-dorp, Gravesande, Heemstede, Vlissingen, Middleburgh, Rustdorp, Amersfoort, Middlewout, New Utrecht, Breukelen, and Boswyck.

[Albany Records, VIII. ; Holland Documents, X.]

THE STATES GENERAL, &c. Honorable, wise, discreet friends :—It having for some time come to Our ears, through the complaints of the West India Company, that the English in America have sought from time to time, notwithstanding the provisional division of boundaries concluded at Hartford in 1650, to settle within the District provisionally assigned to the above-mentioned Company by the aforesaid division, and consequently in the places and villages situated within the same, having first given notice that they should withdraw themselves from Our allegiance and repair under the English government; secondly, have deposed the magistrates appointed there in Our name by the Director-general and Council, released them from their sworn oath, and established others again in their stead, the magistrates appointed by the aforesaid Director and Council, regardless of that respect and obedience due to Us as their superiors, offering no opposition thereto; nay, on the contrary, as the English aver, they solicited these appointments. Therefore, We, desirous to provide against these and such like disorders, have resolved hereby well and strictly to charge your Honors, that in case you, forgetful of your plight, should have repaired under the government of the English, to return again under Our allegiance, so soon as your Honors have received these presents; or if you be further importuned by the English to come under them, to demean yourselves as those subjects do who still remain in Our allegiance, until We shall have agreed with the King of Great Britain on the boundaries, on pain, for contravening these, of experiencing Our severest indignation and displeasure, and being punished according as the exigency of the matter may demand, which your Honors will take into proper consideration. Wherewith ending, &c. At the Hague, the 23d January, 1664.

M.

List of Patents issued by the Dutch Government from 1630 to 1664, rendered as complete as the Books of Patents and Town Records now admit.

| Names of Patentees. | Description of Grant. | Location of Grant. | Date of Patent. |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------|--|-----------------|
| Paauw, Michel | Hobocan Hacking, | Pavonia, | 13 July, 1630. |
| Godyn, Samuel | An Indian tract, | Cape Hinlopen, | 15 " " |
| Paauw, Michel | " " | Staten Island, | 10 Aug. " |
| " " | " " | Ahasimus, | 22 Nov. " |
| Goodyn and Blommaert, | " " | Cape May, | 3 June, 1631. |
| Van Rensselaer, Kiliaen | " E. side N. R. | Rensselaerswyck, | 6 Aug. " |
| " " | " W. " " | " " | 13 " " |
| West India Company, | The Sicajock flatt, | Connecticut, | 8 June, 1633. |
| " " " | Armenvehuis, | South River, | 8 " " |
| Van Curler, Jacob | 3 Flatts, | Castateeuw, (a) | 16 " 1636. |
| Hudde, Andries et al. | 1 " | Kaskuteusuhane, (a) | 16 " " |
| Van Twiller, Wouter | 1 " | " (a) | 16 July, " |
| Jans, Roeloff and Anatje | 31 morgens, | Manhattans, (b) | |
| Van Rensselaer, Kiliaen | An Indian tract, | Papskeena, | 13 April, 1637. |
| Van Twiller, Wouter | Pagganck, | Now Governor's Island, | 16 June, " |
| Rapalje, George | An Indian tract, | Wallabout, | 16 " " |
| Van Twiller, Wouter | 2 Islands, | Hellgat, | 16 July, " |
| Bronck, Jonas | The Ranaque tract, | North of Haerlem, | " " |
| Hudde, Andries | A plantation, | Behind Corlears Hook, | 20 " 1638. |
| West India Company, | An Indian tract, | Bet. B'klen & Mespath, | 1 Aug. " |
| " " " | " " | From Rockaway to
Mart. Gerritsen's Bay, } | 15 Jan'y, 1639. |
| Jansen van Salee, Anth. | 10 morgens, | Long Island, | 1 Aug. " |
| West India Company, | Hiskeshick, | Manhattans, | 3 " " |
| Hall, Thomas and
Holmes, George | } Deutel bay, | " | 15 Nov. " |
| Bescher, Thomas | 300 paces sq., | Marreckkawick, (c) | 23 " " |
| De Truy, Philip | Land, | Smith's valley, Manhat. | 22 May, 1640. |
| Lubbertsen, Fredrick | " | Marreckkawick, (B'klen) | 27 " " |
| Van Linden, Pieter | " | Manhattans, | 2 Aug. " |
| Rycken, Abram | " | Long Island, | 8 " " |
| Montfoort, Pieter | " | " " | 29 May, 1641. |
| " Jan | " | " " | 29 " " |
| Baxter, Geo. et al. | " | Manhattans, | 29 Aug. " |
| Cornelisen, Laurens | 25 morgens, | " | 7 Sept. " |
| Mol, Lamb't Huybertsz. | 25 " | Rinnegaconck, (d) | 7 " " |

(a) Now Flatlands, L. I.

(b) This is the celebrated Annetje Jans tract, now in possession of Trinity Church, New York. It was confirmed to the widow and heirs of Dom. Bogardus, 4 July, 1634.

(c) Now Brooklyn.

(d) Described as situated on Manhattan Island, south of the farm of Hans Hansen.

| Names of Patentees. | Description of Grant. | Location of Grant. | Date of Patent. |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|-----------------|
| Nederhorst, the Heer | A Colonie, | West side of the Hudson, | 1641 |
| Lookermans, Govert | Land, | Wolferts v'ly B'klen fer. | 26 Mar. 1642. |
| “ | A house and lot, | Manhattans, | 26 “ “ |
| Jansen, Tymen | Land, | Mespath kill, | “ “ |
| Doughty, Rev. Frs. | A Colonie, | “ | 28 Mar. “ |
| Cool, Corn. Lamberts | 25 morgens, | Gowanus, | 5 April, “ |
| Melyn, Cornelis | The major part of | Staten Island, | 19 June, “ |
| Manje, Jan | 20 morgens, | Breukelen, | 11 Sept. “ |
| Van Schouw, Claes Corn. | Land, | Long Island, | 14 Nov. “ |
| Hall, Thomas | “ | Manhattans, | 20 “ “ |
| Ryken, Abram et al. | A lot, | New Amsterdam, | 8 April, 1643. |
| Kip, Hend'k Hendricks | “ | “ | 28 “ “ |
| Jorissen, Borger | “ | “ | 28 “ “ |
| Hooglandt, Corn's Dirck | 2 morgens, | Breukelen, | 28 “ “ |
| Krygier, Martin | A lot, | New Amsterdam, | 18 May, “ |
| Schepmoes, J. Jansz. | “ | “ | 18 “ “ |
| Allerton, Isaac | “ | “ | 2 June, “ |
| Provoost, David | “ | “ | 2 “ “ |
| Huygen, Jan | “ | “ | 6 “ “ |
| Italiaen, Petr. Cesar | Tobacco plantation, | Long Island, | 17 “ “ |
| Van Twiller, Wouter | Red Hook, | “ | 22 “ “ |
| Duycking, Ev't V. Borcken | A lot, | Manhattans, | 22 “ “ |
| Verplanck, Abram | “ | New Amsterdam, | 3 July, “ |
| Laurens, Chr. | 22 morgens, | North River bay, | 3 “ “ |
| Stevensen, Jan | A lot, | New Amsterdam, | 3 “ “ |
| Jansen, Tymen | Land, | Manhattan Island, | 3 “ “ |
| Jorissen, Borger | 30 morgens, | Mespath kill, | 3 “ “ |
| Couwenhoven, J. W. van | 10 “ | Long Island, | 3 “ “ |
| Hudde, Andries | A lot, | New Amsterdam, | 6 “ “ |
| Schepmoes, J. Jansz. | “ | “ | 6 “ “ |
| Haes, Roeloff Jansz. | “ | “ | 6 “ “ |
| Baxter, Geo. | 25 morgens, | Long Island, | 6 “ “ |
| Briel, Toussaint | 11 “ | Manhattans, | 6 “ “ |
| Trogmorton, John | Vreedland, | Westchester | 6 “ “ |
| Geraerdy, Philip | A lot, | New Amsterdam, | 13 “ “ |
| Teunissen, Anna | “ | “ | 13 “ “ |
| Aertsen Rutger | “ | “ | 13 “ “ |
| Van Seyl, Rutg. Arent | “ | “ | 13 “ “ |
| Domingo, Anthonie | 5 morgens, | Manhattans, | 13 “ “ |
| Anthony, wid. of Jochem | 4 “ | “ | 13 “ “ |
| Jansen, Tymen | A lot, | Long Island, | 13 “ “ |
| Volckertsen, Cornelis | Double lot, | New Amsterdam, | 13 “ “ |
| Sandersen, Thomas | A lot, | “ | 13 “ “ |
| Britnel, Richard | 25 morgens, | Mespath kill, | 28 “ “ |
| Rolantsen, Adam | A lot, | New Amsterdam, | 7 Aug. “ |
| Couwenhoven, Pieter van | “ | “ | 7 “ “ |
| Tomassen, Wm. | “ | “ | 7 “ “ |
| Montfort, Peter | Tobacco plantation, | Long Island, | 17 “ “ |
| Van Steenwyck, Abr. Jacobs. | A lot, | New Amsterdam, | 14 Nov. “ |
| Montfort, Jan | 28 morgens, | “ | 1 Dec. “ |
| Nyssen, Teunis | A lot, | “ | 5 “ “ |
| Manuel, trump'tr (fr. neg.) | 9 morgens, | Manhattans, | 12 “ “ |
| Marycke (free negress) | 3 “ | “ | 12 “ “ |

| Names of Patentees. | Description of Grant. | Location of Grant. | Date of Patent. |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| Jorissen, Borger | A lot, | New Amsterdam, | 20 Jan'y, 1644 |
| Jansen, Hend'k (tailor) | Double lot, | " | 20 " " |
| Jonas, Tryntie | A lot, | Manhattans, | Feb. " |
| Jans, Tryntie | " | " | 15 April, " |
| Couwenhoven, Pieter | " | " | 25 " " |
| Dam, Jan Jansen | " | " | 25 " " |
| Vigne, Adrian | Double lot, | " | 25 " " |
| Verplanck, Abram | A lot, | " | 25 " " |
| Melyn, Cornelis | Double lot, | " | 28 " " |
| Geraerdy, Philip | A lot, | New Amsterdam, | 21 May, " |
| Op Dyck, Guysbert | Conyen Island, | In the bay, | 24 " " |
| Marschan, Michel | A lot, | New Amsterdam, | " " |
| Van Naerdin, Claes Jansz. | A double lot, | " | " " |
| Vincent, Ariaen | " | " | 1 June, " |
| Ruyter, Claes Jansz. | " | " | 2 " " |
| Huygen, Jan | A lot, | " | 6 " " |
| Smith, Hend'k Jansz. | " | " | 13 " " |
| Van Tienhoven, Corns. | 12 morgens, | " | 14 " " |
| Van der Grist, P. Leend. | A lot, | " | 19 July, " |
| Broen, Thomas | " | " | 25 Aug. " |
| Schepmoes, J. Jansen | " | " | 8 Sept. " |
| Van Jorcum, Pieter Jansz. | " | " | 8 " " |
| Cornelissen, Pieter | " | " | 8 " " |
| Roy, Jacob Jacobsz. | " | " | 9 " " |
| Heemstede, town of | A Township, | Long Island, | 16 Nov. " |
| De Witt, Jan (the miller) | A lot, | New Amsterdam, | 15 Dec. " |
| Congo, Simon (free neg.) | 4 morgens, | Manhattans, | 15 " " |
| Santonee, Ptr. (") | 3 " | " | 15 " " |
| D'Angola, Gratio (") | 5 " | " | 15 " " |
| Manuel, Groot. (") | 6 " | " | 21 " " |
| Cleyn, Antonio (") | 3 " | " | 30 " " |
| D'Angola, Paulo (") | 3 " | " | 30 " " |
| Groesens, Cornelis | A Lot, | New Amsterdam, | 10 Jan'y, 1645. |
| Volckertsen, Dirck | 25 morgens, | Mespath, | 3 April, " |
| Couwenhoven, J. Wolf. van | 1 lot, | New Amsterdam, | 18 May, " |
| Cornelissen, Jan | 2 " | " | 23 June, " |
| Pietersen, Gilles | 1 " | " | 4 July, " |
| Jan, Teunis (sailmaker) | 1 " | " | 4 " " |
| Willett, Thomas | 1 " | " | 4 " " |
| Van Naarden, Teunis T. | 1 " | " | 4 " " |
| Smith, Richd. Senr. | 1 " | " | 4 " " |
| Van Tienhoven, Cornelis | 100 morgens, | Manhattans island, | — " " |
| Snediker, Jan | 1 double lot, | " | — " " |
| Bout, Jan Evertsen | A piece of land, | Gowanus kill, | 6 " " |
| Breser, Henry | 16 morgens, | Long Island, | 4 Sept. " |
| Lubbertsen, Frederick | 15 " | Manhattans, | 4 " " |
| Van Cortland Ol. Stev. (Commis.) | 1 lot, | " | 5 " " |
| Carstensen, Claes | 29 morgens, | Long Island, | 5 " " |
| Snediker, Jan | 1 lot, | Manhattans, | 5 " " |
| Fradel, Juriaen | 69 morgens, | Long Island, | 5 " " |
| De Foreest, Isaac | A lot, | Manhattans, | 5 " " |
| Van Alkmaer, Ariaen Pieters. | " | New Amsterdam, | 7 " " |
| West India Company, | An Indian tract, | Now, New Utrecht, | 10 " " |

| Names of Patentees. | Description of Grant. | Location of Grant. | Date of Patent. |
|---------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------|
| Hudde, Andries | 37 morgens, | Breukelen, | 12 Sept. 1645. |
| Sandersen, Thomas, | A lot, | Manhattans, | 14 " " |
| Van Dincklage, Lubbert. | " | " | 22 " " |
| Aerden, Leendert | " | New Amsterdam, | 22 " " |
| Van Naerden, Claes Jans. | 21 morgens, | Breukelen, | 30 " " |
| Peers, Hendrick | A lot, | Manhattans, | 30 " " |
| Calder, Jochem | " | " | 30 " " |
| Flushing, Town of | A township, | Long Island, | 19 Oct. " |
| Andriessen, Pieter | Dominie's Hook | Manhattans, | 19 " " |
| " " | A lot, | Near the Tavern, N. A. | 19 " " |
| Aerden, Leendert | Bylevelt's Bouwerie (a) | Behind Corlear's Hook, | 19 " " |
| Bridel, Toussaint | 11 morgens, | Manhattans, | 19 " " |
| Manuel, Groot (negro) | 4 " | " | 19 " " |
| Marrel, Edouard | 11 " | West of Corlear's Hook, | 22 " " |
| " " | A lot, | Manhattans, | 3 Nov. " |
| Lodewyck, Hans | 14 morgens, | " | 3 " " |
| Pennoyer, Robert | 89 " | Gravesend, | 29 " " |
| Couwenhoven, J. W. van | A lot, | Behind the Tavern, N. A. | 12 Dec. " |
| Dirksen, Cornelis | 12 morgens, | Long Island, | 13 " " |
| Swits, Cornelis Claesz. | Bowerie No. 5, 25 mor. | Manhattans, | 13 " " |
| Gravesend, Town of | A township, | Long Island, | 19 " " |
| Van der Donck, Adriaen | An Indian tract, | Nepperhaem or Yonkers, | 1646. |
| West India Company, | " | Schuylkill, | " |
| Haes, Roeloff Jansz. | A lot, | Manhattans, | 1 Feb. " |
| Jansen, Roeloff | " | " | 2 " " |
| Cornelissen, Pieter | 27 morgens, | Marrekawick, (B'kelen) | 8 " " |
| Ryken, Abram | A lot, | Manhattans, | 14 " " |
| Van Oldenborgh, Ger. J. | 46 morgens, | Pannebacker's Bou. | 17 " " |
| Cornelissen, Willem | 25 " | Marrekawick, L. I. | 19 " " |
| Van Rosum, Huych Aerts. | 90 " | " | 22 " " |
| Dam, Jan Jansen | 20 " | Kalkhoeck Manh. Is'd. | 15 Mar. " |
| Hartgers, Pieter | A lot, | New Amsterdam, | 17 " " |
| Couwenhoven, P. W. van | " | " | 17 " " |
| Dirksen, Joris | 18 morgens, | Marrekawick, L. I. | 23 " " |
| Van der Linden, Pieter | A lot, | New Amsterdam, | 23 " " |
| Lambertsen, Reyer | 57 morgens, | Marrekawick, L. I. | 23 " " |
| Roy, Jacob Jacobs. | Constaples Hoeck, | Achter Kul, | " " |
| Van Tienhoven, Cornelis | A lot, | Manhattans, | 27 " " |
| Holmes, George | " | " | 23 April, " |
| Jansen, Roeloff | " | New Amsterdam, | 11 May, " |
| Van der Beeke, | " | " | 12 " " |
| Claessen, Sybout | " | " | 12 " " |
| Underhill, Capt. John | Mattelaer's Island, | Amersfoort, | 14 " " |
| Claessen, Sybout | 15 morgens, | Manhattans, | 5 June, " |
| Cornell, Thomas | Cornell's neck, | Westchester, | 26 " " |
| Evertsen, Wessell | A lot, | New Amsterdam, | 2 July, " |
| Van der Wel, Laur. Corns. | Double lot, | Smith's valley, | 2 " " |
| Planck, Abr. et al. | What lands they please, | South River, | 10 Aug. " |
| Jansen, Matys | 50 morgens, | Papperimemin (Manhats) | 18 " " |
| De Foreest, Isaac | A lot, | New Amsterdam, | 22 " " |
| Van Slyck, Corns. Anth. | Katskill, | Katskill, | 22 " " |

(a) Sold in 1663 to General Stuyvesant, and called, Myn Heer Stuyvesant's Bouwerie.

| Names of Patentees. | Description of Grant. | Location of Grant. | Date of Patent. |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|-----------------|
| Mott, Adam | 25 morgens, | Mespath kill, | 23 Aug. 1646. |
| Pauluszen, Michel | A lot, | New Amsterdam, | 15 Sept. " |
| Cornelisen, Pieter | " | " | 24 Oct. " |
| Douwman, Gerrit | " | " | 29 Nov. " |
| Hendricksen, Gerrit | Scouts bouwerie 25 m. | Manhattans, | 6 Dec. " |
| Lubbertsen, Fredrick | A lot, | New Amsterdam, | 21 Jan'y, 1647. |
| Baxter, Geo. et al. | Canarissee, | Long Island, | 21 " " |
| Pauluszen, Michel | A lot, | Manhattans, | 21 " " |
| Pietersen, Corns. | " | " | 21 " " |
| Kierstede, Surg'n. Hans | " | " | 21 " " |
| Heymanse, Paul | " | " | 3 Feb. " |
| Brouwer, Adam | " | " | 7 " " |
| Jansen, Evert | " | " | 8 " " |
| D'Angola, Anna (negress) | 3 morgens, | " | 8 " " |
| Bout, Jan Everts. | A lot, | " | 19 " " |
| Jansen, Pieter et al. | 74 morgens, | Montagne's bay Manhat. | 11 Mar. " |
| Couwenhoven, G. W. van | 19 " " | Reckaweck L. I. | 11 " " |
| Buller, Robert | A lot, | Manhattans, | 12 " " |
| Willemsen, Cornelis | 22 morgens, | Mespath, | 12 " " |
| Baxter, Thomas | A lot, | Manhattans, | 12 " " |
| Van der Linden, P. | " | " | 12 " " |
| Stevensen, Oloff | 30 morgens, | Sapokanickan, M. I. | 12 " " |
| Noorman, Laurs. Ptsn. | A lot, | Manhattans, | 12 " " |
| Hansen, Hans | A farm, | " | 13 " " |
| Gerritsen, Cosyn | 34 morgens and 1 lot, | Sapokanickan, M. I. | 13 " " |
| Van Elslandt, Claes | 12 " " | " " | 13 " " |
| Planck, Abram | A lot, | Manhattans, | 14 " " |
| Van Tienhoven, Corns. | A plantation, | Breukelen, | 15 " " |
| Van Bogaert, Harm. M. | A lot, | Manhattans, | 16 " " |
| Monfoort, Jan | " | " | 16 " " |
| " Pieter | " | " | 16 " " |
| Van Valkenburgh, Lamb't | " | " | 16 " " |
| Rapelje, Joris | " | " | 18 " " |
| Backer, Claes Jansen | " | " | 18 " " |
| Stille, Corns. Jacobs. | 28 morgens, | " | 18 " " |
| Van Ditmarsen, Jan Jans. | 29 " " | " | 23 " " |
| Noorman, Claes Jansz. | 50 " " | West side North River, | 25 " " |
| Francisco, (negro) | A piece of land, | " " | 25 " " |
| Cornelissen, Wm. | A lot, | " " | 25 " " |
| Congo, Anthony (negro) | A piece of land, | Manhattans, | 26 " " |
| Bastiaen, (") | " " | " | 26 " " |
| Jan, (") | " " | " | 26 " " |
| Lauressen, Pieter | A lot, | " | 28 " " |
| Nysen, Teunis | " | " | 28 " " |
| Jansen, Rem | " | " | 29 " " |
| Borsum, Jan Pietersen | 4 morgens, | Long Island, | 29 " " |
| Hansen, Hans | 200 " | Mespath, | 30 " " |
| Haes, Jan | 38 " | Reckaweck, L. I. | 2 April, " |
| Smeeman, Harman | 23 " | Manhattans, | 2 " " |
| Nysen, Teunis | A plantation, | " | 3 " " |
| Van Campen, Pieter | 3 morgens, | " | 8 " " |
| Pietersen, Jochem | A lot, | " | 10 " " |
| Kierstede, Jochem | " | " | 12 " " |

| Names of Patentees. | Description of Grant. | Location of Grant. | Date of Patent. |
|---------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|-----------------|
| Van Alcmær, Ariaen Ptsn | A plantation, | Sapokanekan, (Manhatt.) | 13 April, 1647. |
| Schage, W. Cornelissen | A lot, | New Amsterdam, | 15 " " |
| Cray, Teunis | " | " | 15 " " |
| Blanck, Juriaen | " | " | 15 " " |
| Pierse, Henry | A plantation, | Manhattans, | 15 " " |
| Schoonmaker, C. Teunis | A lot, | " | 15 " " |
| Italiaen, Peter Cesar | 220 rods, | Long Island, | 1 May, " |
| Montfort, Peter | 220 " | Near Brooklyn, | 1 " " |
| " Widow | 190 " sq. | " " | 1 " " |
| La Montagne, Jan | 100 morgens, | Manhattans, | 9 " " |
| Woutersen, Egbert | Apocalyck, | Near Gamoenepean, | 10 " " |
| Adriaensen, Maryn | A plantation, | Awiehaken, | 11 " " |
| Heermans, Augustine | 4 lots, | New Amsterdam, | 15 " " |
| Claesen, Sybout | " | " | 15 " " |
| Forbes, John | 65 morgens, | L. Island on East River, | 15 " " |
| De Forest, Isaac | 50 " | Manhattans, | 15 " " |
| Hall, Thomas | A lot, | " | 15 " " |
| Daniel, — | 1 morgen, | " | 15 " " |
| Huybertsen, Sergeant | A lot, | " | 16 " " |
| Linde, Pieter | " | " | 12 Nov. " |
| Jansen, Maritie | " | " | 17 May, 1648. |
| Van der Veer, P. Corns. | " | " | 17 " " |
| Van der Donck, Adriaen | A plantation, | Near Mespath, L. I. | 17 " " |
| Van Rensselaer, Patroon | An Indian tract, | Paponikuck, | 4 Sept. " |
| Stickland, Lieut. John | 200 morgens, | Jerusalem, Hempstead, | 23 Dec. " |
| Roy, Jacob Jacobs. | A lot, | New Amsterdam, | 15 April, 1649. |
| Van Rensselaer, Patroon | An Indian tract, | Katskill, | 19 " " |
| Jansen, H'k van Utrecht, | A lot, | New Amsterdam, | 20 " " |
| Karstensen, Claes | " | " | 3 May, " |
| Van der Grist, P. L. | " | " | 14 " " |
| Van Rensselaer, Patroon | An Indian tract, | Claverack, | 27 " " |
| Andriessen, Juriaen | A lot, | New Amsterdam, | 6 June, " |
| West India Company, | An Indian tract, | Wechquaesqueeck, | 14 July, " |
| Stuyvesant, Balthazar | A lot, | New Amsterdam, | 20 " " |
| " Nicolas Wm. | " | " | 20 " " |
| Varrevanger, J. Hendricks | " | " | " |
| Megapolensis, Rev. Johan. | " | " | 24 April, 1650. |
| Duycking, Evert | " | " | 30 " " |
| Van Nes, Dirck | " | " | 23 May, " |
| Michelsen, Jan | " | Beverwyck, | 23 " " |
| Martyn, Jan | " | New Amsterdam, | 26 July, " |
| Kuyter, Jochem Pietersz. | A plantation, | Manhattans, (a) | 14 Nov. " |
| Ten Eyck, Coenraet | A lot, | New Amsterdam, | 4 Jan'y, 1651. |
| Bridel, Toussaint | " | " | 10 " " |
| De Spanjie, | " | " | 18 " " |
| Jansen, Fredrick | " | " | 10 Mar. " |
| Heermans, Augustyn | An Indian tract, | Raritans, (b) | 28 " " |

(a) *Schorrakyn*, the Indian name for a lot of land belonging to Jochem Pietersen Kuyter on Manhattan Island—called in Dutch *Zegendal*, "bounded south by Wm. Beekman's lot; at the end Johannes La Montagne to the first rock in a north course to the great kill to the east, on the North River a grass valley, three or four morgens large."

(b) See ante, page 186.

| Names of Patentees. | Description of Grant. | Location of Grant. | Date of Patent. |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|-----------------|
| La Montagne, Joannes | A lot, | New Amsterdam | 22 April, 1651. |
| Newton, Brian | " | " | 27 " " |
| Van Tienhoven, Cornelis | " | " | 20 Sept. " |
| Bloemmaert, Adriaen | " | " | 20 " " |
| Loockermans, Govert | " | " | 20 " " |
| De Vos, Mattys | " | " | 20 " " |
| Ffyn, Capt. Frs. | Hog Island, | Near Hellegat, | 20 " " |
| Van Werckhoven, Corns. | 2 colonies, | Nyack ; Nevesings | 7 Nov. " |
| Church and Sch'ls of Midwout, | 14 lots, | Midwout, | " |
| Jacobsen, Rutger | A lot, | Beverwyck, | 23 April, 1652. |
| Van Schaick, Goosen G. | " | " | 23 " " |
| De Hooges, Anthonie | " | " | 23 " " |
| Teunissen, Cornelis | " | " | 23 " " |
| Herbertsen, Andries | " | " | 23 " " |
| Jansen, Dirck | " | " | 23 " " |
| Andriessen, Arent | " | " | 23 " " |
| Jansen, Volckert | " | " | 23 " " |
| Gerritsen, Albert | " | " | 23 " " |
| Adriaensen, Jacob | " | " | 23 " " |
| Teller, Willem | " | " | 23 " " |
| Bogardus, Annetje | " | " | 23 " " |
| Jacobsen, Teunis | " | " | 23 " " |
| Adriaensen, Rut | " | " | 23 " " |
| Pieters, Albert | " | New Amsterdam, | 1 July, " |
| Schermerhoorn, Jacob Jansz. | " | Beverwyck, | 9 Nov. " |
| Steendam, Jacob et al. | A plantation, | Amersfoort, | 12 " " |
| Bogardus, Annetje Jans | 65 morgens, | Mespath, (a) | 26 " " |
| Midwout, town of | Township, | Long Island, | " |
| Hallet, Wm. | 80 morgens, | " | 1 Dec. " |
| Pietersen, Claes | A lot, | Fort Casimir, | 6 " " |
| Van Hasselt, Hend'k Pieters. | " | New Amsterdam, | 28 Jan'y, 1653. |
| Hendricksen, Claes | " | " | 2 Feb. " |
| Driusius, Rev. Samuel | " | " | 24 " " |
| Bicker, Gerrit | 25 morgens, | Midwout, | 25 " " |
| Backer, Jochem | A lot, | Beverwyck, | 23 April, " |
| Loockermans, Pieter | " | " | 7 July, " |
| Kierstede, Hans | " | " | 18 " " |
| Shrick, Paulus | 2 morgens, | The Kolck, New Am. | 7 Oct. " |
| Cray, Teunis | 37 " | Near Hellegat, L. I. | 25 " " |
| Elbertsen, Ryer | A lot, | Beverwyck, | 25 " " |
| Lourenzen, Laurens | " | " | 25 " " |
| Kettelhuyn, Jochem | " | " | 25 " " |
| Van Embden, Evert Jansz. | " | " | 25 " " |
| Jacobsen, Casper, | " | " | 25 " " |
| Reyckersen, Michel | " | " | 25 " " |
| Andriessen, Hendrick | " | " | 25 " " |
| Verbeck, Jan | " | " | 25 " " |
| Jansen, Thomas | " | " | 25 " " |
| De Vos, Andries | A lot of woodland, | " | 25 " " |
| Sandersen, Thomas | 2 lots, | " | 25 " " |
| Adriaensen, Rut | A lot, | " | 25 " " |

(a) This tract (Dominie's Hook) has been recently purchased for Union College, Schenectady.

| Names of Patentees. | Description of Grant. | Location of Grant. | Date of Patent. |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|-----------------|
| Appel van Leyden, Adr. Jansz. | 2 lots, | Beverwyck, | 25 Oct. 1653. |
| Schermerhoorn, Jacob Jansz. | " | " | 25 " " |
| Labadie, Jan | A lot, | " | 25 " " |
| Jansen, Laurens | " | " | 25 " " |
| Staets, Capt. Abram | " | " | 25 " " |
| Sibbinck, Jacob Hendrick | " | " | 25 " " |
| Klomp, Jacob Symonsz. | " | " | 25 " " |
| Bruynsen, Hage | " | " | 25 " " |
| Van Hoesen, Jan Frs. | " | " | 25 " " |
| Pietersen, Gillis | " | " | 25 " " |
| Van Bronswyck, P. Jansz. | 25 morgens, | Katskill, | 25 " " |
| Gerardy, Philip | 25 " | Long Island, | 2 Nov. " |
| " Jean | 20 " | Green Hook, L. I. | 5 " " |
| Chambers, Thomas | 38 " | Esopus, | 8 " " |
| Van Bronswyck, P. Jansz. | 6 " | Katskill, | 16 " " |
| Huybertsen, Adriaen | A lot, | At the Ferry, L. I. | 12 " " |
| Jansen, Michel | Schreyer's Hook, | Manhattans, | |
| " Lieven | A plantation, | Long Island, | 26 Feb. 1654. |
| Bogardus, Annetje Jans | 42 morgens, | " | 7 Mar. " |
| Staets, Capt. Abram | Cickhekawick, | North of Claverack, | 17 " " |
| Philipsen, Leendert | A lot, | Beverwyck, | 24 " " |
| Marcelis, Hendrick | " | " | 24 " " |
| Pietersen, Gillis | " | " | 14 April, " |
| Van Ruyven, Cornelis | " | New Amsterdam, | 16 " " |
| Van Dyck, Hendrick | " | " | 11 May, " |
| Van der Grist, P. Leenderts. | " | " | 11 " " |
| Van Brugge, Carel | " | " | 22 " " |
| Van Tienhoven, Rachel | " | " | 22 " " |
| " Cornelis | " | " | 22 " " |
| De Sille, Nicassus | " | " | 22 " " |
| Van Hattem, Arent | A plantation, | Midwout, | 4 June, " |
| Zieken, Dirck | " | Near Gamoenepaen, | 16 " " |
| Coen, Adriaen Dircksen | 16 morgens, | Middelburgh, L. I. | 18 " " |
| Carpenel, Jan Jacobsen | 25 " | " " | 22 " " |
| Coen, Adriaen Dircksen | 25 " | " " | 22 " " |
| Monfoort, Jan | A lot, | New Amsterdam, | 28 " " |
| Syboutsen, Hark | 21 morgens, | Middelburgh L. I. | 2 July, " |
| Drisius, Rev. Samuel | A plantation, | Manhattans, | 2 " " |
| Van Borsum, Egbert | 2 lots, | Breukelen, | 18 " " |
| Monfoort, Jan | " | New Amsterdam, | 28 " " |
| Gerritsen, Wynout | A lot, | Beverwyck, | 29 Aug. " |
| Westphael, Juriaan | 32½ morgens, | Esopus, | |
| Swaen, Jan | A lot, | New Amsterdam, | 23 Oct. " |
| Walingen, Jacob (Van Hoorn) | 25 morgens, | Behind Kill van Kul, (a) | 23 " " |
| Huybertsen, Adriaen | 22 " | Mespath, | 14 Nov. " |
| Dircksen, Luycas | 16 " | " | 21 " " |
| Jansen, Michel | 26½ " | Behind Kill van Kul, | 27 " " |
| Bakker, Claes Jansen | 40 " | " | 27 " " |
| Luby, Sergeant Jacob | 25 " | Mespath, | 30 " " |
| Bredembent, William | A lot, | New Amsterdam, | 1 Dec. " |
| Buys, Jan Cornelissen | 25 morgens, | Behind Kill van Kul, | 4 " " |

(a) The patents behind the Kill van Kul, granted in 1654, constitute the present town of Bergen, N. J.

| Names of Patentees. | Description of Grant. | Location of Grant. | Date of Patent. |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------|
| Lubbertsen, Jan | 25 morgens, | Behind Kill van Kul, | 5 Dec. 1654. |
| Van Immen, Jan Gerrits | 25 " | " | 5 " " |
| Schoonmaker, Jan Corns. | 25 " | " | 5 " " |
| Pietersen, Gerrit | 25 " | " | 5 " " |
| Gysbertsen, Lubbert | 50 " | " | 5 " " |
| Crynnen, Jan Cornelisen | 25 " | " | 5 " " |
| Lubbertsen, Gysbert | 25 " | " | 5 " " |
| Van Schalckwyk, H'k J. | 25 " | " | 5 " " |
| Leydecker, Reyck | 25 " | Mespath, | 10 " " |
| Jansen, Roeloff | 25 " | " | 10 " " |
| Swaen, Jan | 25 " | " | 15 " " |
| Smith, Ensign Dirck | 54 " | " | 15 " " |
| Appel van Leyden, Ad. J. | A lot for an inn, | Beverwyck, | 16 " " |
| Stoutenbergh, Pieter | 6 morgens, | Long Island, | |
| Clock, Abram Martens | A lot, | New Amsterdam, | 26 Aug. 1655 |
| Van der Donck, Cornelis | Muscoote, | North end of Manhattans, | 26 " " |
| De Foreest, Isaac | 27 morgens, | Midwout, | 1 Dec. " |
| Matthys, Anthony, (fr. neg) | A lot, | Manhattans, | " |
| Ffyn, Capt. Frs. | 26 morgens, | Long Island, | 26 Feb. 1656. |
| Gemeco, (Rustdorp) | Township, | " | 21 Mar. " |
| De Sille, Nicasius | 126 morgens, | Mespath, | 27 " " |
| " " | An Island, | Arnhem, | 27 " " |
| Middelburgh, (Newtown) | Township, | Long Island, | 12 April, " |
| Broen, Thomas | 2096 rods, | Fort Casimir, | 12 " " |
| Rudolphus, Pieter | A lot, | New Amsterdam, | 18 May, " |
| Bakker, Nicolas Jansz. | " | " | 18 " " |
| Cock, Jochem Gerrits. | 1 morgen, | Breukelen, | 27 " " |
| Schuyler, Ph. Pietersen | 2 lots, | Beverwyck, | 16 June, " |
| Coen, Adriaen Dircks | A lot, | New Amsterdam, | 19 " " |
| Draper, Hans | " | " | 20 " " |
| Edsal, Samuel | " | " | 20 " " |
| Beekman, Willem | " | " | 20 " " |
| Kip, Isaack | " | " | 21 " " |
| " Jacob | " | " | 21 " " |
| Couwenhoven, J. W. van | The old Church and lot, | " | 30 " " |
| Catyou, Jan | 25 morgens, | Mespath, | 21 Aug. " |
| Van Yveren. H'k Jans | 25 " | L. I. near Hellegat, | 25 " " |
| De Hinse, Surgeon Jacob | 2 lots, | Fort Casimir, | 25 " " |
| Picolet, Jan | 3 morgens, | " | 1 Sept. " |
| Ringoa, Philip Jansz. | A lot, | " | 12 " " |
| Groenenburgh, Constan. | " | " | 13 " " |
| Van Bronswyck, Hans Alb. | " | " | 13 " " |
| De Boer, H'k Jansen | " | New Amsterdam, | 19 " " |
| Van Struckhousen, J. Hen. | " | Fort Casimir, | 22 " " |
| Davits, Christoffel | 36 morgens, | Esopus, | 25 " " |
| Kierstede, Hans | A lot, | New Amsterdam, | 25 Oct. " |
| Ipendam, Adriaen Jansz. | " | Beverwyck, | 28 " " |
| Abrams, Mattheus | " | " | " |
| De Haes, wid. of Roeloff | A plantation, | Fort Casimir, | 28 " " |
| Jansen, Reyn | A lot, | Beverwyck, | 16 Nov. " |
| Hudde, Andries | " | Fort Casimir, | 30 " " |
| Boyer, Alexander | 24 morgens, | " | 30 " " |
| Lookermans, Govert | Water lot, | New Amsterdam, | 21 Dec. " |

| Names of Patentees. | Description of Grant. | Location of Grant. | Date of Patent. |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|-----------------|
| Clock, Abram Martens | Water lot, | New Amsterdam, | 21 Dec. 1656. |
| Winkelhoeck, Pieter J. | 25 morgens, | Mespath, | 28 " " |
| Bernard, Nicolaes, | A lot, | New Amsterdam, | Jan'y, 1657. |
| Dirksen, Luycas | " | Fort Casimir, | 10 Feb. " |
| Mol, Ryer Lammersen | " | " | 20 " " |
| Van Swol, Barent Jansz. | " | " | 20 " " |
| Harmans, Pieter | Plantation and lot, | " | 24 " " |
| Laurensen, Pieter | " | " | 28 " " |
| Dominicus, Reynier | A lot, | " | (a)30 " " |
| Ebel, Pieter | 9 morgens, | " | (a)30 " " |
| Steenwyck, Cornelis | A lot, | " | (a)30 " " |
| Gerritse, Jan | " | " | (a)30 " " |
| Crabbe, Jacob | 16 morgens, | " | (a)30 " " |
| Leendertsen, Sanders | A lot, | " | 1 Mar. " |
| Taillera, Wm. | " | " | 1 " " |
| De Laat, Johan. (wid. Hulter) | 500 morgens, | Esopus, | 27 " " |
| Provoost, Margrietje | 25 " | Amersfoort, | 1 June, " |
| Eeckhoff, Jan | A lot, | Fort Casimir, | 17 " " |
| Andriessen, Jan | " | " | 17 " " |
| 's Gaggen, Jan | 40 morgens, | " | 20 " " |
| Barentsen, Christn. | A lot, | New Amsterdam, | 1 Aug. " |
| Young, Hans | " | Breukelen, | 25 " " |
| Utrecht, town of New | 130 morgens, | Near Conyen Island, | 27 " " |
| Laurensen, Pieter | A lot, | Fort Casimir, (N. Amstel) | 3 " " |
| Hendricksen, Claes | 2 lots, | Beverwyck, | 25 Sept. " |
| De Sille, Nicasius | " | New Amsterdam, | 5 Dec. " |
| Van Dyck, Hendrick | A lot, | " | 12 " " |
| De Sille, Nicasius | " | " | 19 " " |
| Luycking, Evert | 33 morgens, | Midwout, | |
| Megapolensis, Rev. J. | 32 " | " | |
| Philipsen, Frederick | A lot, | New Amsterdam, | 9 Feb. 1658. |
| Jacobsen, Pieter | " | Beverwyck, | 23 " " |
| Steelman, Jan Hendricks | 34 morgens, | Doughty farm, (Mespath) | 25 " " |
| Van Rensselaer, Jeremias | A lot, | Beverwyck, | 25 " " |
| Glen, Sander Leenderts. | " | " | 13 July, " |
| Cornelissen, Guiliam | A plantation, | Midwout, | 9 Aug. " |
| Couwenhoven, G. W. van Hudde's flats, | | Amersfoort, | 24 " " |
| Schuyler, Phil. Pietersen | A lot, | Beverwyck, | 10 Sept. " |
| Barentsen, Heirs of Bruyn | " | Breukelen, | 4 Oct. " |
| Meersen, Pieter | " | Beverwyck, | 31 " " |
| Chambers, Thomas | " | " | 8 Nov. " |
| Van Langedyck, J. Jansen | " | New Amsterdam, | 2 Dec. " |
| Angola, Domingo (fr. neg.) | 2 lots, | " | " " |
| Claes, de Neger | " A lot, | " | " " |
| Assento, | " | " | " " |
| Tamboer, Pieter | " | " | " " |
| Cartagena, Francisco | " | " | " " |
| De Roos, Gr't Manuel | 2 lots, | " | 1659. |
| Santonie, Christoffel | " A lot, | " | " " |
| Sanders, Manuel | " 2 lots, | " | " " |
| Antonys, Wm. | " 1 lot, | " | " " |
| Pieters, Solomon | " " | " | " " |

(a) Thus in the original.

| Names of Patentees. | Description of Grant. | Location of Grant. | Date of Patent. |
|----------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|-----------------|
| Angola, Assento (fr. neg.) | A lot, | New Amsterdam, | 1659. |
| Pieter, Luycas | " | " | " |
| Antonys, Antony | " | " | " |
| Francisco, | " | " | " |
| Jansen, Volckert et al. | A plantation, | Fort Orange, | 31 Mar. " |
| Andriessen, — | " | " | 19 " " |
| Daniels, Gustavus | A lot, | Midwout, | 21 " " |
| Van Curler, Arent | A plantation, | Beverwyck, | 23 " " |
| Loockermans, Gov. et al. | " | Mattinecong, Long Isl'd | 23 " " |
| Van Nes, Cornelis | 50 morgens, | Amersfoort, | 23 May, " |
| Hartgers, Pieter | 2 lots, | Beverwyck, | 1 Sept. " |
| Daretha, Jan | A lot, | " | 5 Feb. 1660 |
| Jacobsen, Pieter, | " | " | 23 " " |
| Provoost, Margaretje | 20 morgens, | Midwout, | 9 May, " |
| Andriessen, Andries | A lot, | New Amsterdam, | 11 July, " |
| Cornelissen, Albert | " | " | 13 " " |
| Mees, Peter | " | Beverwyck, | 17 Aug. " |
| Martense, Jan | 10 morgens, | Amersfoort, | 20 " " |
| Teunissen, Cornelis | 25 " | " | " |
| Benim, Evert | 23 " | " | " |
| Meyer, Pieter | A plantation, | Altona, | 18 Sept. " |
| Jans, widow Elskie, | A lot, | New Amsterdam, | 19 Oct. " |
| Martyn, Jan, | " | Ferry, Long Island | 19 " " |
| Marten, Roeloff | 23 morgens, | Amersfoort, | 29 Jan'y, 1661 |
| Swartwout, Thomas | 58 " | Midwout, | 7 Mar. " |
| Van Aecken, Jan Costers | A lot, | Beverwyck, | 7 " " |
| Tomassen, Jan | 2 lots, | Beverwyck, | 10 " " |
| Jacobsen, Rutger et al. | Pachnachkillick Isl'd | Near Beverwyck, | 10 " " |
| Jansen, Cornelis | 60 morgens, | Midwout, | 12 " " |
| Andriessen, Pieter | A lot, | New Amsterdam, | 14 " " |
| Bushwyck, town of | Township, | Long Island, | 14 " " |
| Jacobsen, Rutger | Constable's Island, | Beverwyck, | 19 " " |
| Jansen, Paulus | A plantation, | Altona, | 7 April, " |
| Van der Veer, Jacob | A lot, | " | 8 " " |
| Van Laer, Adriaen | " | New Amsterdam, | 15 " " |
| Kip, Jacob | " | " | 15 " " |
| Jorissen, Abram | 32 morgens, | Midwout, | 15 " " |
| Hegeman, Adriaen | 59 " | " | " |
| West, John | 26 " | Mespath, | 17 June, " |
| Elbertsen, Elbert | 18 " | Amersfoort, | 19 " " |
| Van Curler, Arent et al. | An Indian tract, | Schonowe(Schenec'dy.) | 27 July, " |
| Ellis, Bastiaen | 8 morgens, | Manhattans, | 19 Aug. " |
| Bergen, town of | Township, | Pavonia, | 5 Sept. " |
| Wandal, Thomas | 4 morgens, | Mespath, | 6 " " |
| Utrecht, town of New | Township, | Long Island, | 22 Dec. " |
| Swartwout, Cornelis | 24 morgens, | Midwout, | 13 Jan'y, 1662 |
| Bronck, Pieter | 126 " | Koexhacking, | 13 " " |
| Carpesy, Gabriel | A lot, | New Amsterdam, | 20 " " |
| Buys, Jan Cornelis | 28 morgens, | Midwout, | 23 " " |
| Van Ruyven, Cornelis | 32 " | " | 23 " " |
| Lott, Pieter | 32 " | " | 23 " " |
| Polhemus, Rev. J. Th. | 24 " | " | 25 " " |
| Shrick, Paulus | 2 " | The Kolck, New Amst. | 31 " " |

| Names of Patentees. | Description of Grant. | Location of Grant. | Date of Patent. |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------|
| Chambers, Thomas | 4½ morgens, | Pisseman's Hoek Esopus, | 10 Mar. 1662. |
| Van der Grist, P. L. et al. | 58 " | Manhattans, | 14 " " |
| Bout, Jan Everts | 58 " | Midwout, | 17 " " |
| Van Dickhuys, Teunis H. | 17 " | " | 17 " " |
| Schenectady, | The great flatt of | Confirmed, | 6 April, " |
| Laurensen, Arent | A lot, | New Amsterdam, | 10 May, " |
| Van Hoesen, Jan Jansen | An Indian tract, | Claverack, | 5 June, " |
| Church of N. Amsterdam, | A lot, | New Amsterdam, | 7 July, " |
| Bonns, Jannetje | " | " | 7 " " |
| Teunissen, Claes | 5 morgens, | Manhattans, | 12 Oct. " |
| Wemp, J. B. et al. | Martin's Island, | Schenectady, | 12 Nov. " |
| Slecht, Corns. Barents | 25 morgens, | Esopus, | 7 Dec. " |
| Neilsen, Niels, Sen. et al. | Verdrietje Hoeck, | Delaware, | 5 Mar. 1663 |
| Dupuis, Nicolaes et al. | A plantation, | Staten Island, | 19 " " |
| Sluyter, Hendrick Jans | A lot, | New Amsterdam, | 2 April, " |
| Van Schaick, G. G. e. al. | 33 morgens, | A new town, Esopus, | 16 " " |
| Schuyler, P. P. | 34 " | " " | 20 " " |
| Anthony, Allard et al. | 45 " | Manhattans, | 25 " " |
| Broersen, Jan et al. | 5 " | Wiltwyck, | 25 " " |
| De Wever, Jan | 21 " | Esopus, | 25 " " |
| Bronck, Pieter | A lot, | Beverwyck, | |
| Crepel, Anthony | 8 m. of Kaelcop's land, | Esopus, | 25 " " |
| Oosterhout, J. Jans | A lot, | Wiltwyck, | |
| Blanchan, Matys | " | " | |
| Wynkoop, Cornelis | 12 morgens, | Esopus, | 25 " " |
| Du Bois, Louis | 20 " | " | 25 " " |
| Swartwout, Roeloffe | 20 " | " | 25 " " |
| Van Holsteyn, H'k Corns. | 2 " | " | 25 " " |
| Mol, Lambert Huyberts | 21 " | " | 25 " " |
| Tomassen, Jan | 33 " | " | 26 " " |
| Jans, Volckert | 33 " | " | 28 " " |
| Groot, Symon Symons | A lot, | Beverwyck, | 11 May, " |
| Bancker, Gerrit | 22 morgens, | Schenectady, | 16 June, " |
| Tomassen, Jan | An Island, | Schotack, | 3 Nov. " |
| Leendertsen, Albert | A lot, | New Amsterdam, | 8 Dec. " |
| Varleth, Nicolaes | 21 morgens, | Esopus, | 10 " " |
| Jacobsen, Casper | A lot, | Beverwyck, | 29 " " |
| Slot, Jan Pietersen | 8 morgens and 2 lots, | Van Cuelen's hook, H'rlm | 4 Jan'y, 1664 |
| Snediker, Gerrit | 34½ " | Midwout, | 24 " " |
| Swartwout, Cornelis | 29 " | " | 24 " " |
| Huybertsen, Adriaen | 24 " | Mespath, | 26 " " |
| Krygier, Capt. Martin | A lot, | New Amsterdam, | 26 " " |
| Van Ruyven, Cornelis | 42 morgens, | Midwout, | 26 " " |
| Claesen, Claes | 26 morgens, | New Utrecht, | 29 " " |
| Meyer, Nichols. (van Holst'n) | 40 " | New Haerlem, | 29 " " |
| Tomassen, Jan | A lot, | Beverwyck, | 10 Mar. " |
| Van Vorst, Ide Cornelis | " | Ahasimus, | 5 April, " |
| " | " | Schreyer's Hook, N. A. | 5 " " |
| Stoutenbergh, Pieter | 4 morgens, | Manhattans, | 7 " " |
| Pietersen, Hendrick | 25 " | Midwout, | 7 " " |
| Syboutsen, Hark | 8 " | Middelburgh, | 18 " " |
| Chambers, Thomas | 26 " | Esopus, | 22 " " |
| Loockermans, Govert | 26 " | Mespath, | 22 " " |

| Names of Patentees. | Description of Grant. | Location of Grant. | Date of Patent. |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|-----------------|
| Hendricksen, Gerrit | Certain meadows, | Manhattans, | 3 May, 1664. |
| Chambers, Marg't wf. of Thomas, | 48 morgens, | Esopus, | 12 " " |
| Hansen, Michel | 20 " | New Bedford, Wallebout, | 15 " " |
| Grim, Otto | A lot, | New Amsterdam, | 15 " " |
| De Decker, Jan | 60 morgens, | Staten Island, | 15 " " |
| Philips, Fredrick | A lot, | Wiltwyck, | 17 " " |
| Trynbolt, Pieter Jans | " | New Amsterdam, | 17 " " |
| De Witt, Jan (the miller) | " | The Kolck, N. A. | 27 " " |
| Vinchardt, Adriaen | " | " " | 1 June, " |
| Van Nes, Cornelis | 21 morgens, | Schenectady, | 16 " " |
| Cornelissen, Teunis | 24 " | " | 16 " " |
| De Bakker, Symon | 24 " | " | 16 " " |
| Adriaensen, Pieter | 26 " | " | 16 " " |
| Teller, Willem | 23 " | " | 16 " " |
| Schnyler, Philip P. | An Indian tract, | Halfmoon, Moh'k River, | 10 July, " |
| Paul, Thomas et al. | " | Now, town of Stuyvesant, | 10 " " |
| Hallet, Willem | " | Sintsinck, L. I. | 1 Aug. " |
| Van Hooghten, Frans. J. | A lot, | New Amsterdam, | 3 " " |
| Rycken, Abram | Hullett's Island, | Near Hellegat, | 19 " " |
| Bayard, Petrus | 130 morgens, | Esopus, | 19 " " |
| Roose, Albert Heymans | A plantation, | " | 19 " " |

N. B. A morgen is a Dutch land measure, equal to about two acres.

N.

Instructions to Sir Rob^t Carr for the reducing of Delaware Bay, and setting the People there under His Maties obedience.

[Book of Entries in Sec. of State's Off Alb.]

When you are come neare unto wch is possessed by the Dutch, you shall send yor Boate on shoare to summon the Governor and Inhabitants to yield obedience to his Matie as the Rightfull Sovereign of that Tract of Land, and let him and them know that his Matie is graciously pleased that all the Planters shall enjoy their Ffarms, Houses, Lands, Goods and Chattells, wth the same privileges, and upon ye same termes which they do now possesse them, onely that they change their Masters, whether they be the West India Company or the city of Amsterdam; To the Swedes you shall remonstrate their happy returne under a Monarchicall Govern^t and his Maties good inclination to that Nation, and to all men who shall comply with his Maties Rights and title in Delaware, without force of arms.

Thatt all the Cannon, Armes and Ammunicon wch belongs to the Governmt shall remain to his Matie.

That the acts of Parliament shall be the rules of future Trading.

That all people may enjoy liberty of conscience.

That for six Moneths next ensuing, the same Magistrates shall continue in their offices, only that they and all others in authority must take the oath of allegēe to his Matie and all publique acts be made in his Maties name. If you find you cannot reduce the place by force, nor upon these conditions, you may add such as you find necessary upon the

place; but if these nor force will prevaile, then you are to despatch a messenger to the Governor of Maryland with this letter to him and request his assistance, and of all other English who live neare the Dutch plantations.

Your first care (after reducing the place) is to protect the Inhabitants from Injuries, as well as violence of the souldrs wch will be easily effected if you settle a course for weekly or dayly provisions by agreemt wth the Inhabitants wch shall be satisfied to them, either out of the proffitts, customes or rents belonging to their present masters, or in case of necessity from home.

The lawes for the present cannot be altered as to yor administraction of Right and Justice between parties.

To my Lord Baltimore's sonn you shall declare and to all the English concerned in Maryland, thatt his Matie hath at his great expence sent his shippes and souldrs to reduce forraigners in these parts, to his Maties obedience, and to that purpose onely, you are employed, but the reduction of the place, being at his Maties expence, you have commands to keepe possession thereof for his Maties owne behoofe and Right, and that you are ready to joyne with the Governr of Maryland upon his Maties interest in all occasions, and that if my Lord Baltimore doth p'tend Right thereunto by his Pattent (which is a doubtful case) you are to say that you only keepe possession till his Matie is informed and satisfied otherwise. In other things, I must leave you to your discretion, and the best advice you can get upon the place.

Articles of agreement between the Hon^{ble} Robert Carr, Knt., in behalfe of his Matie of Great Brittain, and the Burgomasters on the behalfe of themselves and all the Dutch and Swedes inhabiting in Delaware Bay and Delaware River.

1. That all the Burgers and Planters will submit themselves to his Maties authority, witht making any resistance.

2. That whoever of what nation soever doth submit to his Maties authority, shall be protected in their estates reall and personal whatsoever, by his Maties Laws and Justice.

3. That the present Magistrates shall be continued in their offices and Jurisdictns to exercise their civil Power as formerly.

4. That if any Dutchman or other p'son shall desire to depart from this River, that it shall be lawful for him so to doe, with his goods within six monethes after the date of these articles.

5. That the Magistrates and all the Inhabitants (who are included in these articles) shall take the oathes of allegiance to his Matie and of fidelity to the present government.

6. That all the People shall enjoy the Liberty of their conscience in church discipline as formerly.

7. That whoever shall take the oathes is from that time a free Denizen, and shall enjoy all the privileges of Trading unto any of his Maties Dominions, as freely as any Englishman, and may require a certificate for so doing.

8. That the Scout, the Burgomasters, Sherriffe and other inferior magistrates, shall use and exercise their customary power in administration of Justice within their precincts, for six monethes, or until his Maties pleasure is further known.

The Oath. I do swear by the Almighty God, that I will beare faith and allegiance to his Matie of Great Brittain, and I will obey all such commands, as I shall receive from ye Governor, Deputy Governor or other officers, appointed by his Maties authority, so long as I live within these, or any other of his Maties Territories. Given under my hand and seale, this 1st day of October, in the yeare of our Lord God, 1664. ROBERT CARR.

Given undr our hands and seales, in the behalfe of ourselves, and the rest of ye Inhabitants, ye 1st day of October, in the yeare of our Lord God, 1664. FFOR OUTHOUT, HENRY JOHNSON, GERRITT SANDERS VAN TIELL, HANS BLOCK, LUCAS PETERSON, HENRY CASTURIER.

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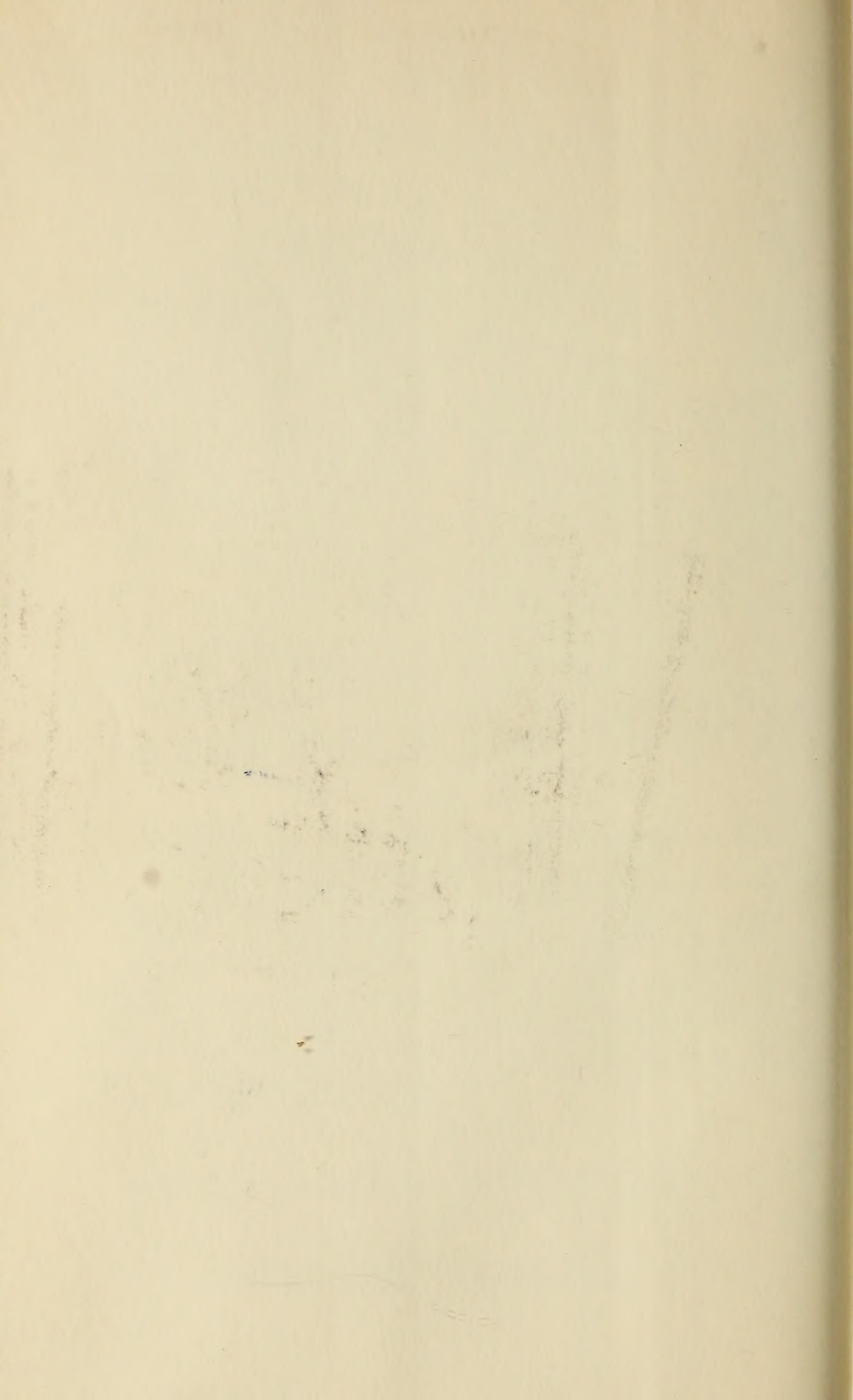
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